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A HISTORY OF THE

FAR

EAST



JAPAN—OLD AND NEW—1874

The Meiji Emperor (on black horse with chrysanthemum-embroidered saddle) visits the feudal castle of the Satsuma in Kagoshima. The Imperial Guard wears a German-style uniform. The new bureaucracy in modern frock coats are seen at lower left. Lower right, the samurai and clanspeople of Satsuma in traditional costume prostrate themselves before the Son of Heaven. See pages 172-73.—Painting from Meiji Shrine, Tokyo.

A HISTORY OF THE

FAR

16038

EAST



BY

A L F R E D C R O F T S

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Preface

NAMES

The names of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Indo-Chinese are written in the Oriental manner, giving precedence to the family name. Thus, (Chinese) Chiang K'ai-shek, (Japanese) Tojo Hideki, and (Korean) Kim Il Sung, belong to the Chiang, Tojo, and Kim families respectively. Rare exceptions to this practice include the Korean statesman uniformly referred to as Syngman Rhee, though *Rhee* is his family name. The authors do not follow the fairly common journalistic practice of writing Japanese names in the American order with the "given" name first.

Emperors are usually designated by their familiar honorific "reign names." Thus, Mutsuhito is the Meiji emperor. (However, Hirohito is not referred to as the Showa emperor.)

MONEY, MEASURE, WEIGHT, AND TIME

Money values are, when possible, expressed in dollars at the contemporary rate of exchange. The number and diversity of Oriental money units (only a few of which are even mentioned), and the fluctuations in their value, make prices difficult to render into easily understood terms.

Weights and measures are recorded in familiar terms: pounds, tons (of 2000 pounds), feet, miles, and so on. Shipping tonnage is expressed in forty-cubic-foot tons for merchant vessels and dead weight for warships.

Dates are converted into the corresponding year and day according to the Gregorian system currently used in the West.

A HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST

PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING OF ORIENTAL WORDS

Chinese

The Wade System of spelling out Chinese words uses the European rather than the English pronunciation of vowel sounds. The consonant sounds *ch*, *k*, *p*, and *t* are pronounced "hard" (like *j*, *g*, *b*, and *d*) unless followed by an apostrophe, in which case they are "softened," as in their usual English form.

Examples: *a* as in father (yang, fang)

ai as the English *eye* (Shanghai, dalai')

e as the English *u* in slung (feng, ren)

ei as in the English weight (Wei)

i as in the English machine (Li, Ichang)

u as the English *oo* in spool (Human, Hupeh)

chang like English jahng

pu like English boo

ch'ang like English chahng

p'u like English poo

ko like English go

ting like English ding

k'o like English ko

t'ing like English ting

Familiar geographical names are rarely spelled according to the the Wade System (requiring that Canton be spelled K'ant'on).

Japanese

The Hepburn System of spelling out Japanese words uses the European vowel pronunciation almost exactly as the Wade System does.

Consonant sounds are in familiar English usage.

Examples: *Aikoku* is pronounced *eye-kó-koo*.

Yama is pronounced *yáh-mah*.

Guchi is pronounced *góo-chee*.

Other Oriental words may be pronounced, in general, according to Hepburn System for Japanese (above).

Examples: *Sumatra* is pronounced *soo-máh-trah*.

Luzon is pronounced *loo-zón*.

Saigon is pronounced *sigh-góne*.

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General Introduction

This 1958 addition to the textbook list on Asia is designed to serve the most popular—often the only—college course offering: a three to six semester hour general survey of Far Eastern history. Its approach must of necessity be elementary, since few students will have taken preliminary Asian studies. Oriental technical terms are used sparingly, and explained both in the text and in a glossary. Some cross references are made to well-known events in Western history; there are, for instance, illuminating parallels between the wanderings of the Goths and these of the Mongols, the sea victories of the Koreans in 1592–98 and the almost contemporary feats of Elizabethan mariners. But these must be examined with discretion: *comparaison n'est pas raison*. Since the work is not written principally for specialists, only a short and functional bibliography is appended—of books likely to be available to small liberal arts colleges.

Scope and Treatment

The scope of this study includes Pacific Asia and its contiguous archipelagoes, with the peninsula of Southeast Asia or Farther India; Central Asia, with its firm links to the East, is a part of the plan; India is excluded. Even with this limitation, the history treats of the lives of nine billion people—nearly half of all who ever lived—divided currently among over a dozen nations.

A HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST

Asian historians, the most ancient practitioners of their art, have long since fixed the pattern of dynastic intervals which is followed by all Occidental writers. However, Western scholars, who are in fairly general agreement about the hierarchy of events in Europe, have drafted no clear profile of the course of Oriental history. A phenomenon such as the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, or person such as Hideyoshi Toyotomi, may be given central or purely casual significance in different texts.

The authors follow an unmistakable trend in limiting, regretfully, the space assigned to philosophy and aesthetics; in expanding the study of modern times; and in emphasizing East Asia as an integrated whole. Arbitrarily, the history is divided into four books, of which the first explores indigenous origins, the second introduces the impact of the West through the nineteenth century, and the third and fourth examine in much greater detail problems of the recent fifty years. In the earlier two books, the classical order of dynasties in sequence is largely adhered to; in the later books the emphasis is laid upon historical movements. Inevitably, this leads to chronological and geographical overlapping. The Chinese Revolution and the rise of communism are, for example, treated in distinct chapters though proceeding concurrently, centering in the same nation, and acknowledging some of the same leaders. It is hoped that the area-wide approach will give the student total rather than fragmented comprehension of Asia problems in our time.

Objectivity is essential and difficult to achieve. During a thirty-year period Washington's *official* attitude has changed toward almost every nation and faction in this study; present relationships are charged with emotion—and the next decade will surely bring fresh orientations.

Oriental history has appeared to most American students as a lifeless discipline: a potpourri of unintelligible names disassociated from life and personality. Fiction dealing with the Far East has likewise exploited the "exotic" and paradoxical, even the degenerate, creating few genuinely human types. In this work the authors have, therefore, attempted to breathe some life into the principal figures through biographical sketches and brief characterizations, and to animate the scene with color, action, and anecdote.

General Introduction

Personal Acknowledgments

The authors are personally not unfamiliar with Asia. Both were reared there—Dr. Crofts in China, Dr. Buchanan in Japan—coming to America for their college training. Both have seen service in Intelligence and Military Government, and lectured and broadcasted widely on Asian problems. Dr. Buchanan is currently conductor of a biennial summer tour to the accessible areas of the Far East.

They offer sincere acknowledgments to Chancellor Chester M. Alter, and Deans James E. Perdue and Lloyd A. Garrison, of the University of Denver, for official encouragement in this project. Outstanding assistance has been given by Dr. Howard Levy in reading and editing the text; Dean Perdue and Mrs. D. Jean Hassett have also supplied valuable help, as has the history staff of the United States Air Force Academy. The day-to-day cooperation of Frances Lundbeck and C. B. Ford, of the University of Denver libraries, has been indispensable.

For DANIEL WEBSTER CROFTS

VERNA HAMMEREN CROFTS

MABEL HARLOW CROFTS

WALTER BUCHANAN

MARY BUCHANAN

to commemorate lives dedicated to the

peoples of ASIA

Backgrounds of Far East History to 1600

*The Beginnings—A Fable.**

✽ Snow fell early on the passes of the Hindu Kush, scattering the tribe that had gathered for the summer hunt—the subman aboriginals of Eurasia. In spring they were not reunited, nor in any later spring until, with the drift of centuries, their origin was forgotten.

A part of the horde wandered westward, in spreading waves; their routes crossed grasslands to great inland oceans, and beyond these to forest-covered plains bordered by a misty northern sea. Game and forage abounded, as did bear and wolf, and hostile tribes contesting the hunting grounds. Food, and afterward land and empire, hung upon the gage of combat. The warrior was crowned; Nature fashioned the tall man, heavily sinewed, explosive in temper. The mild sunlight, needing no filter, favored fair skins and blue eyes.

The remnant trekked eastward into immense continental solitudes exposed with scanty shelter to blistering suns and winds that blew from the pole. During wet cycles, oases blossomed and marshes were fed from melting ice fields; as desiccation followed, the dry earth rose in dust columns and was laid down as loess hills. The enemy was Nature: no bold stroke could conquer the blizzard; physical bulk became a handicap in the struggle to reach the water hole or survive

* This is the first of four introductory sketches interpolated between the books of this text and distinct from their text. Though fanciful in form, all are based upon scientific conjecture or actual events. They may have value as transition pieces—or serve simply as parables; they need not be included in study assignments.

the hunger months. Evolution was breeding a type, tough but without superfluities, roundheaded, scanty of hair, and small-boned, a biological machine of matchless efficiency, pigmented of eye and skin against the desert glare, though lighter by far than the tropical Negro.

The man of the East survived through slow endurance; he was passive rather than furious, less a gladiator than a toiler. By mastering the Asian heartland, he became fit to thrive in every latitude of earth.

History found both peoples after a thousand generations: the Aryans by the Mediterranean, the Ural-Altaic vanguards at the Yellow Sea. They had framed languages that betrayed no hint of common origin; and modes of writing that, in the West, portrayed sound, but in the East formed ideographs. Both had their folkways, their rituals and myths, blended into doctrines of cultural superiority. Both found ideal beauty in their own physical appearance, and read into the saga of their survival the grand design of a special providence.

The Home of Eight Hundred Million People

☼ As far as the mouth of the Amur, and taking in the littoral of Southeast Asia as well as the divides of the large central highland of Asia, the uniform climate rhythm of the monsoon constitutes one of the most effective earth-bound forces. It shapes the face of the earth and creates a feeling of large-space solidarity. . . . The monsoon thus operates as a geopolitical educator. More than half the earth's population lives in the monsoon countries—and the sphinx-like forms of age-old cultures emerge there out of the greatest concentrations of mankind.

Karl Haushofer, *The Unity of the Monsoon Lands*

THIS HISTORY is concerned with the land territories of East Asia from the Amur River south and east to the Brahmaputra, together with the islands of the Asian continental shelf. Their east-west extent is 45 degrees of longitude, approximating the width of the United States. Nikolaievsk, at the mouth of the Amur, is at latitude 58 degrees north; Singapore, farthest south on the continent, is fifty miles from the equator; thus, the climate of these lands approximates the full range from Labrador to Brazil. Their area is equal to that of the United States with Alaska, or one fifteenth of the terrestrial globe; but their population is eight hundred million—one third of the world's inhabitants. They include many of the most densely peopled portions of the earth.

The frontier separating these lands from the mass of Eurasia

passes in the north through inhospitable steppes, to the south through tropical jungles; between these, it traverses the rock plateaus of Mongolia and Tibet. It is crossed by only one important rail system: the Trans-Siberian—and by no paved highway.¹ The tonnage of goods entering East Asia over land in a year is certainly less than that crossing the Mississippi River in one day. Historically it has been no less isolated by sea. East Asians did not suspect the existence of the New World, Australia, or the South Pacific Islands until these had been occupied by Europeans.

Political Groupings (map, p. 5)

Politically, these territories are China proper, with her dependencies; the peninsula of Southeast Asia—Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malaya; the islands of Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

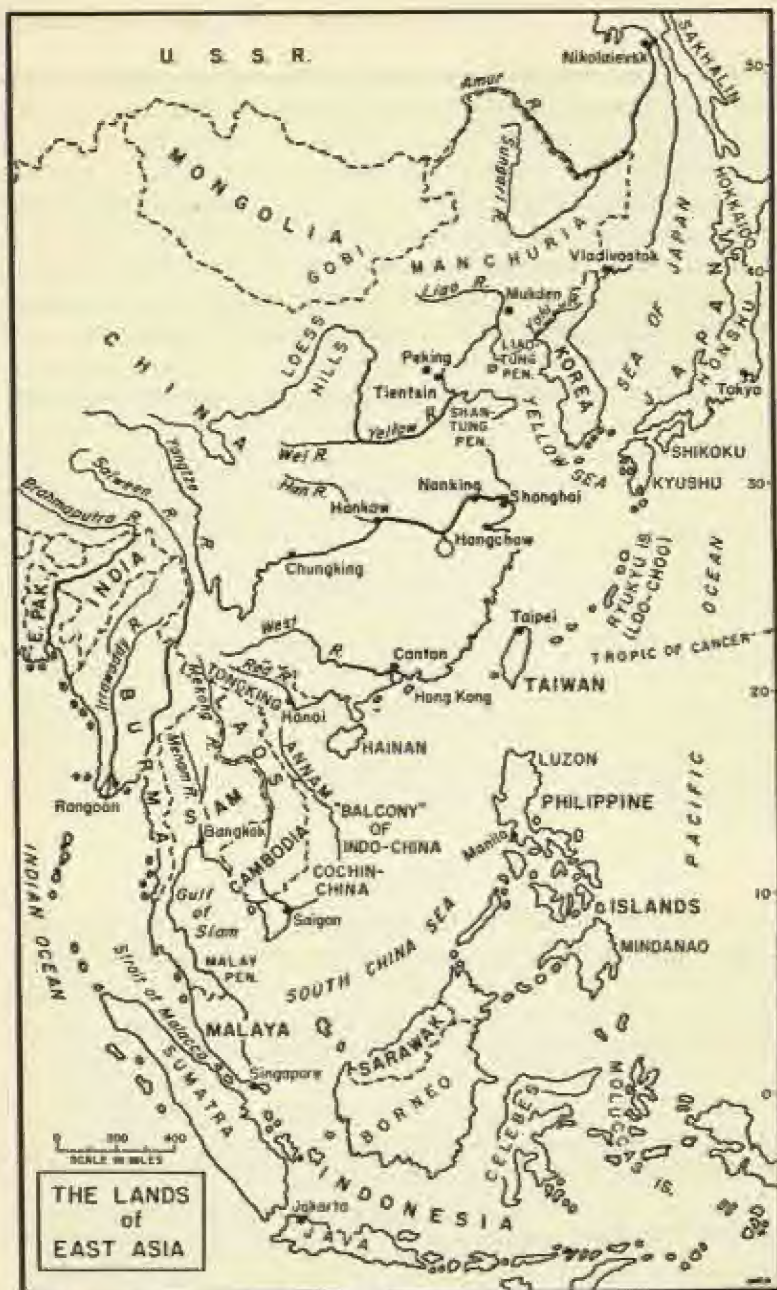
CHINA

China is divided politically into eighteen provinces; along the northern borders, facing Mongolia, are Shansi, Shensi, and Chihli (Hopei); Kansu is in the extreme northwest, and Shantung, with its conspicuous promontory, faces northeast toward the Yellow Sea. The Yellow River separates these provinces from Honan (meaning "south of the river"). The central provinces lie in the valley of the Yangtze; close to its mouth are Kiangsu, Anhwei, Kiangsi. Above and below Tungting Lake, close to the middle course of the Yangtze, are Hupeh and Hunan ("north of the lake," "south of the lake"). The western part of the Yangtze Basin is the huge "inland empire" of Szechuan. The provinces of the coastal southeast are Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi. The high plateau of the southwest includes Yunnan, bordering Burma, and the remote province of Kweichow (map, p. 117).

THE INDO-CHINA COUNTRIES

Indo-China consists of the states of Tongking in the north, and Cochin China, in the extreme south, joined by the narrow mari-

¹ There have been temporary routes to India or Central Asia, such as the wartime Ledo Road, and the ancient Silk Road used by Marco Polo in crossing from the Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea—a journey never again completed by a large party until 1932. American air power spanned the Burma Hump with war supplies for China in 1942-45.



time plains of Annam. Inland from Annam is the primitive Laos territory; Cambodia is west of Cochin-China, on the Gulf of Siam.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

The kingdom of Thailand, formerly Siam, comprises the mountain-rimmed valley of the Menam River, with a narrow southward extension of six hundred miles down the Malay Peninsula. Once the entire peninsula was claimed by Siam, though the club-shaped extremity now forms the Federation of Malaya. Burma consists of the wide river valley of the Irrawaddy, and, paralleling it to the east, that of the Salween. Between the rivers are the Karen states; to the north are the Shan states along the China border. The coastal provinces are Arakan along the Bay of Bengal, and Tenasserim, adjoining Thailand along the Malay Peninsula.

THE ISLANDS

Indonesia includes the Greater Sunda Islands—Sumatra and Java; the chain of Lesser Sundas trailing east from Bali; Borneo, Celebes, and the Molucca group. The chief Philippine Islands are: Luzon in the north, Mindanao in the far south, and between them the closely grouped Visayan Archipelago. Formosa and the Ryukyu Islands were recently a part of the Japanese Empire. The four main islands of Japan are Honshu, the principal and largest, with Hokkaido to the north of it, and Shikoku and Kyushu to the south.

Fire, Earth, and Water

The Pacific coastline of East Asia forms a series of convexities bulging eastward: the curve of maritime Siberia, followed by the semicircle of China, and the "balcony" of Indo-China. Three large peninsulas are formed: Korea, Shantung in North China, and the Malay Peninsula, terminating at Singapore Island. There are small peninsulas in Liaotung, South Manchuria, and Kwangchow, opposite Hainan Island in South China. To the west, facing the Indian Ocean, the coast trends regularly from India to Malaya, with one deep indentation—the Gulf of Martaban.

Much of the Pacific shore is flanked by hills, with open beaches or low cliffs, and promontories guarding landlocked harbors.² The

² Forming such valuable naval bases as Vladivostok, Pusan, Port Arthur, Chefoo, Foochow, and Camranh Bay.

great commercial cities are found by the river estuaries: Tientsin, Shanghai, Canton, Hanoi, Saigon, Bangkok, and Rangoon. Their outlets are obstructed by large volumes of silt—the Yellow Sea taking its name from the muddy discharge of the Yangtze River and the Hwang Ho.

In contrast to North America, Pacific Asia is confronted with almost unbroken island chains which form four wide loops. The Kuriles bound the Sea of Okhotsk; Sakhalin and the Japanese Islands enclose the Sea of Japan; between the Ryukyus and China is the East China Sea; the far larger South China Sea lies between Indo-China and the Indonesian-Philippine Archipelago. The outlying islands are between four and six hundred miles from the continent; the closest—across Tartary, Korea, Formosa, and Malacca straits—are less than one hundred miles away. The island arcs measure four thousand miles in perimeter—an unbroken series of steppingstones followed by migrating peoples since primitive times.

The islands are mountainous, forming the upper ridges of a submerged cordillera. Their peaks compare with the highest in the United States: Fuji in Japan rises to 12,000 feet, Niitaka in Formosa to 14,500 feet, and Kinabalu in North Borneo to 13,500 feet. The highest sea cliffs in the world guard eastern Formosa. In fact, the islands of eastern Asia form part of the "rim of fire" which runs around the North Pacific. The Andes and Sierras, the Alaskan Rockies, the Aleutians and Kuriles, and the Japanese and Philippine Islands are part of an ancient volcanic system, now quiescent; another one runs from the Indian Ocean through Sumatra and Java.

Java has two hundred recent volcanic craters and Japan five hundred—sixty of them active within historic times. Japan suffers fifteen hundred earthquakes per year strong enough to damage buildings; she has at least a thousand hot springs, survivals of recent seismic activity, which help to explain the national love of bathing and cleanliness.

Earthquakes have been, of course, ascribed to magical causes.³ Deprived of the security of a true terra firma and threatened at any moment with earthquake destruction, the people of Japan have

³ The shocks which leveled parts of Tokyo in 1855 were ascribed to divine wrath against the compromise with Admiral Perry's "foreign barbarians." The greatest seismic disturbances recorded in Japan occurred at the close of Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, 1596, and helped to discredit the adventure

developed stoical qualities. Their flimsy houses, one-story buildings, with sliding partitions of paper and wooden splints, are designed to survive earth tremors without crumbling. Japanese defenses are rarely vertical walls, but more often earth ramps faced with unmortared stone blocks; towers and pagodas are of resilient wood. Their dependence upon timber for earthquake-proof construction required the Japanese to practice forest conservation from early times.

The mainland is geologically stable, though devastating quakes occur at wide time intervals in the northwestern provinces of China.⁴ From Yunnan, far to the southwest, earth faults extend as far as the Himalayan ranges.

Jade Miners Rather Than Steelmakers

The newest and most massive mountain system on earth, the Himalayas, separates Central Asia from India. Six hundred miles north of it are the Kuen Lun, the geologic "backbone of Asia," and between the two ranges is the plateau of Tibet, whose floor is higher than the peaks of the American Rockies. Lower terraces, the tableland of Yunnan, six thousand feet in altitude, and the somewhat lower plains of Kweichow fall away from the Central Asian massif.

The mountain knot between Tibet, China, and India forms the most rugged part of the earth's surface. From it ranges extend southeast to form the Burma Hump, and the cordillera of Annam, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula; eastward, the Kuen Lun is projected as the Tsingling Mountains separating the Yangtze from the Yellow River Basins, dividing China into north and south. The mountains of Shansi and the Khinghans of Manchuria run north-east; close by and to the south, the Shantung Hills reappear across the Yellow Sea as the North Korean and East Manchurian ranges. The hills of South China trend in ranges paralleling the coastline; though steep, they are also low, with summits under six thousand feet.

There are few extensive flat lowlands in East Asia comparable to the American prairies and pampas, except for the plains of Central Manchuria. The Yellow River has built a flood plain in North

⁴ In 1662 and 1731 earthquakes partially destroyed Peking.

China almost four hundred miles in width; the Yangtze passes through the rich red-earth basin of Szechuan and then, below the gorges, forms the rice bowl of China, and there are deltas in all the main estuaries.

A large part of East Asia is composed of geologically old rocks which have never been submerged. Lacking organic deposits like coal and oil, these often contain veins of precious metals. Placer gold has been mined in a few stream beds in China and throughout the volcanic mountains of Japan. It is used less for currency than for ornamentation—though the Mongolian peoples are sparing in the use of personal jewelry. Coverings of gold leaf adorn the monastery roofs of Lhasa in Tibet ⁵ and such temple domes as the Sule and Shwe Dagon in Rangoon. Gold thread is favored as ceremonial embroidery, and bullion is converted into religious images. Along the Kolima River in Arctic Siberia the Russians recover millions of ounces of the yellow metal each year; the Philippine Islands rank among the major gold producers in the world.

Copper and silver are found widely, but in limited quantities. Japan balanced her trading accounts by exporting copper ingots in the seventeenth century. Both have been used from ancient times in coinage.⁶ Silver, the most valued metal in Chinese finance, has been either minted or cast in heavy shoes for large transactions; much silver is hoarded in times of inflation.

The minor alloy metals are plentiful in East Asia. There is some manganese in China; the red oxide cinnabar was formerly used as a pigment, though it is now more often smelted into mercury. South China supplies about half the world output of tungsten; about one fifth of the world reserves of antimony are found in the southwest. And East Asia has close to a world monopoly of tin production: placer tin is found in most of the river valleys from Yunnan through Siam and Malaya to the island of Banka, and exported to the quantity of fifty thousand tons a year. The metal was valued from early times as an alloy in bronzemaking.

Of the most strategic minerals, East Asia has far less than a

⁵ Quantities of nuggets and dust are reputed to be hidden in Tibetan lamasery vaults. A Chinese war lord once levied a tribute of 270,000 ounces of gold on the Labrang Monastery—as much as one eighth of the annual United States production.

⁶ Tremendous quantities were used as Buddhist idols; these formed a recognized metal reserve, and paper money was sometimes issued against them.

fair share. Aluminum has not been found in any considerable quantities. Iron ore is scattered through Mindanao and Manchuria, Tongking, China, Korea, and Japan, but it occurs in pockets rather than ranges.[†] The high-grade iron deposits would feed American smelters for only a few years.

Coal is scattered throughout East Asia; the largest fields, once considered by overenthusiastic geologists to be the richest deposit on earth, are in the provinces of Shansi and Shensi, six hundred miles from the China Coast, and above the rapids of the Yellow River. Coal is mined close to tidewater in Kyushu and Hokkaido Islands, in Tongking in Indo-China, and in southern Manchuria. However, the coal resources of the Far East total less than 10 per cent of the world's reserve. The United States contains about 27,000 tons per capita of population; England has about 4,000, China appears to have 500, and Japan 238 tons.

Of petroleum, China and Japan produce together less than one one-hundredth of the world's supply. Japan has known reserves of only three million tons, enough to last her one year. Central Asia, especially Sinkiang, has promising oil territory; a little comes from Kansu. Sakhalin Island, now Russian territory, has been a minor but steady producer; the only fairly large fields are in the Indonesian Islands, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, but these account for less than 5 per cent of the world's current output.

Water flowing from China's remote western mountain ranges has an enormous hydroelectric potential, almost none of which has been developed. Japan, with numerous short, swift streams, using almost every potential site, has developed a widespread hydroelectric network; she had begun before 1941 to harness the rivers of northern Korea, whose total potential is about equal to that of all metropolitan France.

In natural resources, the Far East is among the "have-not" areas of the world; Asian peoples have traditionally been more interested in mining jade than producing steel. Japan has outstripped all her neighbors; but the United States, with twice the population of Japan, produces 7 times as much copper, 10 times as much coal, 40 times as much iron, 432 times as much petroleum.

[†] For centuries, China consumed hardly five hundred tons of iron per year, far less than her output of bronze; at its industrial peak before 1941, Japan produced seven million tons of steel annually—the American output for one month.

Fish Nets and Coffin Boards

The renewable resources have been extensively depleted. Almost all the lands were once covered with forest growth. This disappeared centuries ago in the irrigable flat lands; later, mountain slopes were denuded for fuel. Throughout the tropics nomadic hill tribes burn the primitive forest to plant dry rice, abandoning the land to scrub grasses as each new plantation becomes leached out.

Japan has practiced conservation and placed her forests on a sustained yield basis; so great is the pressure upon the woods, however, that trees are cut as prime lumber at twenty feet. The average Chinese can afford sawn lumber only for his coffin boards; his fuel is likely to be dried grass or grain stalks. Where available, the construction material is bamboo, which can be used for posts, walls, screens, and frame supports, as well as woven cables and paper pulp.

The permanently settled parts of East Asia have been withdrawn from grazing: "A cow devours five men." But there are pastures in the semiarid lands of Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. The Chinese emperors maintained large hunting preserves which once covered much of Manchuria; nearly all have now succumbed to the peasant's plow. Game birds, especially pheasants and waterfowl, are frequently abundant; however, the farmer rarely possesses firearms to hunt. The elephant and rhinoceros, once common on the mainland, have almost disappeared north of Indo-China. Centuries ago, when Buddhist law prescribed vegetarianism, meat in all forms but fish disappeared from the diet of orthodox believers.

However, pigs and domestic fowls are found in every village and consumed by those who can afford meat. Fish is the only universal source of animal protein. Fishermen are active in all coastal waters; their catch includes every form of ocean life from the whale to the sandworm. Seaweed and certain types of birds' nests are regarded as delicacies. Fish eaten locally raw are dried for inland consumption, though seldom barreled or canned for foreign export except by Japan, which maintains the greatest deep-water fishing fleet in the world. In inland communities, farm ponds and flooded rice fields grow a crop of fish as well as grain, the production in parts of Java reaching nearly a ton per acre.

The Sacred Staples

In agriculture the Oriental people have developed their highest skills. "Wet" rice, grown from shoots planted in flooded fields, is produced in all farming districts with over forty inches of rainfall and average winter temperatures above freezing. It is raised on three quarters of the crop land of Indo-China and one half or more of all other plantation lands except North China, Manchuria, and Korea. Ninety-five million tons of rice—all but 5 per cent of the world's production—come from East Asia and the adjacent provinces of India. Approximately one pound of rice daily forms an adult ration.

The popularity of rice is due partly to its flavor, partly to its high yield per acre—thirty-eight bushels in Japan, twenty-five in China. It employs hand labor in setting out seedlings, puddling the fields, weeding, harvesting, threshing, and transporting to market. One laborer can produce about six rations of rice, only a small surplus over the needs of his family. As a complete diet, rice is deficient and leads to a high incidence of beriberi and tooth decay. Among the well-to-do, rice is supplemented with soybean protein in the form of curds or sauces, and with enormous varieties of vegetables and fruits; China is said to use five hundred types of plants for food purposes.

Rice is the chief of five ancient "sacred" staples. Half the total population depends upon it. Wheat, often consumed as noodles, and millet are the food of the North Chinese; the soybean, "the little honorable plant," is converted to a score of uses by Oriental chefs; and kaoliang, the giant millet, supplies grain and wine, while its stalks are used for fuel and building material. Sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and corn are of recent importation from the New World, but are widely grown only on the less favored farm lands.

Along the equator where there is dependable rainfall every month with little temperature variation, there is plantation culture of quinine, rubber, and the spices—pepper, nutmeg, clove, cardamom. Here also, and farther north, copra, sugar, hemp, and tobacco are grown. These have proved so profitable that the Philippines and Malaya prefer to import rice and concentrate upon export crops. Java became, under expert Dutch supervision, the finest plantation colony on earth; it possesses a rich lava soil, un-

limited intelligent cheap labor (lacking in the American and African tropics), and easy access to tidewater.

The Monsoon, Life-Giver of East Asia

Most of East Asia lies in the belt of monsoons; its east coast climate is similar to that of the American Atlantic coast at corresponding latitudes. Air masses, displaced westward by the rotation of the earth, drift from the ocean, saturated with water vapor, toward the land. In summer the land becomes superheated, forming atmospheric low-pressure areas complemented by "highs" over the cooler ocean, so that moisture-laden air passes continuously toward the continent. The coincidence of rainfall with maximum heat is beneficial to agriculture. Thus, the wet monsoon brings life and wealth to Asia, flooding the rice terraces while it carries the trading fleets into harbor; but it also bogs down land communication.

In autumn, the land in turn cools rapidly; dense high-pressure air masses over Central Asia move seaward, bringing clear, cold winter weather. Some moisture is absorbed over the Japan and China seas to form the heavy snowfall of the Japanese alps or the December rains (making possible a generous second rice crop) of the balcony of Indo-China.

The dry monsoon raises dust storms which have carried the soil of Mongolia as loess beds hundreds of feet thick over Northwest China. The loess dust covers landmarks and forces the farmers to live in earth caves, but it is rich in organic matter so that the wind, like the waters of the Nile, rebuilds the fertility of the fields.

The chief ranges of continental Asia trend east and west; the monsoon rains cannot cross over them into the dead heart of Asia behind the Himalaya, Kuen Lun, and Tien Shan systems. The Tsingling Mountains, cutting across Central China to separate the Yangtze and Yellow River watersheds, form a significant climatic barrier; during the wet season they check the flow of tropical moisture; in winter they protect the south against dust-laden "northers"; they divide China cleanly into a wheat and a rice agriculture zone, into a political north and south, as distinct in climate as in culture.

The intensity of the monsoon and its volume of moisture fall steadily as it moves north: Burma has about three times the rainfall of coastal Manchuria, Singapore has ninety-two inches, Shanghai, forty-five. Among the islands, Manila has eighty-two inches to Kyoto's sixty-one. The continental areas have wide variations in average monthly temperature: this difference is 85 degrees in northern Mongolia compared with 1 degree at Singapore.

The Great Wind

A special climatic hazard found in all east-coast climates is the typhoon, counterpart of the New World hurricane. It breeds in the waters southeast of the Philippines, moderating as it moves north; it strikes Manila by March, South China in May, and the Japan Sea in early autumn.

Since about eight typhoons occur in an average year, the Great Wind conditions the economy of all maritime East Asia. Naval bases are of minor value unless they have a protected inner anchorage. Lofty hulls are a hazard, but the ungainly Chinese junk, floating like a duck with its spoon-shaped bottom, is well adapted to survive. Oared galleys could never rule the China Seas as they dominated the Mediterranean; it remained for the iron steamship to provide safe sailing schedules in the western Pacific.

Historically, the Ming dynasty was saved in the sixteenth century when a timely typhoon destroyed a sea invasion from the south; both in 1274 and 1281, typhoons scattered Kublai Khan's Mongolian fleets off the coast of Kyushu, earning from the grateful Japanese the name of Kamikaze, or "Divine Wind"; and the United States supply fleet suffered heavier losses from two months of Okinawa typhoons in 1945 than from Japanese submarines in any year of warfare.

Flood and Famine

Four months of concentrated downpour in the rainy season regularly overtax the drainage system, but the monsoon is erratic; sometimes it blows feebly and little rain falls. East Asia has earned a grim reputation for recurrent floods and droughts. Where population is light, as in Siam or Burma, damage is less; but where

farming is marginal or population dense, any fluctuation is dangerous.

Over thirty centuries, Chinese records show an average of one local disaster per year; eighty-four floods that have been classed as devastating, and seventy-one droughts. The southeast coastal provinces of China have suffered most often, probably because of their exposure to typhoon flooding; the greatest loss of life occurs when the Yellow River leaves its banks. Droughts are most severe in the northwest dust bowl where water is quickly absorbed in the porous loess soil.

Cradles of Civilization (map, p. 5)

The greatest rivers of East Asia rise in a limited area of Central Tibet, flowing radially to the Pacific and Indian oceans. The civilization of the lands is riverine, localized in the separate valleys. China has three major rivers, all trending in an easterly direction; hence, each is confined within a fairly narrow latitudinal and climatic belt, and each has a homogeneous culture—unlike the North American streams, which unite states as different as Minnesota and Louisiana.

The Yellow River, farthest north of the three, is twenty-five hundred miles in length, with a basin of half a million square miles—somewhat longer than the Colorado, and, like it, cutting through deserts and continental plateaus. The river is named from the burden of silt it carries from the loess hills; it is confined for four hundred miles between dikes, but it silts so rapidly that the bed is, for long reaches, higher than the flood plain. When the river escapes from its bed, it may cut a permanent new course; it has done so fifteen times. The Yellow River is too shallow for steamer navigation; there are two dangerous rapids shortly before it reaches the plains. It is well named "China's Sorrow," but it has cradled Chinese civilization.

The Yangtze, 3,000 miles long, drains 550,000 square miles—nearly half of China—forming its most important communication route; the main stream is navigable by ocean vessels for 500 miles. Farther up, the river cuts through the mountains in deep gorges too turbulent for sail or steam; in the worst rapids, junks bound upstream must be hauled by raw coolie power. How-

ever, the gorges make West China impregnable against naval attack. The Yangtze system probably carries more ships of all sizes and supports more people in its basin than any other river in the world. The Sikiang, or West, the third of China's great rivers, drains three southwestern provinces and enters the Pearl estuary of Canton.

Korea possesses four main river systems, none over twenty-five thousand square miles in drainage area. The Yalu divides Manchuria from Korea. The Taedong and Han, located in northern and central Korea, both run west toward the China Sea; on their banks are the dynastic capitals of Pyongyang and Seoul. The Naktong flows generally south, to empty into the Straits of Tsushima; no important streams in the peninsula run east, though the Tumen is large enough to form the boundary with Russian Siberia.

Manchuria is divided into well-marked regions—a northern one covering four fifths of the state, circled by the Amur and drained by its chief tributary, the Sungari, and a smaller but strategic southern region, the valley of the Liao between the Liaotung ("east of the Liao") Peninsula and the mountains of Jehol, forming the northeast approach to China.

In Indo-China there are two important basins—that of the Red River in the north; and to the far south, the estuary of the Mekong, the eleventh largest river of the world, which flows twenty-six hundred miles from Tibet, forming in middle course a boundary between Thailand and Indo-China. Rapids close to its mouth make the Mekong of little use for navigation, but both deltas are densely populated and productive, causing Indo-China to be compared to two rice baskets suspended on the long "carrying pole" of Annam. The Menam, flowing due south, lies wholly within Thailand. The Irrawaddy drains the central plain of Burma; its course is smooth and, next to the Yangtze, it is the most important inland waterway in East Asia. Between the Menam and the Irrawaddy is the narrow valley of the Salween.

Flowing side by side from the Central Asian plateau, the Mekong and Salween cut terraced gorges nearly ten thousand feet deep. Their canyons isolate China so effectively that the rivers were almost unknown to Chinese geographers before 1700; yet these valleys have been a migration route since primitive times of tribes displaced from China who settled Thailand and Burma.

Millennia of Erosion

In these Asian valleys man has become through centuries a geologic force, building terraces, dikes, and canals, stripping forests to plant crops or hunt bandits, and exposing hillsides to the erosion of monsoon downpours. The Yangtze, two thousand miles from its mouth, has a maximum flood crest of eighty feet; its burden of silt is fifteen times greater relative to volume than that of the English Thames. But this destruction is mild compared to that of the Yellow River which, undercutting the soft loess cliffs of Shansi, emerges as a current of liquid mud. The river builds solid land into the Gulf of Chihli at the rate of two and a half miles per century, one eighth of the present flood plain having been sea bottom at the time of Christ. The site of Yingkow, at the mouth of the Liao River in Manchuria, was part of the ocean bed in 1800. The Irrawaddy, with one eighth of the Mississippi's drainage basin, has an equal annual discharge of water, but seven times its erosion rate.

Ruined Granaries

The record of civilized man in Asia has shown cyclical variation of drought and moisture. Former flourishing oases in Turkestan, admired by Marco Polo in 1280, are drifted with sand. Shensi Province, once the granary of North China, now has barely one good harvest in three years. Climate has certainly influenced the ebb and flow of empire; probably the Mongol invasions seven centuries ago followed a period of extended drought in the grasslands. During damp cycles, Chinese farmers encroach upon the steppe, driving back the nomads.

Asia and America

The weather of East Asia, though similar to that of Atlantic America, is more violent; it breeds in the illimitable wastes of the equatorial Pacific and blows toward the world's largest land mass. Hence, Asian extremes of temperature are greater, and deserts drier, than those in the New World.

Siberian winds chill Canton, making it the coolest port within the tropics; its isotherm passes through New Orleans, five hundred miles higher in latitude. Ice skating may be enjoyed in China at

the latitude of Galveston. Central Mongolia is one thousand six hundred feet lower than the Wyoming plains, equally close to the sea, but has a winter temperature twenty degrees colder. Drift ice floats in the Gulf of Chihli at the latitude of Chesapeake Bay and Siberian harbors farther south than Boston are ice-bound in winter.

The mountains of Asia are twice as high, the winds stronger, the seismic disturbances worse than those of Europe and the New World. Add to natural discomforts the curse of chronic overpopulation, which cheapens human life. It is not surprising that populations vigorous and tough, used to combatting a hostile natural environment, yet so fatalistic that beggars starve peaceably in times of famine at the doors of food shops. The king is almost always "Son of Heaven," reputedly in touch with the celestial powers, entrusted with protecting his subjects from meteors, droughts, and earthquakes.

There is small evidence in East Asia of any geological Ice Age, such as spread over Europe and North America, nor do coastal glaciers, like those of Alaska and Greenland exist. Bergs originating in the Arctic Sea are stranded in the shallows of Bering Strait without entering the Pacific.

Alaska and Siberia enjoyed a mild climate in remote times, permitting animals, plants, and eventually men, to migrate from the Old to the New World. Alligators are common to the rivers of America and of East Asia (where they supplied a basis for the Oriental dragon myth) but are found nowhere else. The tapir lives both in Malaya and Brazil, and the camel exists (as a llama or alpaca) in Peru. A species of sequoia tree grows on the borders of Tibet; and the cryptomeria, the most popular source of Japanese lumber, is almost indistinguishable from the California coastal redwood.

The Pacific "Gulf Stream"

In the Northern Hemisphere ocean currents move in a clockwise direction. The greatest of them originates east of Luzon, passing Formosa as a salt-water river with five thousand times the volume of the Mississippi, deep blue in color, and therefore named the *Kurosiwo* (in Japanese, "black current"). It proceeds east of the Ryukyu chain; a small branch is deflected through the Korea straits into the Sea of Japan, but the main drift flows past the

Pacific shore of Honshu Island, the Kuriles, and the Aleutians, where it meets the arctic waters in perpetual fog banks. The Kurosiwo has borne fish, plants, and lastly people, from the Malay lands to Japan, from Asia to America. It gives eastern Japan a springlike mildness, permitting wet-rice culture five degrees farther north than on the mainland, but it provides little fishing. Cold currents support more marine life than do warm waters, and the most productive fisheries are in the Sea of Japan, the Gulf of Okhotsk, or close to Alaska.

The landlocked Sea of Japan is almost tideless, but off western Korea tides as high as thirty feet have helped to isolate the Hermit Nation. In Hangchow Bay below Shanghai, a tidal bore rises to fifteen feet.

Water Highways

China's internal communications have been by river and canal, Canton, for example, registering 84,000 river craft in 1912. There are comparable boat populations in Shanghai, Hankow, or Bangkok. In the flat delta lands, water transport reaches every village. The canals are not only a universal highway; they provide fish and edible water plants, and mud dredged from their bottoms fertilizes the fields. Twenty centuries ago, canals first connected the Yellow River to the Yangtze and the West rivers, providing an inland network which obviated the need of open-sea voyages. The Grand Canal, eight hundred miles long, finally joined the rice lands of the Yangtze with Peking. Such transport systems made possible the centralized bureaucratic government of China and its huge cities. China's 200,000-mile waterways are comparable to the quarter million miles of American rails in providing cheap bulk transport. There are similar systems in Indo-China, Thailand, and Burma; but Japan, with short, rapid streams, has been far more localized and feudalized in culture.

Ocean transport has been handicapped by the danger of typhoons. Indonesian and Filipino skippers have long traversed the protected straits between their islands, as Japanese have sailed their Inland Sea. But until the European adventurers provided better ships, ocean ports scarcely existed. Yokohama, Nagasaki, Shanghai, Manila, Singapore and Rangoon are by-products of Western enterprise.

Historical Beginnings: China, The Master Culture

I flaked a flint to a cutting edge
And shaped it with brutish craft.
I tore a shank from a woodland dank
And fashioned it head and haft.
Then I hied me down to the reedy tarn
When the mammoth came to drink.
Through brawn and bone I drove the stone
And slew him on the brink.

Source unknown

Examining antiquity, we find that the Emperor Yao was reverent, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of all complaisance. The display of these qualities reached to the four extremities of the empire. He was able to make the able and virtuous distinguished . . . he also regulated and polished the people of his domain, who all became brightly intelligent. Finally, he united and harmonized the myriad states of the empire; and lo! the black-haired people were transformed.

The *Shu King*

MAN ENTERED East Asia between 100,000 and 500,000 years ago; late discoveries¹ in the limestone caves at Choukoutien, about two hundred feet above the flood

¹ Paleontology was not studied in imperial China, but fossils, or "dragon bones," were a prized ingredient of drugs; thus it was in a Peking apothecary shop that anthropologists found clues leading to the discovery.

plain of the Yellow River, have located one of the most primitive human types ever found, in conjunction with fossil bones of the rhinoceros and saber-toothed tiger. The skull of this Peking Man shows a flat brain pan and enormous eye ridges. Far to the south, buried in a gravel bank, was found an even more ancient skull—that of the Java man.

No direct descendants of these early types have been traced; but many anthropologists have believed that the plateaus of Asia were nurseries of early man. Mongolia was, for example, very damp in earlier Pleistocene times, before its desiccated soil blew south to form loess hills in North China. Artifacts of the Old Stone Age are found in beds beneath the loess on the middle portion of the Yellow River, though no skeletal materials are associated with them. No early artifacts have been found in South and Central China; it has been suggested that inhabitants used bamboo materials, which long ago rotted away.

One of the earliest spreading movements of mankind has been traced from western Asia to India, Malaya, and the Indonesian Islands. A later movement, originating in Africa, overtook it and extended to the Philippines and the Pacific, leaving easily identifiable traces—black skin and kinky hair among the Solomon Islanders and Fijians, the aborigines of Malaya, and the Negritos of the Philippines. Shortly afterwards, the pre-Mongolians are said to have moved from the area of Iran over Siberia and Central Asia.

The Proto-Chinese

The New Stone Age, identified with artistically made tools and a fairly complex civilization, appears about 4000 B.C. in the Chinese Yangshao culture, considered to be a mixture of Tibetan, Turkish, and Thai, and identified in five sites in Honan Province. Contemporaneously, there may have been a movement of mixed Hamitic and Semitic peoples south to India. After the Eurasian continent and its islands had been populated—in recent prehistoric times—Ural-Altaic peoples began to migrate from near the Caspian Sea as far as Korea.

Bronze was known undoubtedly in the Near East about 6000 B.C., twenty centuries before it appeared in Pacific Asia. The Bronze Age never existed outside a belt stretching from western

Europe to China and India; in its eastern extent it lasted about fifteen hundred years. During this bronze culture, as in later times, China led all other Oriental peoples; the metal artifacts found elsewhere were probably importations or imitations of Chinese work.

A Bronze Age people, physically resembling the modern inhabitants, occupied the valley of the Yellow River and its middle tributaries before 2000 B.C. It is speculated that they came from the Tien Shan and Altai ranges. In their new home they found deep soil, few trees, and a bracing temperate climate at low altitudes close to the Thirty-Fifth Parallel. They became as much identified with the vast, muddy river as did the early Egyptians with the Nile. Yellow became a sacred color to the Chinese. Poetically, they surmised that the source of the Yellow River was among the stars of the Milky Way.

This valley ringed by mountains and deserts must have become an ethnological overflow sump receiving many tribes. But it was well adapted to unifying them, and in time it produced a dynasty known as the Shang or Yin, with its capital at Anyang, a site a few miles from the river in the present province of Honan. Here royal burial sites, and palace and temple foundations, have been discovered, with bronze urns and ceremonial vases unexcelled in craftsmanship. Literary compositions of the Shang dynasty were later published in the *Book of Odes*. A primitive but recognizable form of Chinese script had already been invented. Somewhat resembling modern seal characters, it has survived scratched on animal bones, which these early Chinese used for divination. They inscribed questions on shank bones or shoulder blades, and received answers in the form of cracks which resulted when high heat was applied to the bones. The significance of these cracks was then interpreted by court shamans.²

The Shang people lived in rammed earth houses as the Honanese do today. They grew crops of millet, kept pigs and sheep, and raised cattle for food or draft but not for milk. They had learned to weave wool and to make pottery—at first a coarse gray; later, blue and buff or black. Almost certainly their culture of wheat and their knowledge of chariots and carts were derived from West Asia. For money, they used not metal but cowrie shells. Politically, they

²The same process is reported among Mongol diviners as late as the 1920's.

followed the clan system and then, as now, there were but few family names. The aristocracy alone possessed family names, while the common people lacked either names or divine ancestry. The Shang population might have been ten million. Land ownership was divided into thousands of small fiefs, and a so-called kingdom was no larger than a modern county. This protocivilization of the Far East was, in its salient features, similar to modern China—and ancestral to the culture of all the Eastern lands.

Neighbors of the early Chinese were, in the northeast, Tungus tribes, later called the Hsienpei and finally Manchus; they were tall men, reputedly slow-minded, breeders of pigs. Due north, in what is now Shensi, were Mongol nomads and the Hsiungnu peoples, the original Huns. Northwest were horse nomads of Turkish blood, and due west of the Shang peoples were Tibetan shepherds.

In Central and South China during Shang times lived primitive peoples who were to migrate far over East Asia. These were—using their Chinese names—the Liao, Austroasiatic primitive hunters; the Thai, an agricultural people who later colonized Siam; Shan tribes, first found in Szechuan, but now located in the mountains of northern Burma; the Yao, early hunters who used rectangular axheads of bronze; and the Yueh people, using similar axes and bronze drums which they carried as far as Indonesia.

The first southern Chinese lived in pile dwellings, practiced tattooing, head-hunting, and cannibalism. When fused into a fairly homogeneous type, they were found to be slighter in build than the northern Chinese, less warlike, but more intelligent and graceful.

Iodine and Physical Formation

The generalized Oriental, or Mongolian, stock has physical characteristics sometimes described as "infantile": relative hairlessness, shortness of limb in relation to a long body, a flat eye socket and small nose. These may be associated with an iodine deficiency in the soil of their original Central Asian homeland. Further Mongolian features are the thick upper eyelid, folded to give a slant appearance; the dark spot low in the center of the back, disappearing in early life; and the shovel-shaped incisor tooth. These are associated with all the peoples around the China Sea and many of those in Southeast Asia.

Mongolian hair is black, unchanging in color from infancy, though that of the Malays may be described as dark brown. The kinky hair of the Melanesian and his jet-black skin betray an African origin. The Malayo-Indonesian is a brown man; other Orientals are classified, loosely, as yellow. Brown eyes are almost universal, though certain Lolo tribesmen in southwest China have blue eyes and light skin. The shape of the head is markedly broad—almost spherical in the Mongolian type—but there are long-headed Indonesians and Tibetans. The Malay has a straight, high nose, in contrast to the small or flat Oriental types.

In height, East Asians fall below Europeans; an intermixture of Turkish blood may have contributed to the relative tallness of the northern Chinese, whose average height of nearly five feet six is two inches above that of the South Chinese. Koreans and Manchus stand about five feet three in height; Japanese, five feet two for the Ishikawa group, though the Okayama are as tall as the North Chinese. Ainu average only five feet, primitive Negritos, scarcely four feet ten.

No racial conformity in blood type has been established. Orientals have a fairly high percentage of O type (very common among Eskimos and American Indians), and a lower percentage of A type than the Europeans. The Malay races are exceptionally high in B blood.

The People Speak

The languages of the Far East belong in general to the monosyllabic tonal types. Since but one syllable is used for each word, the stock of possible words is small, and variety of meaning is gained by "singing" each syllable in numerous tones. There are four tones in northern Chinese, and as many as nine in certain small southern language groups.

Chinese is the classic language of the Far East. As with Latin and Greek in Europe, it has loaned words to all surrounding languages. It is spoken without inflections showing tense, number, gender, or case, though scholars find evidence that it possessed a more complex grammar and some inflections long ago. By conquest or cultural influence, the Mandarin dialect of Chinese has been carried over all of China except the maritime provinces of

Fukien and Kwangtung in the southeast, whose broken mountains and fiords have isolated them from the continent and favored local dialects.

Of the languages of Southeast Asia, most are, like Chinese, monosyllabic and tonal, though the Tibeto-Burman group are polysyllabic. Closely related to modern Siamese is the speech of the Miao,³ Lolo, and Shan, and of the Laos tribesmen who live between Assam and the Mekong River. In the Philippines, eighty-seven dialects and languages have been counted—nineteen in Luzon alone. The associations of the Japanese language are lost. It is polysyllabic and agglutinative; that is, it combines words into long "portmanteau" forms like German. Its use of verb tense forms also recalls European practice; yet, as in Chinese, there are no noun declensions or distinctions of singular or plural, masculine or feminine. There are some vocabulary similarities to Turkish, and Japanese has been classified as pre-Altaic, that is, related to the group which includes Turkish, Mongolian, and Manchu. Aryan languages, related to the tongues of Europe, are found in Kashgar and the Tarim Basin in remote Central Asia.

Sound and Symbol

The dominant written language is the Chinese ideograph used in an archaic form since at least 1400 B.C., and as a literary vehicle for over twenty-five centuries. It is a greatly modified picture writing, well adapted to a monosyllabic language, since homophones, or different meanings expressed by the same sound, can be distinguished by using different written characters.⁴ Writing is valued as a training in precision and proportion, and calligraphy has been ranked as the highest of the graphic arts.

Chinese characters are used in all territories that were ever part of the Chinese Empire, and in the contiguous countries of Korea,

³ An indication of the similarity may be offered in the following words:

	<i>Kweichow Miao</i>	<i>Siamese</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
one	yai	et	yi
two	suong	song	er
three	sam	sam	san
four	si	si	shi

⁴ Some common sounds may have several different meanings in English; for example, *to*, *too*, *two*. But whereas more than four or five homophones are not found for any English syllable, at least eighty-seven are recorded for the Chinese syllable *shih*.

Japan, and Annam. They have made their way, borne by the vast prestige of Chinese culture, although they are not well adapted to recording polysyllabic speech. The characters have never been modified in China, but in Japan two types of phonetic syllable writing were developed in the ninth century. Today, the Japanese syllabary is used to form verb and adjectival endings, and to indicate particles. A Korean king developed a true phonetic alphabet which could be easily mastered by the uneducated. The Manchus also have long used phonetic writing and southern Annam, Cambodia, and portions of the Malay Archipelago use modified Hindu phonetic script. Arabic was carried to the southern regions by Islamic traders.⁵ Christian missionaries romanized the Philippine Tagalog language centuries ago, and the French have romanized the spelling of native words in Indo-China.

The Failure of Chinese Feudalism

The shadowy Shang dynasty was conquered about the twelfth century B.C. by the Kingdom of Chou whose capital was Hsian ("Western Peace") on the Wei, a western tributary of the Yellow River. The Chou survived to be nominally the longest of Chinese dynasties, lasting nearly nine centuries until 222 B.C., twice as long as even the strongest of later dynasties.

The Chou Empire covered most of North China, but failed to occupy the swampy Huai River Valley to the southeast, or the subtropical woodlands south of the Yangtze.⁶ The Chou rulers introduced, probably from West Asia, the institution of the imperial harem guarded by eunuch chamberlains. They developed brass coinage resembling modern cash, practiced irrigation, and grew a surplus of grain for trade with the nomadic tribes of the steppe, the Turks and Mongolians. About 500 B.C. iron entered China, supposedly through India via Burma, and there were steel swords and ox-drawn plows imported, or imitated, from Semitic cultures in the Near East. China was over a thousand years behind the Near East in iron metallurgy, but five centuries ahead of Japan.

⁵ It is forbidden to read the Koran, the Muslim holy book, in any language but the Arabic of the Prophet. This community of speech strongly unifies the Islamic peoples.

⁶ Since the Chou warriors used chariots and were accustomed to semi-desert conditions, they would be at a disadvantage in waterlogged or heavily wooded lands.

It was through China that the Iron Age spread over the Far East.

The Chou emperors soon became ineffective *rois fainéants*, paralyzed by the incessant wars among their feudal fiefs. They remained mere onlookers as the number of states fell from eighteen hundred to one hundred, and then to a handful: Yen in the northeast, Ch'i in Shantung, Chin in the north, Ch'in in the northwest, Ch'u in the south, and Yueh in the east. These conspired and campaigned against each other in an anarchy called the *Chan Kuo*, or "Warring States."

Demons and Divinity

During the Chou dynasty, Chinese philosophy and religion took on forms which became fixed for over twenty centuries. There developed the concept of an impersonal but active force of heaven called *Tien* on the side of righteousness. Ancestors were revered as personality spirits and appeased with regular rites and sacrifices, the souls of common people becoming *kuei*, those of nobles, *shên*.

The uncertainty of life amid feudal anarchy led thoughtful men to ponder upon the ideal state, and, in their contests for power, princes sought for wise counselors who could bring prosperity to the nation or, if peace failed, success in war—stratagem being more highly admired than military valor.

The Sage and His Disciples

The classics of Chinese philosophy were almost all produced during the Chou period, and some of the great thinkers were contemporaries who conversed together. The most famous of them, K'ung,¹ or Confucius, was an ethically minded innovator who believed that self-discipline, ceremony, and the innate goodness of mankind could preserve the golden age. He emphasized the patriarchal family unit rather than the nation. In his concept of the ideal state, a benevolent emperor served as father of the people, strictly adhering to the rites, and thereby pleasing heaven and bringing prosperity to the land. Mencius, first of the great Con-

¹ In recent Chinese thought, *kuei* are demons, as in *yang kuei*, the opprobrious epithet translated as "foreign devil," or "sea devil"; *shên* are tutelary or local gods.

² K'ung Fu-tze, "K'ung the Sage," was Latinized by Jesuit scholars to "Confucius"; similarly Meng-tze became "Mencius."

fucian commentators, who followed the Sage by over one century, developed the corollary doctrine that if an emperor proves unworthy—that is, if disasters strike the people—the Mandate of Heaven is withdrawn and his subjects are absolved from their obedience. This teaching gives sanction to rebellion, and has morally justified the downfall of emperors and the succession of new dynasties.

Confucius taught that man was perfectible through a process of self-cultivation and that the most fitting study was that of the lives and maxims of righteous rulers. He cited as examples the Duke of Chou and other distinguished princes. However, his followers, destined to include nearly a hundred generations of the Chinese people, paid homage to K'ung himself. Confucius held that government pertained to ethically superior men who need not be fettered by exact laws, but could settle issues upon their individual merits, following the canons of Harmony, Benevolence, and Sincerity. Common men need not aspire to equalitarian privileges, but they could trust the wisdom and good faith of their moral superiors.

For the simple mind, Confucian doctrine provided clearly enumerated principles. There were Four Orders in society: the scholar, the highest; then the agriculturist, supplier of man's universal needs; after him the artisan, a producer also, though a less essential one; and lastly, the merchant, who only traffics in other men's production.* Moral responsibility was categorized under Five Relationships: those between prince and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend. Women should practice Three Obediences, successively to father, husband, and eldest son. In Confucian teaching, the father, the family ritualist, was respected in life and propitiated after death by his descendants in the male line.

The relationships were, of course, unequal, implying a superior who showed benevolence and whose own integrity restrained his power, and an inferior who owed obedience. The three paramount relationships were within the family, even friends being considered family connections. Strangers and foreign nations, including war-

* Certain categories, like the servant, were beneath the four. Unclassified also, in later Chinese thought, was the soldier, whose descendants were considered disgraced to the third generation. To the ancient Chinese, one did not use good iron to make nails or good men to make soldiers.

time allies, lay outside the ethical domain. A brilliant modern commentator¹⁰ has therefore described Confucian society as "the family . . . a walled castle, with cooperation within . . . outside which everything is legitimate loot."

Confucianism offers no clear teaching about a future life. Happiness in the hereafter is vicariously achieved, since the most virtuous of men will suffer if his descendants do not honor his memorial tablet and attend his grave. The greatest ignominy—tantamount to eternal extinction—is to have no male descendants. Surely the desire to have as many sons as possible has helped to cause overpopulation in every Confucian society. Family solidarity discouraged adventurousness, rooting men to their ancestral plot, and those who fared abroad might prearrange to have their bodies returned for proper care to the family cemetery.

Back to Nature

Opposed almost completely to the orderly ritualism of Confucius was the anarchistic individualism of Lao-tze, traditionally believed to have been his contemporary and acquaintance.¹¹ The Taoist teaching, termed Taoism from the *tao* or "universal path," scorned ceremony and emphasized naturalism and freedom from restraint. Lao-tze's followers despised high office and thought so little of family responsibility that one of them wandered throughout China followed by two servants, one carrying a jar of wine, and the other, a spade to bury him wherever he should die. To the Taoist nature, no civilized institution was admirable; courts were a mockery and armies were mere brigand gangs. Taoists early adopted a form of monasticism, preferring beautiful and lonely sites. Their activities emphasized pilgrimage and retreat to shrines and sacred mountains. From mysticism they passed easily to magic, elixirs, searching for the philosopher's stone, and selling charms to the credulous.

Man: Evil, Pleasure-loving, or Altruistic?

Equally in contrast to the teaching of Confucius was that of Hsun-tze, who followed the Sage by about three centuries. Hsun-

¹⁰ Lin Yu-tang, *My Country and My People* (New York: John Day, 1935), p. 181.

¹¹ Sinology now dates the compilation of the *Tao Te Ching* at about the third century B.C., and denies the historicity of Lao-tze.

ize, a thorough materialist, did not believe in immortality, denied fundamental human goodness, and affirmed that law, coded and rigorously administered, was of more worth than the example of the superior man. He has thus been called a legalist.¹²

China produced her Epicurus in Yangchu, who found in pleasure the end of life, since death closes all accounts. Then there was the altruist Mo Ti, who reacted against the senseless carnage of his time by proclaiming that men should love and not hate each other, that offensive war was mere murder, and love was the true law of the universe. Since his followers could not fight until they were attacked, they were defeated and largely massacred before the unification of the Warring States.

The First Emperor

This unification was accomplished by the state of Ch'in, which captured Hsian and deposed the Chou emperor, as a mere incident, after defeating an enemy coalition. Ch'in had learned military skills in the hard school of the northwest frontier, and its cavalry proved a more effective arm than the archaic bronze chariot. The government was a tightly centralized, totalitarian monarchy, based upon the legalist philosophy. Confucian doctrine was outlawed—some believers suffered martyrdom—and, to sweep away all heretical faiths, every privately owned book was ordered destroyed except practical treatises on medicine and handicrafts.¹³

The Ch'in ruler who unified China in 221 B.C. assumed the title of Shih Huang Ti, "The First Emperor." A confirmed legalist, he established minute regulations for the empire, standardizing weights and axle gauges for the carts that carried tribute grain over wide new roads¹⁴ to his capital at Hsien-yang. To increase state revenues, Shih Huang Ti established salt and iron monopolies. He dazzled the nation with a royal palace whose roofs covered thirty

¹² The American concept of rule by laws, not men, opposes Confucius and parallels the teaching of legalism.

¹³ Since "books" were on strips of bamboo, paper and printing not having been invented, they were difficult to conceal. Some were plastered into the walls of houses. Enough survived to provide a canon of the Confucian classics. The destruction is tersely described by four Chinese characters, meaning "Burn the books, bury the scholars."

¹⁴ The roads are recorded as up to one hundred feet wide, tree shaded and cut deeply through the hills. They would thus be far better than any existing in 1900.

acres, and confronted the desert barbarians with the most stupendous defensive work in human history—the Great Wall.¹⁵ His armies overran South China as far as Kwangtung, consolidating all China except the mountains in the southwest and the firds of the southeast coast. He is said to have traded with Europe, and from the name of his state and dynasty came the name permanently associated in Western Europe with the whole realm—China. However, the power of Ch'in survived the first emperor's death by only three years, until 207 B.C. After five years of civil war there emerged a new self-made emperor of peasant origin, Liu Pang, founder of the Han dynasty.¹⁶

The Men of Han (map, p. 33)

The Han period lasted four centuries, two before and two following the beginning of the Christian era, with an interregnum (A.D. 9–23) under the rule of the so-called "Socialist" emperor, Wang Mang. A relative of the empress, Wang Mang became a popular figure by living simply, by giving the government vast sums for distribution to the poor, and by founding a national university. He deposed an infant emperor and ascended the throne, founding the Hsin or "New," Dynasty. Wang nationalized the land, abolished slavery, and extended state monopolies; he provided for free state loans without interest for funeral and sacrificial purposes. Opposed by the wealthy and powerful, allied through the secret Red Eyebrow Society, Wang Mang was killed in A.D. 23 and the Liu clan returned to power.

The early Han emperors showed remarkable energy, making successful war against the fleet desert hordes of the Hsiungnu. They also forced back the tribes of southern Manchuria and pushed around the Gulf of Chihli to occupy northern Korea. Though they did not absorb Fukien and Yunnan, they secured the Canton

¹⁵ The Wall, first built about 200 B.C., was repaired or enlarged often to its final length of twelve hundred miles. It has been stated fancifully that the Wall is the only human achievement visible from the moon. Lord Macartney in 1793 estimated that it contained more masonry than all the structures in the British Isles.

¹⁶ The Liu family continued to reign throughout the dynastic period. Han was not their name; it was taken, probably, from one of the Warring States just south of the Yellow River. All subsequent dynastic names were likewise honorific, never taken, as in Europe, from the family name of the royal house.

Delta and the northern coast of Vietnam. They pushed west into Central Asia, traded with Persia, and near the Caspian Sea made contact with outposts of the Roman Empire.¹⁷ Though refraining from the huge burden of public works which helped the downfall of the Ch'in, they left as their monument the first five hundred miles of the Grand Canal to bring rice from the farms of the Yangtze Valley to their northern capital at Loyang in Honan. An almost equal engineering triumph was the dike system controlling the Yellow River.

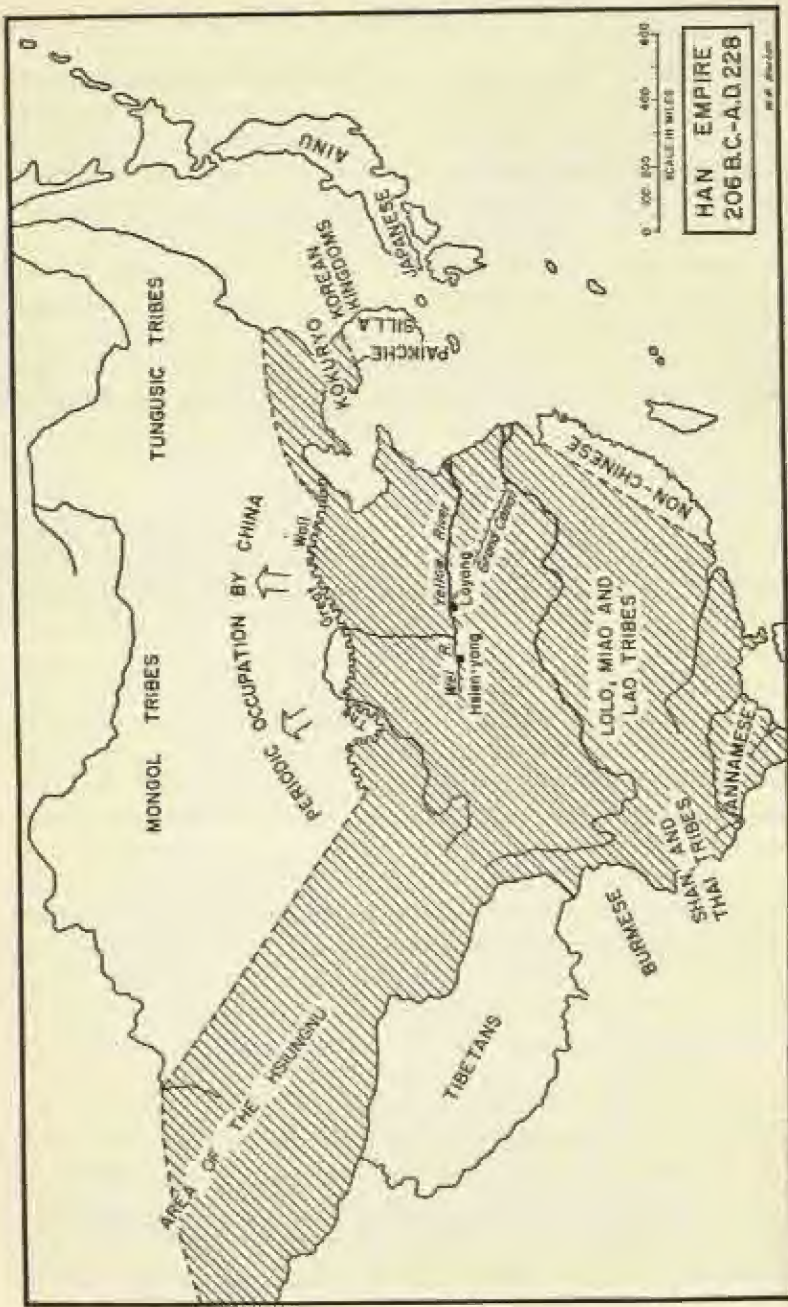
Han culture produced the first work of scientific national history, written by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and also the comprehensive legal code of Li Kuei. Later Han rulers patronized the cult of Confucius, engraving three of the Confucian classics on stone at Loyang in A.D. 175—one of the oldest standard literary texts in the world. After unsuccessful attempts to rule through favoritism and family connections, the Han established competitive examinations for the civil service, designed to recruit "superior men" versed in the philosophy of Confucius. This system prevailed until A.D. 1907.

All Chinese, except perhaps the conquered people of Canton, glory in the title, "Men of Han," because the dynasty created a political edifice in the Far East as splendid as the contemporary empire of Rome. But, like the Romans of the third century, the later Han came under the rule of decadent, short-lived emperors abandoned to luxury. These foolish boys, dominated by palace eunuchs, bankrupted the country, and from the resulting misery grew peasant revolts led by nationalist secret societies, secession of provinces under war lords, and at last in A.D. 220 the destruction of Loyang and the downfall of the Han.

Disunion and the Three Kingdoms

Thus ended a period of brilliance, preceding a chaos similar to the European Dark Ages, as no power was strong enough to unite China. Soon after the last Han infant had been deposed, the empire broke into three kingdoms: Wei in the north, Shu in the

¹⁷ Han advances in Central Asia were achieved by the restless genius, Pan Ch'ao. Splendid horses, brought back as tribute, became sterile when fed on Chinese fodder. The import of alfalfa restored their fertility, and for a time the grass was so valued that it was planted throughout the imperial gardens.



HAN EMPIRE
206 B.C.-A.D. 228

SCALE IN MILES
0 100 200 400 600

west, and Wu in the lower Yangtze Basin. Wars between them raged on for over half a century. Bold feats were accomplished and "romantic" leaders emerged, as in the medieval West.¹⁸ There was confusion, banditry, and incessant treachery until the *condottieri* who vexed the nation had exterminated each other. Feudalism was re-established almost as it existed under the late Chou period.

Eventually, China fell into factions of the north and south. The Yangtze Valley was ruled by native dynasties, but barbarians poured into the north. Tibetans conquered the Yellow River provinces before A.D. 400. They were followed by a Turkish-Mongol horde, which established the Toba Kingdom, and it was menaced in turn by a coalition of eastern Tartars known as the Yuan-yuan.

The "Consoling Prince"

The agony of the people helped the growth of a new faith, founded by the Aryan prince, Gautama Siddhartha, in India five centuries before Christ. Gautama, worshipped as the Buddha, or "Enlightened One," had sought an escape from universal human misery. He found it in the sublimation of ambition and desire, or, symbolically, in severance from the senselessly rotating Wheel of Life. The extinction of desire or state of nirvana, lies at the end of the Eightfold Path of austerity. Original Buddhism denies the existence of an atman, or individual soul; the rebirth of craving causes the individual to retrograde from the desired goal of nirvana.

A corollary of Buddhist teaching is the sanctity of life in any form, since every animal, fish, and insect possesses cravings which may recently have assumed human form. The doctrine of karma postulates that happiness in each incarnation is dependent upon merit accumulated in all pre-existences.¹⁹ Organized Buddhism encouraged escape from the world into monasteries. It set high

¹⁸ This era produced one of the greatest of all Oriental epics, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Its three heroes, who belonged to the Shu kingdom, took a "peach garden oath" of mutual loyalty. One of them, Kuan Yu, has been deified as the god of war.

¹⁹ The subjection of women was justified by the dogma that women were a low form of incarnation. By practicing virtue and making generous donations to the church, women might aspire to be reborn as men. Since primitive Buddhism did not discriminate against women, this doctrine shows how the Confucian theory of female subjection modified later faiths. A similar downgrading of woman's position occurred in Japanese Shinto under Chinese influence.



HUNTERS OF THE YALU VALLEY, A.D. 400

This tomb fresco shows noblemen of Kokuryo chasing the tiger and the stag. See page 51.—Photograph courtesy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Korea.



GAIETY IN OLD CHINA

(above) The back of a twelve-inch bronze mirror, Sung period, shows dancers in costume. The characters read, literally, "One Hundred Years—Complete Union" or "long life and a happy home." See page 37.

(below) A quartet of girl musicians serenades a buried mandarin of the Tang period. In primitive times, horses, guards, and attendants were buried alive with their masters. Later, ceramic figurines were substituted. The players' costumes, carefully imitated in contemporary Japan, are not unlike those of today's geisha entertainers. See page 37.—Materials from the Crofts collection.



SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF OLD CHINA

(above) "Young Scholar Taking an Examination," Ming Dynasty Painting. See page 49.—Courtesy of the Denver Art Museum.

(below) "Horse Escorted by Tartars as Tribute to the Court of China," Sung Dynasty Painting. See page 125.—Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



**THE BOY TEMUCHIN AND HIS MOTHER DEFEAT
REBELLIOUS TRIBESMEN, A.D. 1174**

This picture was executed as a color miniature about three centuries later in Tehran by order of the Mogul rulers of Iran. It shows the young Genghis Khan and his warriors in Persian armor and the queen veiled in white as an orthodox Muslim lady. See page 38.—Courtesy of UNESCO Art Reproductions.

value upon prayer, miracles, and the reading of the sacred sutras.

Missionaries from India had introduced the faith much earlier; but the Han bureaucracy, recruited from among Confucian scholars, despised the missionaries and their mystical doctrines, so subversive to family order and imperial prestige. However, the barbarian parvenus of the Toba (also called the Northern Wei) Kingdom had little regard for Confucianism. Buddhist missionaries won them over by proclaiming their chiefs to be reincarnations of the Buddha himself. They signalized their conversion by creating some of the most amazing works of Oriental sculpture, the stone Buddhas of the Yun Kang and Lungmen grottoes. High authorities were flattered by the doctrine that their station was merited by supreme virtue in previous existences. They saw the value in teaching to the poor that piety and submission were a means of improving their future condition. On their own account, the down-trodden welcomed the hope of a joyful rebirth after the miseries of this life. Like Christianity, Buddhism brought consolation to the distressed and made gains in hard times. By the end of the Three Kingdoms period, it had spread over China from palace to peasant hut. Monks of many sects covered the land, chanting their prayers, and teaching and transcribing the holy sutras. Incidentally, they acquired endowments, amassed capital for trade and banking, and even rented their monasteries to merchants as storage godowns.²⁰

The Dark Ages of China lasted nearly four hundred years, ending before they had more than begun in Europe their thousand-year course. But the ordeal was so severe that China lost her territorial dependencies in Korea, Annam, and Central Asia. Her population fell by half, according to certain Chinese chroniclers. The massacre relieved social strains: oppressive landlords were swept away, peasants satisfied their land hunger with new holdings, exhausted fields had rest. The feudal virtues which had animated the heroes of the Three Kingdoms became almost extinct in China. However, they were probably influential in building the later Japanese cult of *bushido* ("The Way of the Warrior").

²⁰ A few later emperors became alarmed at the way in which Buddhism withdrew people from military and agricultural service into monasteries. These were usually tax exempt, and, as they multiplied, imperial revenues suffered. Exactly as in Europe, Chinese and Japanese rulers resorted to harsh control measures, secularizing the monks or confiscating church lands. These were not permanently effective, as the Buddhists found new patrons and regained their losses.

Sui Unification and T'ang Consolidation

The Sui dynasty re-established a central government in 589. Its rulers began another cycle of stupendous engineering works, including the building of canals which could float grain barges of up to eight hundred tons, paralleled by wide, tree-shaded highways. The "Fire-brand" emperor, Yangti, in his palace grounds at Lo-yang, defied the winter itself by sewing silk leaves and flowers on his tree branches. But public enterprises created by gangs of conscripted eunuchs²¹ were no substitute for good government. Huge tax burdens made the farmers restive. Foreign affairs went badly. The Sui became afraid that the Tartar coalition in the northeast might be joined by Japan. They decided to attack Korea, but were disastrously repulsed. After less than thirty years of rule, they were overthrown by a northern military commander named Li Shih-min and his father, the latter choosing the dynastic title of T'ang.

The T'ang emperors sprang from a line ennobled under the Wei, or Toba, rulers and therefore carried a strain of Turkish blood. The middle T'ang period was one of external expansion as far as northwest India, northern Korea, and Tibet. Inevitably the T'ang collided with the power of Islam, which, throughout the seventh century, was pushing north and east from its Arabian birthplace. Nestorian Christians were driven to China from the Middle East, and royal Sassanid refugees came to Ch'ang-an²² when Persia succumbed to the caliphs. A century later, in 751, Moslems defeated a T'ang army at Samarkand and learned the secrets of papermaking and porcelain manufacture from their Chinese war prisoners. Sea-borne Arabs and Persians swept across the Indian Ocean to the Malay Islands. They opened trading factories in China and gained a control of South Seas commerce that they held for seven centuries. The merchandise they brought was a mixed blessing, for it deflated China's economy by draining off bullion in exchange for superfluous luxury goods.

During its internal crisis in 756, when the half-Turkish general, An Lu-shan, led a revolt of the eastern provinces against the Emperor Hsuan Tsung and his mistress, Yang Kuei-fei, contingents of Arab and Uigur troops saved the dynasty.

²¹ Castration of labor made for tractability; its full social effects are not recorded.

²² Ch'ang-an, "Long Peace," was the T'ang capital in the west on the Wei River, close to the earlier site of Hsien-yang.

The T'ang state was strengthened by the creation of a censorate of official inspectors who toured the country incognito, reporting instances of inefficiency or misgovernment directly to the emperor. They were supposed, under immunity, to criticize imperial actions also. The censorate became a permanent feature of Chinese government, imitated throughout the East. At the top of the bureaucracy there was placed the Han Lin Academy, a cultural supreme court. Printing was invented, with solid carved blocks first being used, and later, movable type characters. It extended the field of scholarship, as private persons, who previously could seldom afford more than a single manuscript, now owned libraries. The power of the Buddhist Church, rivaling that of the state itself, led to anti-clerical edicts and the suppression of monasteries.

At its height, in A.D. 750, the T'ang was the most dynamic, powerful, and cultured empire on earth. It so dazzled Japanese envoys that Japan revolutionized her architecture, art, and literature in imitation of T'ang forms.²³ It was an Elizabethan Age, in enterprise as well as in literature. Of the people it was said that every man was a poet, and the witty fancies of Li Po, as well as the moving, tragic verses of Tu Fu, have become a cultural legacy to the entire Oriental world.

The T'ang splendor inevitably overtaxed the national resources. It bore especially heavily upon the outer provinces, east and south, which received scant benefit from the court expenditures at Ch'ang-an. Flood and famine gripped the inundated Yellow River region. In 875, a peasant rebellion broke out in North China under the leadership of Huang Ch'ao and seriously weakened the dynasty, which finally collapsed in A.D. 907. Half a century of anarchy (907-960), called the Five Dynasties period, intervened before a stable government was set up by Chao Kuan-yin.

Sung Sophistication

Chao and his successors, taking the name of the Sung dynasty, moved their capital from the western marches to Kaifeng in Honan, centrally located south of the Yellow River. They were humane men, ruling by persuasion rather than bloodshed. They abated the cruelty of criminal laws and required that all death sentences be

²³ Chinese speech forms of the period are imbedded in the Japanese language. The kimono dress of Japanese women and their coiffures still resemble those of T'ang ladies.

reviewed by the emperor. Their military weakness early became apparent. At first they bought off invaders, but at last in 1125 the Juchen, or Chin, Tartars from southern Manchuria captured Kaifeng and for a century ruled the provinces north of the Yangtze.

The Sung retreated to Chekiang, accompanied by numbers of refugees, so that many of the great families in South China trace their ancestry to the north. The southern Sung extended the Grand Canal to their new capital, gay and brilliant Hangchow. This city was a warm Venice, set in lakes and pleasure gardens, and its dreamy monochrome landscape scrolls and glazed porcelain of brown or celadon green remain a part of the world's art treasures. But bad political judgment still plagued the Sung. A power more threatening than any before was growing up under the chieftain Temuchin, later called Genghis Khan, who by 1200 had organized the scattered Mongol tribes under his single rule. He overran and almost extinguished the Tibetan kingdom of Hsi Hsia in western Kansu, then crossed the Great Wall and marked down the Chin as his next victims. The Chin appealed to Hangchow for help, but the Sung preferred to nurse their grudge, and actually helped the Mongols to occupy North China.

After the death of Genghis in 1227, while his Golden Horde swung west to invade Europe, the Sung had an uneasy respite. At last, Kublai, his grandson, found a pretext to cross the western Yangtze, pushing through Nan Chao (the present Yunnan) as far as Upper Burma. The Sung signed a humiliating peace in 1259. However, seven years afterwards, the Mongols turned upon them in full earnest, driving, despite heroic resistance, down the Han River, across the Yangtze and, in 1276, capturing Hangchow. The Chinese court made a fighting retreat that ended off the coast of Kwangtung, where the baby emperor, his ministers and generals perished in the destruction of the Sung navy in 1279.

Under the northern Sung, the scholar-administrator, Wang An-shih, made a large-scale experiment in regimented state welfare. He extended state monopolies, known since Ch'in times, to include most forms of commerce. He redistributed the land, supplied seed to farmers on loan at a rate of 20 to 30 per cent, and tried to strengthen the cavalry army by assigning a horse to the care of each northern peasant family. Wang preferred his own agents to the Confucian bureaucracy, which responded by sabotaging his

reforms and denouncing his plans in official histories. The program would have required much time to be worked out, but it was tried for only two decades, late in the eleventh century, when Kaifeng was already threatened by the Chin invaders.

The southern Sung produced a philosopher more famous than Wang. It was the Confucian commentator, Chu Hsi, who emphasized the need of "searching out causes" which, had it applied to natural phenomena rather than classic writings, might have begun a scientific revolution. Chu Hsi's interpretations of the Confucian texts became so respected that they dominated Chinese civil service examinations for centuries and were hardly less influential in Japan.

The Mongols

Though China had been ruled by mixed bloods under the T'ang, never before 1279 had the entire nation been brought under a foreign yoke. The Mongol Tartars, blood relatives of the Chinese, were culturally alien to them. They were pastoral and nomadic, practiced no family rites, kept no written chronicles, although they had a form of phonetic script, and knew little of Confucian philosophy or Buddhist ethics.²⁴ Their cult was shamanism, compounded of magic and nature myths. In fact, they favored the Taoists during their rule in China. Despised as well as feared by the urbane Chinese, the Mongols for a time debated the propriety of annihilating all people south of the Wall and converting China into a pasture.

Assuredly, they were not uncouth fools, for their military skill fell little short of genius. The Mongols, mounted and light-armed, with portable rations of cured and raw mutton, anticipated by centuries the tactics of the modern blitzkrieg.²⁵ They relied for tactical success upon their mobility, harassing main columns but evading shock action, and penetrating weak sectors to outflank from the rear. They were masters also of disruptive propaganda, using war as a final resort. Korea yielded to honeyed promises alone, and was swiftly transformed into a base for attacking Japan. The Mongols were successful in separating the Chin from the Sung before de-

²⁴ Their conversion to Buddhism in Mongolia and to Islam in Turkestan came in later centuries.

²⁵ German staff officers gave the closest study to Genghis Khan's fighting methods before launching the Second World War.

stroying each separately; while assaulting the Yangtze Valley, they perverted the loyalty of the Sung gentry by promising them security of their lands and possessions.

Their craft was offset by a barbaric simplicity. Basically they were, of course, desert cavalry, masters of the North Eurasian Plain. With the help of European experts they worked out siege techniques against walled cities. They successfully turned back the war elephants that were the surprise weapon of the Burmese king. But in sea fighting and amphibious landing operations their boldness overran their skill. They had no knowledge of military hygiene, so they took heavy losses in tropical epidemics, and allowed themselves to be overwhelmed in storms or cut to pieces on beach-heads while their dismounted seasick troops struggled through the surf.²⁶

The personality of Temuchin welded the rival hordes into a single, invincible organization. After his death, it did not entirely dissolve, but separate khanates were established—the most powerful of them being in China. It was firmly ruled by Kublai from 1279 to 1294, and remained a Mongol fief for nearly ninety years. The Mongols were inept military governors, and it is doubtful if they made any new contribution to political thought. They understood no system except irresponsible despotism. There was no law of princely succession except election by the council of chiefs at a conference often accompanied by tribal squabbles and bloodshed. Hence the Mongol state faced disruption whenever a new khan was chosen, and only the most powerful and persuasive could hold the loyalty of the wandering clans. The ruler, reared in the crowded familiarity of a rawhide yurt, laid no claim to divine sanctions, and ruled only as far as energy and good fortune carried him.

The khans first governed their empire from Karakorum, the ancient council ground south of Lake Baikal.²⁷ Kublai moved his court below the Great Wall to Khanbalik, later known as Peking, not far from the cool plains where he had been reared, but situated among the subject population of one hundred million industrious Chinese. To bring rice and timber and silk to the new capital, the Grand Canal was extended from the Yellow River to the North River.

²⁶ Such were the circumstances of the attacks on Japan in 1274 and 1281. Their army in Java succumbed to disease and a devitalizing climate.

²⁷ Karakorum is now an abandoned site some miles from Urga (now Ulan Bator), present capital of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Before his long reign ended, Kublai came to respect Chinese culture, and later emperors of the Yuan dynasty (as the period of Mongol rule was called) revived the Confucian examinations. But the Chinese were forbidden to learn the court language, Mongolian; and thus clever foreigners—Uigurs, Arabs, and even a few Europeans who came with diplomatic passes across the Central Asian post road—rose to authority in the empire.

Marco Polo's Cathay

The most famous of these adventurers was the Venetian Marco Polo, who came to China in 1275 and served as civil administrator in provincial cities for eighteen years. His memoirs, published long afterward in Europe, dwell upon the pageantry of Khanbalik where Kublai was attended by magicians, sages, and a retinue of twelve thousand splendidly attired barons. Though he never mentioned the Great Wall²⁸ nor the custom of binding women's feet, he expatiated upon the royal hunts, the banquets, and the prodigious charity of the khan, who each day fed thirty thousand pensioners. Polo considered scores of cities in Cathay to equal any in Europe, and his narrative would make China the only nation with a lower living standard today than it had six centuries ago.

From his official elevation, the Venetian did not see the misery of a land whose resources were being fed to the Mongol military machine. The extent of Mongol ambition coincided with the theater of Japan's Greater East Asia. Kublai fought expensive foreign wars in Indo-China, Okinawa, and Java. Korea was occupied peacefully and Japan was assaulted in 1274 and 1281 in the largest amphibious operations attempted before 1941, and the most disastrous.

The fighting Mongolians showed cometary brilliance, and built the largest land empire in history. They succumbed to the urban luxury which they at first despised, and in three generations Temuchin's mounted bowmen were hardly fit to bear arms. Eight insignificant khans succeeded Kublai. They became increasingly Chinese in their behavior, but, except among their landlord allies, they were hated as foreigners. When they ordered a drastic *corvée* of peasant labor to combat a succession of Yellow River floods,

²⁸ The Wall was obviously not needed for defense, and was allowed to fall into disrepair under the Mongols.

there followed a cycle of rebellions. The most formidable was led by Chu Yuan-chang, a former monk and beggar, who was covertly called the "Pig Emperor" because of his ugliness.²⁹ He succeeded in driving the Mongols back to the northern plains.

The Mongols carried home to their yurts few southern accomplishments. Of the arts they had patronized mainly the theater, whose raw humor, action, and bright costuming delighted their simple minds. They forgot Confucian ethics entirely, but after their withdrawal the eastern tribes turned to Lamaistic Buddhism. The tribes of the west, later known as Mogul conquerors of India, became orthodox Muslims.

The "Brilliant" Dynasty

Chu Yuan-chang assumed for his dynastic name Ming, or "brilliant." His early capital was in Nanking, south of the Yangtze, and represented a tribute to the part played by the south in the War of Liberation. His successor, Ch'eng Tau, known by his reign style of Yung-lo,³⁰ moved the government back to Khanbalik, thereafter known as Peking or "Northern Capital." A strong nationalist reaction set in, and in 1400 Chinese ships dominated the South Seas and brought tribute from Ceylon. The overland route to Europe was closed. The Great Wall was rebuilt in its present form and extended as a wooden palisade across Manchuria to the Sungari River. Peking, a city of classic halls and royal gardens, laid out in rectangles divided by magnificent avenues from the Drum Tower to the Temple of Heaven, became the most majestic city on earth.

The Ming lived in a state of chronic informal war with their neighbors. The Mongols harried those Chinese who tried to farm the borders of the steppe, and once (in 1449) defeated a Chinese grand army and captured the emperor. Japanese corsairs raided the coast and occasionally marched inland. Europeans appeared during Ming times, the Portuguese in 1511, the Dutch almost a century later.

²⁹ A pun also, since *chu* means "pig."

³⁰ From the Han dynasty onward, each emperor designated his reign by one or more auspicious reign styles. *Yung-lo* might be translated as "Eternally Joyous." Most historians fallaciously designate the reign style to be the posthumous title of the emperor.

Historical Beginnings: Japan and Southeast Asia

✻ In Yamato, though there are many hills, only Kaguyama, which came down from Heaven, is perfect in form. Ascending to its summit, I overlook the land: in the fallow-lands, smoke is rising; from the rice-fields seagulls fly upward. O sweet country, islands of autumn harvest! O Land of Yamato!

Poem 2 of the *Manyōshū*, A.D. 630

Japan

THE JAPANESE form in many ways a racial enigma, though all authorities recognize a southern Malayo-Polynesian strain, as well as Mongolian characteristics. From the south have come, supposedly, such practices as the building of thatched houses with sub-floor air circulation, the use of rice as a staple food, the custom of tattooing, and fondness for cold-water baths. Physically, there are slender-boned, light-skinned Mongolian-type Japanese, and heavier built, longheaded, and flat-featured people with darker complexions—named respectively by one anthropologist the Ishikawa and Okayama types.

Obviously there is a large blood strain of the Ainu, an aboriginal race surviving in the Kuriles and a few Hokkaido reservations. Powerful, flat-featured and short, often with light-colored eyes, the Ainu differs from all other East Asians in his heavy facial and body hair, and is classed as a proto-caucasoid. He was perhaps the

earliest settler in Japan. From before the Christian era to the ninth century, he contested Honshu Island with the advancing Japanese, but was, like the New World Indian, steadily absorbed or driven out. Ainu influence has produced luxuriant beards among many Japanese—found as high as the imperial level. It may account for the waviness of Japanese, in contrast with the straightness of Chinese hair.

Most Japanese are sufficiently like the Chinese or Formosans to be indistinguishable from them when in uniform. Yet there are marked differences in national behavior. The Japanese are considered to be more adaptable than the Chinese. The Chinese have remained individualists, as difficult to combine as a flow of sand, while the Japanese are monolithic and easily regimented, sharing many characteristics of the Germans in the West, as the Chinese—epicureans and social extroverts—resemble the French. The Japanese are prone to hate any irregularity as much as the Chinese admire it.

THE YAMATO PEOPLE

The continuous record of Japanese history begins with the seventh century; earlier events must be deduced from allusions in Chinese and Korean chronicles, from archeological finds and semi-mythical traditions. Legends recited by bards, and published as the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*,¹ have been given official status by Japanese nationalists. The stories include a creation myth and the saga of the sun goddess Amaterasu. Her grandson, Jimmu Tenno, a primitive viking, sailed from eastern Kyushu to southern Honshu Island, the province of Yamato, which he contested with clansmen who had settled earlier in Izumo Province on the Sea of Japan. Behind the dramatic fable, there appears a story of immigrants from the south fusing with settlers from Korea to form a single society in southern Honshu Island. The line of priest-emperors, or *tenno*, is traced by Japanese historians through 135 reigns from Jimmu in 660 B.C. to Hirohito. There has thus existed in Japan but one dynasty; historical "periods" are generally named from upstart military families which usurped state authority.

¹ These were written in the eighth century in Chinese characters; even orthodox Shintoists thus concede that the "events" described were recorded only as verbal folklore for over thirteen hundred years.

Archeological materials begin with shell mounds, the waste dumps of primitive clamdiggers; buried in them are stone weapons but no metal. Early burials are under mounds—in Chinese style—with bronze artifacts, or in elaborate rock dolmens sometimes containing iron swords.² There are definite remains throughout the main islands of an Ainoid people and of a Mongolian culture, which, however, made use of necklaces, finger rings, and earrings.³ The Bronze Age, though it had lasted fifteen centuries in China, reached Japan just before the introduction of iron ⁴ about the time of Christ.

Japan's indigenous cult, little affected during its formation by continental peoples, was to be reconstructed as Shinto, "The Way of the Gods." It has strongly animistic features, comparable to Greek paganism. Shinto deifies mountains, groves, or streams—marking sacred spots with torii, formed of two transverse beams set upon upright pillars.

Shinto shrines preserve their antique form, with open arcaded columns and unpainted woodwork; courtyards are strewn with pebbles and furnished with a stone basin of running water. The Shinto religion is one of ceremonial purity, outlawing defilement and disease. During early times, the house where death occurred became taboo; until A.D. 700, the palace or even the capital city of a deceased emperor was abandoned, so that its architecture was invariably flimsy. Unlike Chinese forms of religion, Shinto has small ethical content, but excels in aestheticism. For thirty generations, the emperor lived hardly less simply than his subjects and movely freely among them. About the fourth century A.D.,⁵ refugees from China brought in Confucian doctrine, which exalted the prince; they also introduced Chinese writing, which has remained the literary and official script.

Buddhism appeared by way of Korea after A.D. 550 under the patronage of the aristocratic Soga family, who sought to use it as

² Very similar dolmens are found in Korea. There are dolmens of equally elaborate construction in Brittany, but not in the intervening lands.

³ In historical times the Japanese have not used personal jewelry of this type. Its presence in graves presents an enigma.

⁴ Iron had been used for five centuries in the Yellow River Valley before it was produced in Japan—only seven hundred sea miles away. Obvious inferences follow on the isolation of Japan from the continent at the time of Christ.

⁵ The Chinese Dark Ages from the fall of the Han to the time of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 220 to 600) forced many cultivated Chinese into exile.

a vehicle of power. The new faith introduced the Japanese to religious painting and ornate temple architecture. Magic qualities were ascribed to Buddhist images and to the reading of the holy sutras; converts expected the new faith to expel disease and bring them victory in war. Temples multiplied in every province; some emperors respected the Buddhist law enough to forbid the killing of fish or even insects. Shinto coexisted with Buddhism, and was ostensibly merged with it in A.D. 752, when the monk Gyogi revealed that Amaterasu was a rebirth of the Buddha; but the two faiths have never fully merged.

Under Chinese influence Prince Shotoku in the seventh century issued the Taika Reform. Japan had been previously a congeries of petty feudal domains; chieftains enforced law and collected their own taxes. The reform created a central state: there was a council with eight boards; a bureaucracy was established, recruited by examinations in the Chinese style, though candidacy soon became limited to the feudal classes. New administrative subdivisions were created; there was a census of land and population, with intent to redistribute farm holdings each generation.⁶ Revenues, collected chiefly in rice, were moved to government depots over newly built roads.

THE NARA AND HEIAN PERIODS

By A.D. 600 the emperor had been elevated far above the common mass; but he kept no fixed capital and court until a century later, when Nara was created; admiration for T'ang China was high, and so the miles of public buildings and temples which filled Nara were modeled closely after those in the Chinese capital at Ch'ang-an.⁷

The most imposing structures in the area were Buddhist temples and monasteries, among them the Horyuji,⁸ whose Great Hall, still standing, is the oldest wooden building on earth; and the Todaiji, housing a fifty-seven-foot bronze image of the Buddha.

It is proved, of course, more difficult to unite the feudal moun-

⁶ The practice of land redistribution had been known in China during early times.

⁷ Nara remained a provincial showplace, with many of its monuments intact, in Yamato Province thirty miles from the Inland Sea. Ch'ang-an was destroyed in the tenth century, but one may form an idea of its plan and architecture by visiting Nara.

⁸ Names of temples commonly contain the suffix *-ji*.

tain fiefs of Japan than those of the agricultural plains of North China; no ruler really unified the administration before 1550. The Emperor Kwammu, in A.D. 784, moved his capital, which he named Heian,⁹ thirty miles north of Nara. The site was identical with that of modern Kyoto, and it remained the home of the emperor until 1867.

The Heian period covers four hundred years. During its initial century, the Ainu were driven from Honshu Island to the forests of Hokkaido. The influence of China waned, and later even embassies to the Sung capital were discontinued.¹⁰ Inside the elaborate parks of Heian there were religious pageants, barge excursions, flower and moonviewing rituals, and "winding water" banquets. All were associated with poetical composition using the short, thirty-one syllable *tanka*, nearly a thousand specimens of which have survived in the *Manyoshu*, the earliest Japanese verse compilation. Aestheticism approached the grotesque, for the courtiers resembled overdressed popinjays, and ladies swathed themselves in from ten to eighteen silk robes. Twenty-eight gradations of court rank were observed. Clericalism flourished, and the monastic fortress of the Buddhist Tendai sect on Mount Hiei near the capital¹¹ came to include three thousand buildings. A smaller system arose on Mount Koya to honor the saint of the Shingon sect, Kobo Daishi.¹²

Religious orders were tax exempt, as were the lands of the favored courtiers. To support the state, taxable estates were so heavily assessed that many operators abandoned or gave away their fields. The cycle of disorder which followed would, in China, have caused the fall of a dynasty. In Japan, it undermined the strength of the Fujiwara family, which had supplied not only the Heian chancellors, but most of the empresses.

To crush the chronic uprisings, the Fujiwara came to depend upon provincial military clans. The Taira family by 1156 super-

⁹ *Heian* is a combination of the Chinese *an* and the Japanese *heiwa*, both meaning "Peace." The yearning of the Oriental for peace is recorded in Ch'ang-an, "Everlasting Peace"; Hsian, "Western Peace"; Annam, "Pacify the South"; Antung, "To Pacify the East."

¹⁰ After A.D. 1000 the hostile Kin power in Manchuria may have made overland communication with Central China very hazardous.

¹¹ On its northeast—to guard the "demon route." With climatic justification, protective temples were built in this direction.

¹² Kobo Daishi is famed as the greatest scholar and calligrapher in Japanese history. He invented the phonetic syllabary called *katakana*.

seded the Fujiwara, then surrendered in their turn to the pleasures of the court. Thirty years later, the rival Minamoto clan, led by Yoritomo and his younger brother Yoshitsune, rallied against them; the Gempei¹² War which followed became the most celebrated in Japanese annals. It ended in 1185 on the western tip of Honshu Island, where the Taira were vanquished in an epic land and sea battle.

THE RULE OF THE SHOGUN

Yoritomo, an intelligent, cold-blooded autocrat, eliminated Yoshitsune¹³ and assumed the title of shogun, or governor of a military state—the Bakufu; and for centuries, the shogun was to remain a Minamoto just as the emperor claimed descent from the divine race of Jimmu Tenno. Yoritomo, afraid to expose his court to the effeminate pleasures of the capital, established himself at Kamakura, a former fishing village close to modern Tokyo.¹⁴ The shadow emperors remained in Heian; Yoritomo officially deferred to them, but wrote and enforced his own law; he remedied the worst state evils by bringing all rice land again under taxation, and replacing the almost useless provincial governors with efficient constables and stewards. The peasant was secured in the ownership of his land and water rights, and he acquired a few civil rights.

Life at Kamakura was at first austere, with hunting¹⁵ and manly exercises replacing the pomp of Kyoto; the older religious sects lost ground to Zen Buddhism, whose severe discipline, simplicity of ritual, and stress upon "inner enlightenment" pleased the soldierly mind. The common people turned, meanwhile, to new evangelical cults, the Shin and Nichiren, which offered salvation by faith alone—Shinran, founder of the Shin sect, requiring merely a single repetition of the formula *Namu Amida Butsu*, an appeal to Buddha Amida, the Lord of Boundless Life. The Shin, or Hongwanji, creed became, and has remained, by far the most popular in Japan.

¹² A combination of Genji and Heike, alternate names for Minamoto and Taira.

¹³ Yoshitsune, an Oriental Robin Hood, remained the great hero of Japanese folklore.

¹⁴ Modern Kamakura, hardly a tenth as large as in its great days, is now a fashionable residential suburb and beach resort, half an hour by rail from the center of Tokyo.

¹⁵ Hunting contravened the Buddhist law against taking life, but was too valuable in training for war to be forbidden by the shogun.

Feudal society was divided into factions: the *kuge*, or court nobility, and the *buke*, or provincial. Military ethics developed like that of European knighthood; noteworthy differences were the lack, in Japan, of chivalry toward women and the absence of any strong religious affinities. Buddhism had no pagan rivals; there was no need to draw sword in defense of the faith. Because the military gentry failed to protect them, monks formed a trained militia. Though they rarely attacked the people, armed monks sometimes cowed the emperor or sacked the monastery fortresses of rival sects.

Buddhist teaching encouraged rulers to abdicate and devote their later years to monastic life, where they spent time in painting and making verses. Their retirement was sometimes only feigned, indirect rule being carried to such extremes that two or three abdicated emperors might share the imperial office in Kyoto, while at Kamakura a cloistered shogun contested the authority of the Bakufu with his active successor.

After Yoritomo's direct line died out, power in Kamakura passed to the related Hojo family,¹⁷ eight of whom succeeded each other by 1300. These were vigorous rulers, of simple tastes; on the domestic front, they defeated efforts of the emperors to regain real authority. They faced the greatest foreign crisis, before our century, in Japan's history—the Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281. Hojo Tokimune defied the Mongolians, though the emperor was inclined to appease them, but the decisive Japanese victory actually weakened the power of the Hojos. After the civil wars there were always confiscated lands to distribute, but the repulse of the Great Khan's fleets yielded no booty at all; many daimio whose forces had suffered heavy battle casualties and who had taxed themselves crushingly to defend the sea frontier received little recognition. Numbers of them turned pirate, scourging the coasts of China and Korea.¹⁸

In 1333, an imperialist army captured Kamakura; the city was given to the flames, and Hojo Takatoki, last of his line, committed

¹⁷ The title of shogun passed on by blood descent, though shoguns might be in fact as powerless as the emperor. The Hojos took the title *shikken*. Hideyoshi, greatest of Japanese military rulers, because of his peasant birth assumed the title *Taiiko*, never shogun.

¹⁸ Also, the priesthood demanded high rewards, claiming to have brought on the typhoons which really destroyed Kublai's fleets. The typhoons thus came to be called Kamikaze, or "Divine Wind."

suicide. Emperor Daigo II enjoyed a brief triumph which was ended when Ashikaga Takauji, the commander who had overthrown Kamakura, deposed him and set up a relative, Komyo, on the throne.¹⁹ Daigo fled but did not abdicate, and in 1336 two rival lines, a "southern" in Yoshino and a "northern" in Kyoto, disputed the succession to the Sun Goddess. The split was healed fifty-six years afterward, when the southern court yielded to Kyoto.

ANARCHY AND DECAY UNDER THE ASHIKAGA

The Ashikaga re-established Kyoto as the seat of government. They ruled by Kamakura law, separating administrative and military departments, but without the Hojos' austerity. The voluptuousness of the court rivaled that of the Heian period; the great mansions of the kuge in Kyoto numbered over six thousand; its surviving monuments are two Zen shrines, the Golden²⁰ and Silver pavilions.

Ashikaga authority did not run far from the capital. Independent war lords defied control, and a contest breaking out in 1467 between the houses of Yamana and Hosokawa, known as the Onin War, nearly destroyed Kyoto. Anarchy continued for a hundred years afterwards—an Oriental War of the Roses in which robber barons chose sides, and changed allegiance.

The old society came close to extinction, to be replaced by tough *landscknechts*. Only in remote sections of the country ancient families like the Date, the Uyesugi, and, in Kyushu, the Shimadzu, provided refuge for scholars and artists. The "home provinces" were a cockpit where rival clans skirmished in the hope of seizing Kyoto and controlling the captive emperor. No leader rose above the ruck of competitive gangsterism until, after 1550, Nobunaga, scion of the Oda family, developed the craft, courage, and good fortune that made him master of Japan.

Korean Kingdoms (map, p. 33)

The Eastern Tartars, or Tungus, are said to have migrated from the Sungari River to the Korean Peninsula, founding the kingdom

¹⁹ Daigo II made his stand in the Hiei Monastery, whose monks fought off the Ashikaga armies for four months.

²⁰ The *Kinkakuji*, a classic of carving and gold leaf; it was exhibited until 1953, when it was burned by an incendiary psychopath.

of Kokuryo; they also occupied southern Manchuria as far as the Liao River. The racial hero is one Tangoon, who supposedly ruled in Pyongyang before 2300 B.C. Exiles from the Chou court in China may have founded a dynasty in 1122 B.C.

Shortly before the Christian era, there were three distinct kingdoms: in the north, Kokuryo included the basin of the Taedong River north of the present Seoul; the lower peninsula was divided vertically, with Silla to the east and Paikche to the west; the division lasted for six centuries. Kokuryo had a common land frontier with China, and was conquered in 110 B.C., becoming for seventy years a part of the Han empire. Silla, facing Japan across the Tsushima straits, sought the friendship of China; Paikche, fearing attack by Silla or Kokuryo, cultivated good relations with the Japanese.

Buddhism was introduced from China before A.D. 400 and transmitted from the court of Paikche to Japan two centuries later. Early in the seventh century, Kokuryo three times repulsed Chinese invaders; but, though they defeated the Sui armies, the T'angs who followed were able to drive the Koreans from Manchuria across the Yalu River. In 651, the prince of Kokuryo who had visited the Chinese court introduced the Chinese civil service examinations. Although Confucianism became deeply rooted, the system of rule by classical scholars was never perfected fully as in China.

UNIFICATION OF KOREA

The unification of Korea occurred in A.D. 918 when Wang Kun of Kokuryo absorbed Silla and Paikche, giving the name Koryu to the nation and fixing his government at Songdo, north of the present Seoul. This dynasty lasted nearly five centuries; it was defeated by the Khitans, who went on to overrun all North China. The Wangs paid tribute to the Sung emperors, but capitulated to Kublai Khan, who ransacked the country and conscripted its seamen for his invasion of Japan in 1274-81, forcing the Korean court into exile.

The Wangs, weakened by disaster, were overthrown in 1392 by Li Tai Jo, founder of the Yi dynasty,²¹ who moved the seat of government from Songdo to a site on the Han River in the center of the peninsula,²² which became the permanent Korean capital of

²¹ Yi is pronounced *li* in Chinese, *ri* (*rhée*) in Japanese. In all three lands it is a common name, meaning "plum blossom."

²² The palace which they first occupied remained standing until 1950.

Seoul. The Yi monarchs proved subservient to the Ming court; they adopted Chinese forms of government, a modified Chinese law code, and a Confucian college, whose doctrine replaced Buddhism—in fact, Buddhist writings were burned for bringing “ill-luck on the nation.”

Korea, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, excelled Japan in the arts, especially ceramics and printing; but the subjection of the masses to venal bureaucrats and grasping landlords was absolute; there was no incentive to enterprise and no middle class. Korea therefore never played a significant part in Asian affairs, nor was able to protect her territory from invasion.

The Ryukyus and Formosa

The island of Okinawa, halfway between Formosa and Japan, has been the center of a Ryukyu culture which contained Chinese, Shinto, and possibly Polynesian elements. Little is known about the prehistory of the island chain. Aboriginal Ryukyu institutions included a cult of priestesses called *nori*, guardians of the sacred fire, who held a place of respect until Chinese Confucian doctrine, which is contemptuous of women, destroyed the cult. The most familiar landmarks in Okinawa, the elaborate tombs or ossuary crypts made of coral blocks, resemble South China family mausoleums in Kwangtung Province.

In the fourteenth century Okinawa was broken up into three kingdoms. After a hundred years of rivalry, a leader named Hashi subdued the entire island and established an official palace at Shuri Castle in the south. He was a nominal suzerain of the Ming emperors. His line was displaced in 1470 by the Sho family, which centralized authority and introduced Zen Buddhism. The Sho ruled in name until the nineteenth century. They dispatched an embassy every three years to the Peking court as a mark of fealty, used Chinese writing, and imitated Chinese architecture, so that Shuri, like Heian and Seoul, became a miniature Peking. Late in the seventeenth century the house of Shimadzu, chiefs of the Satsuma clan in southern Kyushu, invaded Okinawa and established Japanese authority.

Formosa, larger than any of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, remained almost primitive until the seventeenth century. Its aborig-

ines were a Malayo-Polynesian people, ancestors of the head-hunters who survive yet in the mountain forests. Chinese and Ryukyu fishing fleets certainly visited the island, though official geographers did not describe it before the twelfth century. It was a roost for Japanese pirates on their way to the South Seas; and they would probably have annexed Formosa had not the Dutch effected settlement there in 1628.

Vietnamese and Their Neighbors

The natives of Annam are presumably descended from tribes who lived near the Shanghai area in the fourth century B.C. In the third century before the Christian era, the Chinese pushed south of Kwangtung into the maritime plain which they named Annam, or "Pacification of the South," and continued to rule for eleven centuries. Chinese writing, Confucian ancestor worship, and family solidarity became fixed in Annamese culture, though in 968 Chinese rulers were replaced by an indigenous dynasty, the Dinh.

After achieving independence, the Annamese expanded southward, crushing the Cham people, whose civilization was of Hindu origin. For a part of the fifteenth century, the Mings conquered Annam, but in 1428 General Loi drove them north and established a dynasty which lasted four hundred years, though its later sovereigns became puppets. Southern Annam in 1568 formed the separate state recently called Cochin-China.

Cambodia, home of the Khmer peoples located on the east coast of the Gulf of Siam, was strongly influenced by Indian immigration before the Christian era; it adopted Sanskrit writing and Brahmanism instead of the Confucian teachings which prevailed in Annam. The great age of the Khmers came after A.D. 800, when they built the amazing hewn-rock temples and palaces of Angkor,²³ covering a rectangle of four square miles. Buddhism arrived in Cambodia very late, just before A.D. 1000, fusing with the earlier Hindu faith.

The Cambodians conquered lower Cochin-China and Annam

²³ The name Angkor Thom is given to the city; Angkor Wat (*Wat* means "temple") to the huge religious enclosure close by. The confusion of faiths is illustrated in a controversy over whether the temple is Buddhist or, as was formerly believed, Brahminic. In modern Siam, the same mixture of Buddhist and Hindu in religious practice may be found. The people cremate their dead in the Hindu style, but worship the Buddha as do the Chinese.

after 1150, and controlled also the southern Menam Basin. However, the rising power of the Thai peoples forced the Khmers from the Menam, thrusting them steadily east until in 1431 Angkor was captured, the power of the Khmers decayed, and their temples disappeared in the forest.

The Thai Leave China

The present territory of the Menam Valley, with its flat rice-lands and high rim of forested mountains, was occupied by Khmer and other peoples until the first half of the Christian era. The Thai, ancestors of the Siamese race, lived during this time as one of the races of China until they were driven southward.

There were successive waves of Thai migration, the greatest after 1250, when the Mongolians overran their aboriginal home; their probable route was via the canyon of the Mekong to the headwaters of the Menam, and thus down the river. Their early capital was Chiengmai; from this base their king Rama fought his way to salt water at the Gulf of Siam. Thai tribes likewise filtered south as far as the island of Singapore, before the first Malay colony was founded there.

In 1350 from their capital in Ayuthia, in the center of the Menam Valley, the Thai monarchs ruled from the Salween River and the Gulf of Martaban down the length of the Malay Peninsula, eastward to the South China Sea.

Burma, a Complex State

Many tribes have rained down from China and Central Asia into the valleys of the Salween, Sittang, and Irrawaddy; classified by language, two thirds of the modern population are of so-called Tibeto-Chinese stock; over one half use the Burman language; 10 per cent, living close to India on the Bay of Bengal, use the related speech of Arakan. Another tenth, in the hills between Burma and Siam, are Karens. Shan tribes, related to the Thailanders, live in the mountainous north and northwest; Mon peoples established the kingdom of Pegu on the Lower Irrawaddy. It is supposed that the tribes are all distantly related to the Mongolians, and came south by way of Szechuan and Yunnan.

There was a strong intermixture of Indian immigration from Bengal and Madras; Hindu mythology for a time swallowed up Central Asian tradition. Buddhism, coming direct from India, prevailed over Hindu beliefs by about the time of Christ. The monastic system became strongly entrenched, and Burma equals any other Eastern country in the splendor of its religious monuments.

Political history began with the Pagan dynasty in the eleventh century, whose temples and public buildings, overthrown by the Mongols in 1287, still stand in ruins beside the Irrawaddy. There followed two and a half centuries of domination by the Shan peoples amid continuous civil war. In 1531, central control was re-established by the Toungoo dynasty, of pure Burmese blood, named from their capital city in the delta. The great age of Burma was under King Bayinnaung (1551-81), who conquered half of Siam and all of Upper and Lower Burma except Arakan.

Beginnings of Malaya

Peninsular Malaya was inhabited in early times by a mixture of types—early Negroids, aboriginals, Thai tribes from upper Asia, and Malay seafarers. A Buddhist kingdom, ruled from Sumatra, controlled for centuries the lower Malay Peninsula, but was destroyed by Islamic invaders, so that Malaya, with the Sunda Islands, became economically linked with South India; their spices were carried by Arab sea traders to the Mediterranean, thence redistributed by Venetian galleys to the ports of Europe.

The Islands of Indonesia

The shallow seas between the Indonesian Islands were probably dry during the recent Ice Age; animals and the earliest man crossed freely between South Asia, Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. In the Bronze Age, before the Christian era, there was apparently continuous sea-borne trade between South China and the islands, whose earliest stone relief carvings, bronze drums, and axes strongly suggest Chinese Yueh culture. The Javanese at an early period cultivated rice and sailed ships; they likewise used iron, probably learning their metallurgy from India, which supplied many immigrants up to the fifteenth century A.D.

Java became divided into western, central, and eastern states, founded between 400 and A.D. 900, and generally Hindu in type. In the thirteenth century the Madjapahit Empire arose, which, at its height under King Hayam Wuruk (1350-89), controlled the Indonesian Islands, parts of the Philippines, and the adjacent mainland of Cambodia and Champa. It was the first time these areas were united, and it was to be the last before Japan's Greater East Asia Sphere. The Moslem impact broke up the Madjapahit confederation; Islamic rulers and traders dominated Java by 1518, and in their swift feluccas sailed through the islands as far as Mindanao, making converts as they bartered trade goods.

The Philippines

The Philippines may have been settled by neolithic tribes both from China and Farther India, though knowledge of iron seems to have come from the south about 200 B.C. A Sinitic tribe, traced through its curious custom of jar burial, migrated as far south as Celebes during the Christian era. Arab traders visited the islands by A.D. 900 on their way to Japan and Korea, but the first mention of the Philippines in Chinese literature is dated 982.

After the establishment of the southern Sung dynasty in Hangchow, Chinese merchants—perhaps cut off from the north by the Mongol hordes—pushed through the South Seas, trading from shipboard and later establishing colonies. Sung porcelain is found close to the shore of Manila Bay and the Pasig River, and later Ming wares throughout the interior of Luzon. The Chinese took from the archipelago cotton, hemp, pearl shell, and cabinet woods.

Hindus reached the islands before 100 B.C. and continued to trade for fifteen centuries. By 1350 most of the Philippines were integrated into the Madjapahit system. Early in the fifteenth century, there came a Ming navy of sixty ships, and for a brief time a Chinese governor ruled Luzon. Then the spreading Mohammedan power replaced the Chinese except on the east coast and remained strong until the Spanish conquest. The Japanese visited Luzon as semipiratical traders throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, carrying back plantation products, gold washed from the placer beds, and Sung porcelain, which was in highest demand for tea ceremonies at the Ashikaga court.

The complex nature of Filipino society may be shown by its population breakdown: about 10 per cent of the people are considered aboriginal; 30 per cent are descended from Stone Age immigrants from Indonesia; 40 per cent from much later Iron Age arrivals. Hindu stock accounts for 5 per cent, Arab 2 per cent, Chinese and Japanese jointly about 10 per cent—so that it is stated that every famous Filipino in the last century has been part Chinese. Three per cent of the modern population have some Western blood in their veins.

East Asia at the Outset of Western Penetration

The Unification of Japan

Nobunaga said: "If the bird will not sing,
I will kill the bird."

Hideyoshi said: "If the bird will not sing,
I will teach it to sing."

Iyeyasu said: "If the bird will not sing,
I will wait for it to sing."

Old Japanese Proverb

AT THE END of the sixteenth century Japan was the leading military power in East Asia. This rank was achieved largely by the accomplishments of three contemporaries, each worthy to be classed among the great names in history: Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tokugawa Iyeyasu.

Nobunaga, born to the lesser nobility, seemed so unpromising as a youth that he was nicknamed Baka, "The Fool." Yet at the age of twenty-seven, in 1560, he had tripled the size of the family domain; a few years later he transferred his activity to the national scene.

He saw that much of the Ashikaga disunity was caused by the Buddhist priesthood, especially the Shin or Monto order, whose easy formula for salvation through once calling upon Amida-

Buddha had won the common people everywhere.¹ The Monto clergy married and bequeathed ecclesiastical estates to their sons, developing powerful property interests and the fighting manpower to defend them.

Nobunaga struck in 1571 at the great Tendai Monastery which dominated Kyoto from Mount Hiei; when he had burned its three thousand buildings, he went on to reduce the monastic fortresses of the Monto cult. The emperor appointed him vice-shogun, and beside Lake Biwa he built his own stronghold of Azuchi. Eventually, Nobunaga held thirty-two provinces, or half of Japan; he developed the habit of a conqueror, arrogant and cruel, though openhanded. Reputedly in revenge for a tactless joke, a subordinate attacked and killed him on Midsummer's Day, 1582.

THE PEASANT AVENGER

Nobunaga designated his grandson as successor, placing the boy under protection of a trusted counselor, Hideyoshi.² The regent was a peasant's son, dwarfish and so wizened as to be nicknamed "Monkey face." Within twelve days he avenged Nobunaga; but he had no intention of sharing authority with the grandson.

Hideyoshi was a brilliant captain, but his genius lay in negotiation, in judging character and exploiting its defects. He made his strategic base at Osaka, between Kyoto and the Inland Sea. From here he overran western Honshu and, in 1587, forced into submission the Shimadzu, lords of Satsuma Province in Kyushu Island. After these victories, the emperor granted him the title Taiko, or regent. Hideyoshi appreciated the value of these symbols and offered allegiance, but never consulted the emperor about matters of policy.

The northern lords came peacefully to terms; there remained ten fiefs of the Kwanto Plain in the southeast. Of these, all surrendered promptly, except the Hojo clan in their immense fortress of Odawara, as Hideyoshi marched eastward; but after a siege of three months, the Taiko sowed dissension among the defenders,

¹ Shin beliefs had taken root also in Tibet, where they were incorporated into Lamaism.

² Catholic chroniclers refer to him by his family name of Hashiba. He assumed the name of Toyotomi to imply relationship with the ancient Fujiwara line.

who gave up their citadel. In 1590, only eight years after inheriting the regency, Hideyoshi controlled all of Japan.

As unchallenged dictator, Hideyoshi was able, with small increase in taxation, to give his people security and prosperity such as none could remember before.³ But the Japanese Islands seemed too small a stage for such ambition; they provided, moreover, too few estates to reward his followers. In 1586 Hideyoshi had ordered two thousand invasion ships; he would use the western provinces as a springboard for invading the mainland, "as easy as rolling up a mat." At the Minamoto shrine in Kamakura, the Taiko reminded Yoritomo's spirit that he had conquered only Japan; Hideyoshi would add China to the Empire.

HIDEYOSHI'S CONTINENTAL PLAN

Between Japan and the continent lay only the peninsular corridor of Korea. Japanese envoys proposed in Seoul that Korea need merely open a route for the Japanese armies; her neutrality would be respected. Hideyoshi's spies brought low estimates of Korean strength. The people had developed skill in ceramics, printing, and metalwork; but the court was divided, the nobles were effeminate and debauched, while the common people had neither property nor political rights. The Koreans had learned from the Chinese the use of artillery; but their first matchlock hand firearms were brought as gifts by the Japanese embassy. Yet the Korean king refused the proffered Japanese alliance; "China," he protested, "is our mother country . . . Korea will not desert her."

Hideyoshi required little time to train his forces. His people had developed resourcefulness during generations of civil war.⁴ All Japan had learned to use the Portuguese musket—though it was not well adapted to the individual encounters of Japanese fighting. Competition had developed tough leadership; commanders of his invasion vanguard were Konishi Yukinaga, a druggist's son and

* A peasant still at heart, he loved vulgar display: sixty thousand men labored to build the palace and gardens at Fushimi, where he banqueted the old nobility, clowning sometimes in a huckster's smock and shouting cheap wares among the courtiers. His sensuality was unbounded: three hundred women were his personal servants. It was equaled by his military vanity, for he prepared temple sites where posthumous honor could be paid to him as the son of Hachiman, the war god.

* Hideyoshi had, however, re-enacted the law forbidding the commoners to carry iron weapons. So many had been accumulated that he was obliged to carry out a sword hunt in every village.

Christian convert, and Kato Kiyomasa, son of a blacksmith and a devout Buddhist. The Taiko surely counted upon their religious rivalry to spur them to competitive feats of glory.

The first invaders stormed Pusan late in May, 1592; as news of the disaster was carried northward, panic seized the Korean authorities. Their only field army was cut to pieces, and, within four weeks, the two Japanese divisions effected a junction within the walls of Seoul.⁵ By mid-July the Japanese had occupied Pyongyang; they were now hardly a hundred miles from the Yalu. The Japanese captured castles and cities with ease, picking off the defenders with firearms, while pioneers, protected by overlapping shields, mined the walls. In close warfare, the peninsulars could not face the terrible two-handed samurai sword. Hideyoshi drafted a memorandum in June appointing a chancellor of Korea, and assigned ten Chinese provinces as fiefs for the Kyoto nobility. The Emperor Go-Yozei and his court began the study of Chinese protocol in preparation for their progress to Peking.

It was Hideyoshi's plan to send his remaining divisions directly by sea to Pyongyang, whence the entire force would march on China. He had given little thought to naval affairs; his fleet consisted of troop transports designed only to grapple the enemy and bring his crew within the sweep of Japanese broadswords. The Taiko tried, without success, to borrow two fighting carracks from the Portuguese; he was to regret that he did not have them.

Korea possessed some provincial flotillas, the best of which was that of Chulla Province, commanded by Admiral Yi Sun-Sin.⁶ It included at least eighty-five tactical seagoing ships besides some new ships of Yi's own design: low-decked galleys covered with a whale-back protected by iron plates. These "tortoise ships" were externally fireproof and ringed with spikes to prevent boarding; they were equipped with rams, heavy cannon, and incendiary arrows.

THE "TORTOISE SHIPS"

Yi intercepted the armada sailing toward Pyongyang in the Yellow Sea. On that July day was fought one of the decisive naval battles of history. Fifty-nine Japanese vessels were sunk or burned.

⁵ Such speed would be excellent for motorized equipment; it averaged ten miles a day over broken terrain, including river crossings.

⁶ Chulla, in the southwest corner of Korea, is some distance from the invasion point at Pusan.

Kato and Konishi could no longer expect reinforcements nor supplies; as their foraging parties spread out, Korean guerrilla bands bled away the invaders' strength. The peninsular people might have absorbed the Japanese invasion by themselves, forging at the same time a new patriotism.

But help was on the way: beginning in October, Ming troops entered Korea; by February they recaptured Pyongyang, and early in the spring of 1593 the Chinese entered Seoul. By late October the Chinese withdrew from the peninsula, and the remaining Japanese were entrenched close to the straits. Peace negotiations began; Hideyoshi dazzled the Chinese ambassadors with blossom festivals and regattas. Nevertheless, in 1596 the conference collapsed,⁷ and early in 1597 Japanese reinforcements landed on Korean soil to renew the war.

Despite fresh assistance from China, the Koreans could not dislodge the Japanese, who took the offensive, overrunning three provinces. Then the old sea lord Yi gathered his veterans about him, burned incense, and dedicated himself to destroy the enemy's sea power. During the late autumn of 1598, he struck with all his force, sinking two hundred ships—though a somewhat larger number escaped to Kyushu. The victory was marred by the death of Yi Sun-Sin himself on his quarter deck—one of the last casualties in the seven-years' war.⁸

Of two hundred thousand troops who left Japan—the largest overseas expeditionary force before 1900—a fourth failed to return. The loss of the allies was many times larger.⁹ The war was meaningless, unjust, and ferocious; a sense of guilt impelled many returning Japanese warriors to hang up their armor and take monastic vows. The Koreans remained for centuries in a state of embittered isolation and built memorials over each scene of massacre to keep their hatred green. Diplomacy returned to the pattern of 1590:

⁷ In October, 1596, the greatest earthquake in historical times destroyed Fushimi Palace and much of Kyoto. Hideyoshi rebuilt them almost immediately, vastly impressing the Peking diplomats, but the Taiko took mortal offense when the Chinese invested him as a tributary king of Japan, when he expected to be crowned king of China.

⁸ The date was only ten years after the destruction of the Spanish Armada, which may be compared in many respects to the war fleet of Hideyoshi. Yi and Drake simultaneously developed the tactical fighting ship. The admiral's death recalls that of Nelson at Trafalgar.

⁹ A macabre monument in Kyoto contains the ears of forty thousand Koreans and Chinese.

Japan kept her trade foothold in Pusan; Korea, in gratitude, accepted the patronage of the Mings, but in 1624 reopened correspondence also with Yedo. The wearing of the Cross by Konishi's fighting units linked the Christian faith, in the minds of Koreans, with aggression;¹⁰ therefore, when a delegation of Catholic priests attempted in 1618 to visit the peninsula they were refused admittance.

The armistice followed the death of Hideyoshi himself on an August afternoon (regretting as he died that he could not "wait for the moonrise"). He left two charges: his own deification and the transfer of power to his young child, Hideyori. The state was entrusted to five regents and eight inferior administrative officers; the clumsy arrangement was intended to check the one man who stood high above all others in Japan: Tokugawa Iyeyasu. He was a man of cold patience, nearing sixty, born not long after Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, whom he had served from their beginnings.

THE PATIENT UNIFIER

Iyeyasu's plump figure belied his unwearying athletic skill; he drew a sword and rode a horse as well as the finest *bushi*; with the harquebus he was known to hit three flying cranes in succession. He was no parvenu, but born of a family related to the Minamoto; cultivated enough to venerate Confucius and translate the Buddhist sutras; fearless but prudent, letting hotheads reap the barren glory of the Korean campaign while he developed his Kwanto estates. When an assassin failed to kill him, the man was congratulated upon his fidelity and sent back to his sponsors; yet Iyeyasu did not scruple to bring about the death of his own wife and his son out of loyalty to Nobunaga. He further differed from Hideyoshi in a thrift that held his retinue to only thirty servants: nobody in his age better understood the full uses of gold. He valued the common people as "cormorants," to be fed only enough to encourage their useful industry.

Iyeyasu showed, naturally, little wish to resign his power to the youthful Hideyori; soon his fellow regents found cause to charge him with breaches of the Taiko's testament and confederated to

¹⁰ Much vandalism to Korean pagodas and shrines may have been related to their "heathen" uses. Many temples in Kyushu also had been destroyed by overzealous Christian converts.

punish him. His chief opponent, Ishida Mitsunari, occupied Kyoto and seized as hostages many of Iyeyasu's friends. Western Japan sided with Ishida; the generals of the Korean War divided their allegiance, most of the Christians joining the regents.

The two armies met on October 21, 1600, at the village of Sekigahara near Lake Biwa. After hours of even fighting, Iyeyasu subverted the enemy's right flank commander who, at a decisive moment, carried his forces to the Tokugawa side. The resulting victory was so complete that Iyeyasu found it necessary to execute only four of his opponents.¹¹ The greater feudatories were generally forgiven, though a number of small lords lost their lands. Hideyori and his mother were left undisturbed in their castle.

YEDO, IYEFASU'S LASTING MONUMENT

When Iyeyasu first received his Kwanto grant, the site which most impressed him was the village of Yedo at the head of its own sheltered bay, where the Sumida River system forms a muddy delta. The castle of Ota Dokan and about a hundred huts stood on the site. Iyeyasu immensely extended the size of the castle and surrounded it with a system of concentric moated walls. Three hundred thousand workmen were employed; Kanda Hill was leveled to fill in the eastward tidelands and form the Marunouchi, destined to become the mercantile and financial center of the Empire; traders and artisans swarmed into Yedo at Iyeyasu's invitation. A cordon of forts was set about the perimeter of the Kwanto.

Iyeyasu levied most of the cost upon his defeated opponents, who either gave enormous "gifts" or supplied workmen, rocks, and timber. Numbers of the nobility built *yashiki*, or urban mansions, in wards provided for them, and in these left their families while attending to provincial duties.

The shogun devoted himself to sound economic measures; foreign trade especially interested him. This had been in the hands of Portuguese factors in the southwestern ports. Then in 1600 Will Adams, an English pilot who had commanded a vessel against the Spanish Armada, reached Japan as a castaway, but rose to become Iyeyasu's close adviser against opposition by the Portuguese, Spanish, and even the Protestant Dutch. The shogun played all factions

¹¹ These included Ishida himself and Konishi, who, as a Christian, could not accept the "happy release" of *hara-kiri*.

against each other, favoring competition to keep the foreigners' profits low. He corresponded directly with the royal houses of England, Holland, and Spain; but he could not attract European merchants to Yedo from their established locations in Kyushu.¹²

Ceaselessly also he tried to attract shipwrights and navigators into his service. Hideyoshi owned but a dozen blue-water vessels; Iyeyasu increased the fleet to two hundred. He permitted the Satsumas in 1609 to occupy Okinawa; two expeditions to Formosa miscarried. Beyond Formosa lay the Philippines, stronghold of a religious faith which the shogun hated; fifteen thousand of his most adventurous subjects were established in the islands, and the Spanish garrison numbered hardly a thousand musketeers. Though he did not threaten or bluster, Iyeyasu may have been planning a maritime empire that would have secured the control of the Pacific to its indigenous peoples. But his years were running out, and at last his projects passed with him, unrealized, to the White Jade Pavilion.

China: Decadence of the Ming

The great age of the Chinese Ming dynasty lasted one hundred years—until about the middle of the fifteenth century. It produced the voyages of Cheng Ho, the reconstruction of the Great Wall, and the building of imperial Peking, with ninety-nine-foot walls¹³ and mighty thoroughfares surrounding the yellow roofs of the Forbidden City. It witnessed great projects of scholarship, and the development of the Ching-te-Chen potteries in Kiangsi, whose polychrome or blue-and-white ware became synonymous with China to the ends of the earth.

In 1428, the Ming emperors lost control of Cochin-China in the far south; a generation later they lost the initiative beyond the Great Wall to the Mongols. A merciless enemy appeared also on the southeast sea frontiers, bold enough to hold beachheads on Chinese soil: the semiofficial Japanese pirate fleet.

Full decadence set in after the accession of the child emperor

¹² While he treated them with respect, Iyeyasu never trusted the Kyushu lords. Over his tomb the effigy was set facing west—to watch the source of all danger to the Tokugawa.

¹³ A foot below the realm of evil spirits which begins one hundred Chinese feet aloft.

Wan Li in 1567, whose ill-omened reign was to last for fifty-three years. The development of printing greatly increased the number of candidates in the civil service examinations without adding to the number of appointments. There developed an unprecedented mass of frustrated office seekers. Some of these sought court careers by emasculating themselves; and thus eunuchs, who had long been barred from government posts, became more influential than ever before.

Members of the ruling classes successfully avoided the payment of taxes, increasing thus the burden on small landholders and diminishing the appropriations for flood control. A series of droughts deepened the agrarian distress. The gentry turned this chronic misery to their own account by foreclosing land mortgages. The evicted peasants turned to banditry or hacked homes for themselves among the forests of the southwest, forcing wars with the aboriginal tribes.

Foreign affairs were in an even more desperate state: the Korean War of 1593 to 1598 showed incompetent military leadership; after its close a menace greater than the Japanese—that of the Manchu tribes—developed on the northeast frontier. The Ming responded with defensive withdrawal, trying to establish an empty neutral zone beyond their outposts. Here, geography betrayed them: their capital, Peking, was at the edge of the northern steppe, too close to the enemy to afford room for maneuver and too far from the population centers of China to be quickly reinforced.

Clearly, as the seventeenth century began, the Mings could hope for but brief further tenure of the Mandate of Heaven.

Imperialism in Southeast Asia

The Portuguese appeared in Malay waters in 1510, operating from their base in South India. The Madjapahit Empire had collapsed, leaving three substantial fragments: the sultanates of Aceh in the northern half of Sumatra, of Johore at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula, and of western Java. All had accepted Islam in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but their mutual mistrust kept them from cooperating with one another against the Europeans.

The first Portuguese objective was the city of Malacca, a fortress

of western Johore, commanding the straits at their narrowest point. The Duke of Albuquerque captured Malacca in 1511; it was re-fortified heavily and garrisoned with three hundred European troops. Portugal had undertaken a general war against Islam,¹⁴ which it won by playing off the local states against each other, first helping Johore against Aceh, then, in 1586, razing Johore City.

A European intruder, Holland, changed the balance of power politics. Before 1602 scores of Dutch ships were operating in eastern waters, often lurking in Singapore straits to attack treasure galleons or cut off the Java rice fleet. In 1600, most of Java was ruled from the east, at Mataram, though the western part was held by the king of Bantam. The island had been little molested by the Portuguese. It was the Dutch who, in 1596, settled in Bantam, and decades later made near-by Batavia their headquarters. Dutch accounts describe the Indonesian princes as degenerate playboys, given to harem orgies and blindly autocratic in their rule; they represent the economy as plantation feudalism with commerce crippled by exactions and local tariffs. As soon as land forces were available to them, the Dutch reduced Portuguese outposts in Celebes, the Moluccas, and Sumatra; in Perak, Malay sultans granted them important tin concessions.¹⁵ When, in January, 1641, the flag of Orange was set in Malacca above the Santos Domingos redoubt, it was apparent that the star of Portugal had set.

Siam, Burma, and Vietnam

The Thai people from their capital at Ayuthia controlled wide provinces to the east and south in the mid-sixteenth century. China claimed a vague suzerainty over them as migrants from her soil;¹⁶

¹⁴ This caused the sultan of Turkey to send five hundred gunners with artillery to his Malay coreligionists. Malacca had an ample supply of cannon in 1510. The sultan of Aceh some years afterwards engaged a Portuguese architect to build him twelve large galleons; when the fleet had been built, the European architect was trampled to death by elephants.

¹⁵ The metal had been mined in the peninsula since the earliest times; it was made into coins and traded freely. As an ingredient of bronze, tin was needed for strategic and ornamental purposes.

¹⁶ The Siamese government, with its four ministries, was patterned somewhat after that of China. But there was little influence of the Chinese classics, Buddhist Ceylon being acknowledged as the "spiritual parent" of the Thai people. Siamese folkways resembled those of the Miao aboriginals rather than those of classic China. Siam was, for instance, far more matri-

but when Siam was assaulted by the Burmese kingdom of Pegu, her call for help elicited only a dissertation from Peking on the virtues of peace. For fifteen years after Ayuthia fell in 1568, Siam actually became an appendage of Pegu. The Thai power revived under Phra Naret, who humbled the Burmese overlords and then turned east, despite the intervention of Annamese and Spanish forces, to crush the king of Cambodia in 1600. For a century and a half Siam was to remain a formidable state.¹⁷

The Menam Valley had become already a field of economic penetration by Chinese immigrants who controlled the rice trade and whose homes filled the best quarter of Ayuthia. There was a smaller influx of Japanese, especially Christian exiles, who formed the royal bodyguard.¹⁸

The dominant power in the Irrawaddy Valley in 1560 was the king of Pegu, a despot who impressed a Venetian observer as being richer and stronger than the Grand Turk in Constantinople. His attacks on Siam precipitated an intermittent hundred years' war. The Siamese assisted in the destruction of the city of Pegu in 1593, after which the capital was re-established in safer territory upriver at Ava.

The state of Arakan on the long coastal plain of Burma passed to a dynamic phase in 1599 by overrunning the Lower Irrawaddy and seizing the Tooth of Buddha.¹⁹ Corsairs from Arakan, often helped by the Portuguese, ravaged Bengal; and there was legitimate export of slaves and rice in Dutch vessels to Java.

archal—odd-numbered children belonging entirely to the mother. Women did almost all the work of the fields and house; the men were often too indolent to fight at close range. Siam practiced a mild form of slavery, but war prisoners were usually settled on the land as colonists.

¹⁷ Phra Naret offered after 1593 to send troops for the defense of Korea from the Japanese. Compare Thailand's contribution to Korean defense in 1950.

¹⁸ One of them, Yamada, served for many years as prime minister, dying in 1633.

¹⁹ The tooth had been part of the marriage dowry of a princess of Ceylon who married the king of Pegu. Catholic priests declared it to be a fraud, saying that the authentic relic had been destroyed by the Portuguese.

The Europeans Enter East Asia

☼ According to the pilots that navigate the Ocean Sea, and who know the truth, there are 7,448 islands in it, the majority of which are inhabited. I will add that in all these islands there is no tree but is valuable. There are also many precious spices. The amount of gold and other precious things in these islands is truly prodigious. But I must add that they are far away. When the ships of Zaitun and Kinsai sail thither, they obtain great profit and gain, but they toil a whole year on their voyage, as only two kinds of wind blow there, one which carries them out, and one that brings them home.

Marco Polo, *Travels*

THE FORCES of Alexander the Great first carried European culture eastward, and a few communities in Central Asia retained their Hellenic character until absorbed by the Chinese Tang dynasty. The Romans, by solving the monsoon cycle, were able to trade across the Arabian Sea with the Malabar Coast of India; simultaneously they received silk overland from China during the Han Empire.¹

For centuries after its beginnings along the Silk Road, trade with Europe was to remain a largely one-way traffic in luxuries from the Far East. Asia extends from the tropics to the arctic; hence it has varied plantation products to offer the Europeans, who live within

¹ The origin of the fabric was mysterious until A.D. 550, when Byzantine missionaries brought silkworm eggs to Europe. Silk cost more than its weight in gold, and monetary crises in Europe resulted from the continuous draft of bullion.

the North Temperate Zone; and at that time furthermore, Asian artists and artisans excelled all others.

The Tang emperors sheltered many Persians, refugees from the Islamic conquest. Many Arabs followed them, thousands of whom served in the Chinese armies, while others established themselves in self-governing merchant communities. The sack of Kanpu, near Hangchow, in 877 cost the lives of 125,000 foreigners—Moslems, Jews, Christians, and Indians—and closed China for centuries to Western penetration.

European Explorers

A letter, received in 1166 supposedly from Prester John, king of a Christian state beyond the Caspian deserts,² prompted Pope Alexander the Third to send a representative to Central Asia. No contact was established, but in 1245 John of Carpini, an early member of the Franciscan Order, visited the Far East and returned. Genghis Khan had passed by a few decades before, establishing the *Pax Mongolorum* along the overland route. Bearing the credentials of an envoy, Friar John was well treated; he wrote the first eyewitness account by a European of the Mongol court.

Eight years afterward, another Franciscan, William of Rubruk, visited the Great Khan as an envoy of the French King Louis IX. He found in Karakorum a Christian church as well as two Moslem mosques; European engineers were teaching the Mongols siege techniques for use against the walled cities of China.

Before William's return, Maffeo and Niccolo Polo, gem merchants of Venice, made a selling visit to the western Mongols on the Volga and pushed thence eastward to Kublai Khan's royal yurt. Here they were invited to bring one hundred Christians expert in the "seven arts" who could argue theology with the shamans. Many highborn Uigur Mongols, including the khan's mother, had become Nestorian Christians. Probably Kublai, aware of European progress in medicine and mechanics, was actually angling for a corps of technicians. Since the Middle Ages, East Asia has welcomed Western engineers but, satisfied with its own culture, looked askance at foreign religionists.

² Prester John was probably a Mongol chief of the Black Keraits, baptized with many of his people into the Nestorian faith.

The Polos failed to recruit priests or technicians in Europe,³ but they returned with their nephew Marco, following the khan's road across the plains of Kashgar and the Gobi to the court of Khan-balik, the future Peking. The Mongol warriors, outlanders themselves in China, were probably more trustful of foreigners than of their Chinese subjects. Marco Polo, a comely and adaptable youth, rose high in Kublai's favor. He was sent on administrative missions to Mongolia and almost all the provinces of China and the southern dependencies during his nineteen years' service. He was the first European to describe Tibet, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, the islands of Indonesia, and the Bay of Bengal.

Sea Trade with Asia

With the collapse of the Mongol Empire, post stations and garrisons across Asia disappeared. The nationalistic Mings had no interest in welcoming foreigners to China; in fact, they began to explore the South Seas for themselves. In 1342 an Arab chronicler reported fifteen large Chinese vessels at Calicut in India. Sixty years later, Admiral Cheng Ho's fleet sailed as far as East Africa, claiming tribute from princes on his route. For long afterwards, Chinese skippers continued to sail the Indian Ocean. Porcelain, too fragile for caravan transport, could be safely moved by ship; fine Ming ware was introduced to the Indians and Arabs—and the first pieces were relayed as far as England before 1540.

Cloves and pepper from the Sunda and Molucca islands had once been a Hindu trade monopoly. Then Arabs not only cornered the spice trade but by 1500 converted the Malay sultans to Islam. They were on friendly terms with the Venetians, who distributed Oriental products through Europe. Only when the Turks overthrew Arab sea power were the Christian nations obliged to find a new all-water route to the spiceries of the East.

Portuguese Enterprise

Portuguese navigators, rounding Africa in 1498, established themselves at Goa on the Malabar Coast of India. Their design

³ The Papacy was weak before 1300; shortly afterward, the popes moved from Rome and were established in Avignon. Two priests started with the Polos, but turned back.

was not only to gather spices, but to destroy Turkish and Arab bases beyond Suez and wipe out the trade profits which supported Moslem navies in the Mediterranean.

Only eleven years after Vasco Da Gama's first passage beyond the Cape of Good Hope, the Duke of Albuquerque stormed Malacca on the narrow straits between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, gateway to the China seas. Here, the Portuguese gained intelligence of the whole Far East. They moved quickly as far as the Molucca Islands, source of the finest pepper, and sailed north to Siam where their mercenaries, employed by the Siamese king, helped to repulse Burmese attacks upon his capital, Ayuthia. Other Portuguese entered the service of the Burmese states. One soldier of fortune, Philip de Brito, declared himself king of Syriam, the area of the present Rangoon, in the seventeenth century, and ordered the conversion of his Buddhist subjects to the Catholic faith.

In every Eastern state, Portuguese musketeers were welcomed—and feared. The ruthlessness of the newcomers contrasted with the mild behavior of the Arab traders, who had seldom interfered in local politics. It was difficult to distinguish between early European trade and simple piracy; the Christians bartered where they could not maraud, justifying their violence as a divine visitation upon the heathen.

Quarreling Indonesian sultans were no match for Portuguese power, but China proved too vast to be threatened. Portuguese *fidalgos*⁴ generally regarded Chinese trading junks in foreign waters as lawful prize. In 1516 Rafael Perestrello became the first European to reach Cathay by water; some months afterward Fernao Andrade arrived in his own galley, followed by his brother Simao. In 1550, the Portuguese were permitted to land cargoes on San-chuan Island off the Canton Delta; later the Kwangtung viceroy assigned to them the peninsula of Macao, fifty miles below Canton on the Pearl River estuary. This proved to be one of their most permanent settlements in Asia, which even today flies the Portuguese flag. Macao was not taken by conquest—in fact, the Portuguese were at first forbidden to build forts or own productive land there.

⁴ The lesser nobility, comparable to the Spanish *hidalgos*.

The Appearance of Gunboat Diplomacy

The proud *fidalgos* found that it was galling to do business in a society where merchants ranked socially with servants. Resentment was mutual, for the Chinese thought the habits of the boisterous, hairy, "red-faced" intruders almost intolerable; especially they disliked negotiating with barbarians who carried swords at their sides to the council room. But the Portuguese were necessary: their ships, not so large as the Chinese war junks, were more seaworthy, better navigated, and armed with effective brass cannon. The Chinese were timid voyagers, hugging the coastlines, but the Portuguese struck out boldly across blue water; canny Chinese merchants were glad to consign their cargoes to foreign vessels which could outsail and outfight Japanese pirates.

Forbidden to enter the harbors of China, Portuguese traders customarily rode offshore and transshipped their merchandise. While thus engaged in 1542, a galley was blown by a typhoon across the China Sea to southern Japan. The crew—the first white men ever to reach Japan—was welcomed, and six hundred copies of their firearms were made by local smiths for the Satsuma armies.⁵ The Chinese government showed little interest in Western weapons before 1630, when a few artillerymen were brought from Macao in a belated effort to check the Manchu invasion.

In 1550 regular trade began between Macao and Japan, to last for ninety years. The Portuguese used, at first, fleets of smaller ships—later, single carracks of up to twelve hundred tons. These great ships, over 150 feet long, were invulnerable to armed attack, though disabled on seven occasions between 1580 and 1618 by typhoons. Rated as the finest ships of the sixteenth century, they were built of Burmese teak; and the Manila galleons came also to be commonly constructed in Oriental yards of Philippine hardwood.

Portugal's colonies became in time almost autonomous; her seamen rarely returned to Europe, but settled down as interport traders in the Far East. A single round trip from India to Japan might take two years; leaving India in April, the carrack summured in China, waiting for the autumn monsoon to carry it to Japan by November.

⁵ For centuries, all muskets in Japan were called *tanegashimas* from the island where the Portuguese landed.

Merchandise from all the world was funneled into Portuguese entrepôts; Western machines, glass, clocks, and wool, together with Indian cotton textiles, accumulated at Goa. At Malacca, shark- and deerskins were loaded aboard, with aromatic woods. These were traded in Macao for silk. Japan loaded the carriages with copper ingots, used to cast cannon (at the Macao arsenal), which found their way as far as Europe. In some years, there was silver also for export, preferred by the Chinese above every other trade commodity,⁶ and tens of thousands of peerless samurai swords were carried abroad. Profits were so large that Macao became a wealthy city, and her great merchants lived in a style rivaling the grandees of Lisbon.

The fidalgos were welcome in Japan, where rival daimio competed for their favor; there was a craze for Portuguese dress and food which has left permanent traces in the Japanese language.⁷ In 1571 the daimio of Omura created the port of Nagasaki and presented it to the foreigners as a commercial and religious reserve.

But the shogun Iyeyasu encouraged the competition of the English, Spanish, and Dutch after 1605, offending the Macao merchants. He felt increasingly alarmed at the success of Portuguese Jesuit priests among the clans of the southwest, finally ordering them deported; Iyeyasu's son and grandson intensified the persecution of Christians, and at last cut off entirely the trade with Catholic Europeans.

Spain in the Eastern Hemisphere

Spain was barred after Columbus' voyage, by the Convention of Tordesillas, from seeking an eastern route to the Spice Islands. But when Magellan crossed the Pacific in 1521 he claimed the Ladrões (now the Marianas) and the Philippine Islands for his master, Charles V. Navigators had not solved the riddle of longitude, and could not define the Line of Demarcation in the Eastern Hemisphere. When Legaspi arrived, fifty years after Magellan, to organize Spanish authority in Luzon, he was obliged to fight the Portuguese for nearly a decade. Chinese settlers were also well

⁶ Japan was occasionally called "The Silver Islands."

⁷ The word *pan* stands for bread and *suki-yaki*, the first beef dish tolerated in Buddhist Japan, was made under Portuguese direction. Similarly, in Chinese pidgin, *joss* means "God" (*Dios* in Portuguese); *mandarin* derives from the Portuguese *mandar*, "to command."

entrenched until suppressed by arms in 1600; and, in Mindanao, Mohammedans, as warlike as those of the Iberian Peninsula, were named after them the Moros, or "Moors." But by the seventeenth century Manila was established as the Philippine capital and the authority of Spain acknowledged in all but the southwestern islands. Economically, the archipelago was organized into plantation *encomiendas*, while Dominican and Franciscan padres carried the Faith to remote native villages. Almost the only link with the rest of King Philip's realm was the annual Acapulco galleon.

During the union of the two crowns (1580-1640), Spain did not occupy Portugal's colonies nor route her ships through the Indian Ocean. The Spanish trade route was always across the Pacific. Spanish ships could not enter Macao, but cargoes of Chinese silk found their way to Manila, where they were exchanged for Mexican silver;⁸ and a few Chinese settled in Mexico City.

Westbound galleons customarily made their landfall in Japan, and a few were wrecked off the islands.⁹ In 1609 the shipwrecked governor of the Philippines was entertained by the shogun, who built him a new ship, for which the governor paid with a Spanish galleon on his return. Japan tried to attract Mexican miners, but none were persuaded to come; at last, direct Spanish trade with Japan was cut off by the Exclusion Edict of 1637.

The Missionaries

Successes of Catholic nations in the Far East were aided by their spiritual arm. Missionary work was entrusted to various orders of the church: the Jesuits were courtly scholars who worked most successfully at the upper levels of society; they mingled with mandarins, daimio, and princes, trusting that these would convert their subjects by fiat. They were tolerant of native custom: in India they permitted caste distinctions among their converts, in Japan they served as military experts, and in China they were accepted into the inner circles of Confucian learning.

More dogmatic were the friars, black-robed Dominicans and

⁸ There were protests among the orthodox that the treasures of the Potosí mines should pass "from God's children to dogs."

⁹ It was a castaway Spanish pilot who, in 1580, boasted that Spain sent Christian priests to precede her soldiers in their conquests, thus launching a persecution of Christians.

gray-robed Franciscans—simple men, who evangelized the masses, insisting upon orthodoxy, and were sometimes outraged by the latitude of the Jesuits. On the other hand, the Jesuits seldom compromised their personal dignity, while the friars in remote outposts sometimes subsided into primitive ways.

The Jesuit, Francis Xavier, landing in 1549, pioneered in Japan, where he was well received by the daimio of Satsuma. Seventy of his order followed within forty years. Their success was remarkable; personally, the dark-complexioned, haughty Iberians looked and comported themselves like samurai warriors. Politically, their power offset that of the militant Buddhist sects. They brought admired skills in fortress-building, in clockmaking and gunsmithing; also, they had the close sympathy of the Portuguese traders.

In Macao, a college was established, and it was not long before Jesuit fathers were settled as ambassadors in the Manchu court at Peking. The most famous of them—Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest—had been bred in Italy and Flanders, home of the Renaissance. They charmed the mandarins with their learning: in astronomy they corrected faults in the official Arab Moslem calendar; they drafted maps of the world, which revealed new continents to the court geographers. Though regarded with jealousy by many native literati, they won the confidence of emperors; Father Schall tutored K'ang Hsi in his youth, and Father Verbiest was his intimate friend during his reign.¹⁰

Later, a Dominican seminary was founded in Macao; the friars came to the Philippines before 1590, and the islands remained a preserve of their orders. Franciscans came to Japan in 1591 with an embassy from Manila; though ordered not to preach, they remained. The bickering which went on between friars and Jesuits prejudiced the shoguns fatally against all foreign faiths. The Franciscans were first suppressed; then in 1614 both orders came under the ban.

In China, the Jesuits permitted the impersonal Confucian *Tien*, or heaven, to signify the Christian God; this compromise narrowed the gulf between Oriental and Western belief, but to the friars it smacked of heathenism. The issue was carried to the Pope, who settled it at length in favor of the Dominicans, but this appeal to a foreign tribunal infuriated the Chinese emperor, who in 1724 or-

¹⁰ The period 1662-1722.

dered all Christian priests out of his kingdom. Except in the Philippines, missionary activity almost ceased in the latter half of the eighteenth century.¹¹

The Dutch East India Company

The nations of northern Europe had no part in the division of the world between Spain and Portugal. During the sixteenth century, they were content to buy Far Eastern products from Jewish traders in Lisbon. The Dutch, though "heretics," were still subjects of the Holy Roman Empire, and numbers of them served on Portuguese carracks. The Hollander Lindschoten, who lived five years in Goa, stirred the national imagination with his *Itinerario*, furnished with maps.¹² After 1580 the Spanish closed the port of Lisbon to the Dutch,¹³ who thereupon chose to try their own fortunes in the East. In 1595 they sent ships to explore the Spice Islands; in 1602 Amsterdam investors subscribed over six and a half million florins to found the Dutch East India Company, licensed to trade, negotiate, and fight anywhere east of the Line.

The Portuguese were short of manpower; their home population was hardly a million, and they had intermarried with native peoples to the extent that most of their troops were halfbreeds who had never seen Lisbon. They had no professional troops in the East, relying on a *levée en masse* in times of emergency, with each volunteer joining whichever captain he chose. Between actions there were long periods of parasitic ease, when the fidalgos lived like pensioners on the fruits of native labor.

The Dutch were already fighting in Europe against Catholic imperial armies; they also could allocate only a fraction of their strength to the Far East. In sea power they far surpassed the

¹¹ Jesuit missionaries served on in Macao, where their enemies did not cease to denounce them for secular activity and treason to the Portuguese state. They had used their college grounds as a trading mart, though profits went exclusively to religious purposes; nevertheless, their order was suppressed, and in 1762 the last of the fathers went back to Europe.

¹² How little was known in 1596 is shown by Lindschoten's "Map of the Eastern Seas." The provinces of China are located, but a rounded "Ilha de Corea" is set hardly thirty miles from the mouth of the Yangtze. The northern half of Honshu Island does not exist; Java is huge, larger than Sumatra or Borneo. The Philippines alone are accurately located. See p. 79.

¹³ The period 1580-1640, when Portugal was absorbed by Spain, was of great significance in colonial history; during this period, it is interesting to note, the Portuguese royal flag of Braganza flew nowhere in Macao.

Iberian nations; in 1600 Dutch shipyards laid half the keels in Europe; they mass-produced an all-purpose carrier, not so swift nor so heavily armed as the majestic carrack, but steady and capacious, a pack horse of the seas. The cost of imperial development was high—over half the exploratory ships were lost in each of the immense voyages around Africa—but Holland was willing to pay it. By deploying naval power consecutively against the Portuguese colonies, the Dutch could count upon local superiority wherever they struck. Their forces included a core of professional soldiers, kept under strong discipline.

They were single-minded traders, without interest in the religious salvation of their customers. Holland rejected the principle of intermarriage with the natives;¹⁴ her factors dealt with the local princes, generally avoiding the common people, and changing the custom of the country as little as possible. We observe the beginning of the "white superiority" doctrine, later followed by the English and accepted even by Asian peoples until the twentieth century.

The Dutch occupied Bantam, the Javanese sultanate controlling the Sunda straits, in 1596. The Moluccas—most famed of all spiceries—fell to them in 1605, and they secured by 1650 a near monopoly of trade in pepper, nutmeg, clove, cardamon, and cinnamon—the prize that all Europeans had competed for. Dutch headquarters were at first in Makassar; in 1619 they were moved to Batavia in western Java, where they remained for over three centuries. For thirty years after 1600 they enjoyed a near monopoly of the Siam trade.

Dutch seizure of Malacca in 1641 severed Portugal's communications between Goa and Macao; and eleven years later they established their own powerful support base in Capetown. Among the islands, where seapower was decisive, they made themselves impregnable; but they could not hold indefinitely their outposts on the interior rivers of Burma and Siam. Meanwhile, their explorers pushed on to lands which the Portuguese had not suspected, circumnavigating Australia and landing in New Zealand, though making no effort to colonize either. They came to the East as merchants and administrators, not as pioneers.

¹⁴ Thus few Asians bear Dutch names, though Latin family names are universal in Goa and Macao.



Holland's navies were not uniformly victorious. They worked briefly with the English,¹⁵ but the allies were beaten off from Manila, and a large-scale Dutch attack against Macao failed disastrously on Midsummer's Day, 1622, and persuaded Chinese viceroys to close all ports to the blue-eyed, red-haired "sea devils." The defeated Dutch flotilla moved on to the Pescadores Islands, exchanging this base at Chinese request for a harbor in near-by Formosa, to which the Chinese as yet laid no claim. Later they sent trade embassies to Peking, but their negotiations were fruitless.¹⁶

The Dutch East India Company hoped to make of Anping, in Formosa, a naval base and commercial depot halfway between their Batavia headquarters and the markets of northern Asia. They protected the primitive population against Chinese squatters, established European schools, and even brought Calvinist pastors to evangelize the natives.¹⁷ For forty years the Dutch held Formosa; at length, in 1662 the Chinese pirate Koxinga besieged and captured Anping.

Their success was greater in Japan to which they dispatched an annual trading ship after 1609. During the religious persecutions of 1614 to 1637, the Dutch gave proof to the shoguns of their enmity to the Catholics, even supplying naval batteries to reduce the Christian stronghold of Shimabara.¹⁸ Their reward was a monopoly of Japanese trade after the Exclusion Edict: the right to send one ship a year to Nagasaki. Their agents were confined to the island of Deshima, covering a few acres in the harbor. Rarely, they could cross a bridge into the city, and once in several years they paid a formal visit to the shogun at Yedo. Ships in port were deprived of their rudders and cannon, and all foreign books were kept nailed in barrels to prevent the infiltration of foreign ideas.

¹⁵ The British East India Company was offered a share of trade if it would contribute to the cost of the Dutch fleet and its twenty-two bases. The company decided that it would be cheaper to build bases of its own, and an informal war followed in which the English were forced out.

¹⁶ But the Hollanders did teach the northern Chinese the use of ice skates!

¹⁷ Missionary work—rarely encouraged by the Dutch—was stopped in 1624 for fear of offending the shoguns, who had ejected all Christian priests from Japan.

¹⁸ If help to a pagan government appears as treachery, let it be remembered that Netherlands communities in Europe had suffered much persecution by Spanish Catholics.

England Turns to the South Seas

England, shut off from southern exploration by the Iberian nations, searched for a northwest or a northeast passage to the Islands of Spice. Checked by impenetrable ice, she turned to the established route around the Cape.¹⁹ The immediate cause of English intervention was the tripling of the price of pepper; this led the City merchants (after the first banquet in English history to be served on China porcelain) to subscribe seventy-two thousand pounds' stock in the British East India Company. It was chartered on the last day of the sixteenth century.

They had already obtained knowledge of the East from Drake, who circumnavigated the world a quarter of a century before; and from Fitch, who in 1582 reported the magnificence of the Mogul court at Agra. In 1587-88 Cavendish actually shuttled four times across the Pacific, capturing twenty galleons. The first English resident in the East was Will Adams, survivor of a wrecked Dutch ship, and from 1600 to 1616 counselor to the Japanese shogun.²⁰

British East India merchants became active on the Sumatra coast and established factories at Bantam, where the Dutch also were operating. Siamese envoys admired the British woolen goods there on sale, and encouraged the East India Company to open trade depots in their country. These were operated for nearly seventy years, until the Siamese king drove out all Europeans in 1688. Attempts to compete with the Dutch in the Moluccas led to a massacre of the English residents in 1623, which ended the brief collaboration between the Protestant powers. English factors accused the Dutch of handling stolen merchandise and, even worse, of impersonating the English while robbing Chinese junks. In 1613 the first British East India vessel dropped anchor at Hirado in western Japan. Will Adams persuaded the shogun to offer trade facilities at his capital of Yedo, but the offer was refused. The British factory at Hirado withered away, closing in 1623; the Japanese preferred silk to British woolens, but wanted most of all gunpowder and lead which the English did not sell.

From their arrival in the East, the English were fascinated by

¹⁹ Baffin and Davis, two skippers whose names we associate with the frozen waters above Canada, both ended their lives in the struggle for the Asian tropics.

²⁰ As *Anjin-sama*, "Mr. Pilot," Adams has passed into Japanese folklore.

the rich wares carried south in Canton junks; in time they tried to establish direct trade relations with China, challenging the Portuguese monopoly. A British East India flotilla tried to by-pass Macao in 1638, sailing boldly into the forbidden waters of the Pearl River estuary. Chinese forts opened fire; the English won the honors of a brief engagement, but no trade resulted. The loss of Bantam in 1690 deprived them of an operating headquarters in the China seas; England's early operations in the Pacific were signally unsuccessful.²¹

Russia Moves across Eurasia

Russia alone maintained continuous overland contacts with the Orient after the fall of the Mongol Empire. A regiment of Muscovite guards served the Mongol emperors in Peking, and in 1500 there was a fairly large Chinese community in Moscow. In 1616 the Russians sent a mission to assist the West Khalka Mongols, who asked for protection against the rising Manchu confederacy.

While the Manchus were subduing China (1640-60), the czar's lieutenants, Khabarov and Pashkov, turned their northern flank and seized the territory above the Amur River watershed. From here they used Mongolian caravans to trade with China, taking out cotton, learning for the first time to enjoy tea and wear robes of silk—though the fiber was scarce and officially embargoed for export.

The Far East in 1600

The early seventeenth century quenched the fair promise of a Christian East Asia, though the reports of the missionaries provide the best foreign sources on the history of the time.

The age was critical in Asian domestic affairs: it marked the end of Japan's first great continental offensive and the seizure of

²¹ In part, this failure resulted from weakness in the home government; the Stuarts, who ruled through the seventeenth century, were feeble successors to the bold Elizabethans. They involved the land in civil war and two abdication crises. England played a minor role in European politics, and developed mediocre naval power. The Stuarts concentrated what strength they had in colonizing America, where they ejected the Dutch East India Company from New York. The latter colony was, in fact, exchanged for all British claims to the Moluccas.


initiative by the Manchus, the beginning of Tokugawa unification and the disintegration of the Ming. Korea passed into an apathy and hostility to foreign ideas from which the nation has never recovered, but to the south Siam gained in vigor.

Exploitation of the Far East under the papal mandate to the Portuguese crown was drawing to an end; after 1600 the chartered East India companies of Holland and England were set up in the name of business profit, ignoring religious and imperialistic factors. Their creed came to dominate the relations of Europe with the East, as their ships swept the Iberians from the South Seas and contained the southward expansion of China and Japan.

Far East History to 1904:

Rise and Decline of European Influence

*In the year of the Dragon, twenty-third of the Chou Ching emperor, the ninth of the Mings.**

 Dawn broke above the yellow-tiled roof of the Imperial Audience Hall in Peking. Within, the Son of Heaven faced his ministers of state. "Let there be read," he ordered, "the rescript of the Grand Secretary upon the sea barbarians, the white marauders concerning whom many memorials have reached Our throne."

The secretary performed the kowtow, the nine prostrations, and began his reading in a clipped and cadenced voice. He cited passages from classic texts, reports of the imperial censors and the viceroys of the southeast. "It is certain," he summarized, "that these are kin to the men who came over the Silk Road by land from Fu-lin † in the time of the ancient emperors; many attended the khans, also, in their courts at Karakorum and Khanbalik. Now for thirty years they have come in tall-masted ships that sail in any wind, crossing two oceans to find our coasts.

"They are of one race, hairy men and long-nosed; though some are dark and some have red hair and blue eyes, like demons. But they are of diverse speech and nationality; and their princes fight each other incessantly, in wars that spread across the earth. There is but one way:

* A.D. 1543. The year of the Dragon is the fourth in the twelve-year Oriental cycle.

† The name given to the Roman Empire.

let all be driven forth and the ports sealed against them, that there may be peace in the Middle Kingdom."

"Can they be worse," the emperor himself queried, "than the dwarfs of Satsuma who ravage Our coasts, the Tartars beyond the Wall, or the untamed Miao-tze of the southern mountains?"

The secretary bowed. "These are yet, your Majesty, civilized persons, for they appear like the men of Han, and not a few have learned to read the Five Books. The white barbarians despise all virtue, worshipping only a Queen of Heaven, in whose name they proscribe all other faiths."

It was the chief of the palace eunuchs, closest to the throne, who replied; and his speech was half a sneer. "Has the learned one not heard how they esteem our porcelain as a gift for their kings, and our silk, the dress of their richest nobles—offering in exchange lutes of a new fashion, trumpets of brass, glass more beautiful than jade, astrolabes for measuring the stars, cannons that throw balls for many *li** (wherewith they offer to repulse the Japanese dwarfs), and books of wizardry that foretell the eclipses and assert that the earth is round like the melons of Kwangsi?"

"They brought toys also," the secretary retorted, "to the princes of the South before they overthrew them. Always they offer gifts and fair words while they are weak—and kill when they have grown strong. Within our defended harbors they trade; at sea they rob our cargoes and drown our merchants. Can the Son of Heaven make a league with pirates?"

Such has been the way of seafarers in all times," the eunuch conceded. "But know that they speak also of mines in new lands beyond their Western Sea, where precious metal is accounted as common rock. They promise silver enough to fill our treasury, drained by wars and ransoms. Are our revenues so rich that we may refuse?"

The eunuch's shrewd appeal carried the day. Chou Ching turned to the secretary:

"Thy words are indeed sincere. Yet has it been the custom of Our forefathers to tolerate all strangers, placing them under their own governors. Confirm the sea barbarians in their rights of trade and domicile, and assign them godowns for their goods. Perhaps in time they may learn virtue. Let this decree be written in vermilion and sealed with Our seal."

* About one third of a mile.

The Shoguns Withdraw Japan from the World

☞ No one dares to attempt any opposition to the will of the Shogun; and when he has stated his opinion, no one dares to persuade him to change it. The placemen are chosen from among the lords and nobles who are educated for his service, and he selects those who please him most. In the hope of favor, each pays his court to the Sovereign. Whatever injustice the Shogun may commit, or into whatever excesses he may plunge, they praise or approve of all.

François Caron, *Account of Japan*, 1636

TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI, a son of the people, was barred by tradition from holding noble rank, and assumed instead the title *Taiko*, or regent. But Tokugawa Iyeyasu, born of a cadet line from ancient Minamoto stock, was fully able after the victory at Sekigahara to assume title as the thirty-second *Sei-I-Tai-Shogun*, or "Barbarian-Subduing-Generalissimo."

Iyeyasu nominally abdicated in 1605 in favor of his son Hidetada, then aged twenty-six. There was no challenge to his power save the youth Hideyori, favorite son of the *Taiko*. Hideyori's talent is said to have impressed the shogun; possibly it also made him fear that the lad would regain his father's power. The castle at Osaka was one of the strongest ever built—designed by Jesuit architects, with stone ramparts 120 feet in height.

By 1614 the castle was stocked with cannon, powder, and sev-

eral years' rice rations and garrisoned by the Toyotomi household forces aided by over fifty thousand veteran *ronin*—samurai who had lost their masters in the wars, numbers of them Christians. Iyeyasu resorted to craft: by fair promises he was able to spread dissension among the defenders and even persuade Hideyori, as a gesture of friendliness, to tear down the outer castle walls and bridge the moat. This folly enabled Iyeyasu to strike again with overwhelming force, capturing Osaka and extinguishing the family of Hideyoshi and its partisans.

Iyeyasu's Plan for Permanent Peace (map, p. 95)

The retired shogun was seventy-three years of age, survivor of eighty battles fought against his own compatriots. Earlier militarists had kept Japan in turmoil until their power disintegrated. Iyeyasu aspired to more than the fame of a successful *condottiere*: he hoped to bring a peace that would justify the bloodletting of his own career and survive feeble rule and maladministration.

The fruit of his planning was a carefully drafted Legacy¹ of one hundred articles, an ethical code superimposed upon a political system in the manner of the Chinese philosophers. Tokugawa family rule was the lengthened shadow of its founder; it made Japan, for about 230 years, one of the most tranquil states on earth.

Iyeyasu hedged against failure of the Tokugawa bloodline by leaving twelve children, born of plural marriages into the most powerful clans. His succession law provided that if Hidetada's heirs should die out, the descendants of his youngest three sons should select a new shogun among them.

Territorially, he established the Tokugawa capital in Yedo.² Its location, close to a large sheltered bay, on a succession of gentle hills, was protected from floods though well adapted to canal transportation, so that the city became an Oriental Venice. Surrounding it, the Kwanto Plain, largest in Japan, could easily produce a million rations of rice. At the heel of Honshu Island, equidistant from Hokkaido and Kyushu, Yedo had the most

¹ Portions of the Legacy can be proved to have been written after the death of Iyeyasu. The document, however, fully expresses his political philosophy. In function it may be compared to the political testaments of K'ang Hsi (1722) and Sun Yat-sen (1925) in China. See pp. 121, 324.

² Now known, of course, as Tokyo.

strategic location in Japan. The city soon surpassed Osaka, and from a local stronghold its castle grew to be the largest in the Empire.

To Yedo, the Tokugawa brought their eighty thousand banner knights and retainers. The nobility were separated into *Fudai*, who had sided with Iyeyasu during his rise to power, and the *Tozama*, Outer Lords, late-comers who had joined him after Sekigahara, or the fall of Osaka. Every officer in the government must be chosen from the hundred and sixty *Fudai*. The eighty-six Outer Lords held their estates at the will of the shogun; their castles were generally destroyed. Contiguous *Tozama* territories were separated from each other by the creation of new fiefs, granted to close friends of the ruling house. No landholding could be increased by purchase or marriage without the shogun's consent, and there was no opportunity to win estates in battle.

The most ingenious of Iyeyasu's regulations was that of "alternate attendance" at Yedo. It required the provincial nobility to spend half of each year at the shogun's capital under surveillance of his officials; each daimio's family was obliged to remain hostage in Yedo during his absence, roadblocks being set at all the highway approaches to check any illicit exit of womenfolk or entry of firearms.

The expense of travel in retinue to and from the capital weighed heavily on feudal exchequers; in Yedo, a true Versailles, there was an unbroken whirl of elegant pleasure, centering about the gardens and salons of the baronial town houses, or *yashiki*. Every public resort—bath house, theater, barber shop, restaurant, or fashionable brothel—was infiltrated with spies; few schemes could escape the intelligence network spreading through all Japan from the wooded precincts of Yedo Castle.

The Emperor Becomes a Figurehead

The emperor was still entitled Tenno, or "Son of Heaven." He was privileged to install each shogun in office and confer honorary titles. He continued to wield the incalculable prestige which, two centuries before, had brought about the downfall of the Hojo regents.

Iyeyasu's successors took full precautions against direct political

action by the emperor. To visit him without a permit was declared a crime; Kyoto was placed off limits to the clansmen en route to Yedo, and within two decades the city had lost three fourths of its population. Members of the old nobility, or *kuge*, devoted themselves to poetry-writing and empty ceremony, even the greatest of them living in shabbiness, on revenues far smaller than those of a shogunal guard officer.³ At least one hundred of the *Fudai* daimio controlled more wealth than was left to the emperor and his entire court.

All but direct heirs to the throne were forced to take monastic vows, and abdication was imposed upon self-willed emperors, opening the succession to children. Over a period of two centuries, the age of the Tenno averaged at succession, only thirteen, and his term of office, fourteen, years.⁴ The Tokugawa representative who kept watch in Nijo Castle near the palace became nicknamed the "Emperor's Jailer."

The Christian Faith Is Eliminated

Jesuit priests were allied with Nobunaga in his war with the Buddhist Monto sect. He rewarded them with high office and allowed their converts to demolish native idols. By 1580 there were Christian congregations in the home provinces around Kyoto, and in Kyushu Island.⁵

Hideyoshi saw the value of Christian intermediaries in dealing with the foreign powers. By 1587 Christianity became a fashionable craze, but, before the year was out, the Taiko abruptly ordered every foreign teacher to leave.⁶ The ban was not enforced; during the Korean war, Konishi's Kyushu division fought under Christian banners, and in 1596 there were 137 Jesuits and 300,000 converts in Japan; six feudal daimiates had been made Christian by fiat.⁷

³ Such an officer drew ten thousand koku of rice; the five greatest *kuge* families averaged two thousand each.

⁴ Shoguns acceded at an average age of twenty-six, emperors retired at an average of twenty-seven.

⁵ After Nobunaga's death, his grandson Samboshi was baptized into the Catholic faith.

⁶ Jesuit chroniclers ascribe the law to their padres' condemnation of his sensuality; Japanese authorities argue that he was afraid of losing the loyalty of his Christian subjects.

⁷ Five were in Kyushu Island. They were not a large fraction of the nearly two hundred daimiates in Japan.

But the boast of a Spanish pilot—that His Catholic Majesty always sent priests to prepare the way for his armies—roused Hideyoshi's fury, and the edicts were renewed.

Iyeyasu remained a faithful Jodo Buddhist. Foreign priests appeared useful as decoys for trade, but his respect for them was surely corrupted by the libertinism of European seamen and the wrangles of friars, Jesuits, and Protestants. All sects were admitted to Japan, probably to increase their rivalry. In 1609 the shogun promised Governor Velasco of the Philippines² that priests could enter the realm if mining engineers came also, although "the religion of [his] honored country [had] no affinity with anything in this land."

Three years afterwards, the northern lord, Date Masamune, escorted by Spaniards, proceeded to Europe and was entertained by papal authorities. However, in 1614 an edict ordered every priest to leave Japan; farmers and merchants might still practice the new faith, but it was forbidden to the military classes. No further severe penalties were visited upon the Christians during the rule of Iyeyasu or his son Hidetada. The third Tokugawa shogun, Iyemitsu, took profound alarm from the statement of an apostate native priest in 1625: that he had personally listened in Madrid to plans for invasion of Japan.

The Christians, though stripped of their lands, were keeping up their warlike skills while the shogun's henchmen lived in slothfulness. As taxes grew higher, agrarian unrest was especially rife in the fiefs of Kyushu; at length, in December, 1637, local peasants led by Christian samurai, revolted and entrenched themselves in Shimabara Castle near Nagasaki Bay. Though their cause was hopeless, the rebels outfought the government forces until, smothered by numbers and shouting the battle cry of "Santiago," they perished to almost the last man. Christianity had, for a time, run its course; every subject of the shogun was required to trample on the Cross and enroll in a Buddhist congregation.

Iyeyasu had never feared the West; but its narrow margin of victory at Shimabara placed the shogunate on the defensive. Besides, if trade continued, it would benefit the Satsuma of the southwest and thus strengthen the power of the Outer Lords. Therefore, to ward off Western contagion, ocean-going ships were ordered

² Velasco was shipwrecked near Yedo.

broken up and new vessels limited to seventy-five tons' capacity; stringent law forbade the emigration of Japanese, or the entrance of foreigners to the Sacred Soil "so long as the sun shall shine." Such was the Edict of Exclusion in 1637.

The Dutch, by helping to bombard Shimabara, earned the right to bring one ship a year to the island of Deshima, a few acres dredged from the mud of Nagasaki Bay. Contacts with Asia were not completely cut off: Korean envoys continued to attend the shōguns' inaugurations; Satsuma was permitted to seize the petty kingdoms of Okinawa. Chinese refugees, few but influential, entered Japan after the fall of the Mings in 1644.

The Military Governors of Japan, 1622-1853

Hidetada survived his father Iyeyasu by only seven years, to 1622. Iyemitsu, third of the line, enjoyed a reign of twenty-seven years which confirmed the shōgun's power and reduced all rivals to vassalage. His monuments are the incomparable mausoleum shrines, built among cryptomeria groves at Nikko, north of the Kwanto Plain. By nonintervention during the Manchu invasion of China, he sacrificed a final chance to play a decisive part in continental affairs. His son Iyetsuna, whose rule lasted until 1680, suppressed a military conspiracy aimed at setting fire to the capital and, under cover of the flames, destroying the government. Though the plot failed, Yedo was almost completely burned a few years later in a conflagration which cost one hundred thousand lives.

The fifth shōgun, Tsunayoshi (1680-1709), an honest though humorless pedant, neglected military affairs to become a court teacher, lecturing to his officials on the Chinese classics. He was persuaded by Buddhist advisers to issue Life-Protecting Ordinances; the lives of animals, birds, and even insects became sacrosanct, and large cultivated areas had to be abandoned to wild game and vermin. He showed an eccentric attachment to dogs, which enjoyed the right of way in city streets and were housed and fed in acres of well-appointed kennels.

A century of Tokugawa power left the shōgun so secure that his whims outranked human rights. Society was becoming dangerously top heavy; there were too few peasants to support the parasites of Yedo. Samurai valor seemed forgotten, until it was drama-

tized by the Forty-Seven Ronins, whose revenge upon their master's enemy and subsequent mass suicide electrified the nation in 1702. Their burial place at Sengakuji Temple became the most popular shrine in the Empire.⁹

Under the successor of Tsunayoshi, the Life-Protecting Ordinances were repealed. Eight years later the direct Tokugawa line died out, and the Three Families chose as successor a scion of the Kii branch of the Tokugawa: Yoshimune.

This ninth shogun is considered the model ruler of the age. He had been reared a provincial, without expectation of the shogunate; throughout life he despised the expensive fads and ritual of the court, dressed only in hemp and cotton, and moved among his subjects without fanfare. He enormously increased food production, and impounded surplus grain as a reserve against famine. He rewrote the legal code, provided sound coinage, and discouraged gambling. His intelligence of the realm came direct from the people through a complaint box at the castle gate. Yoshimune studied the protests in person, and dealt out swift justice to oppressors. He was less suspicious of foreign thought than the rulers before him, for he opened Japan to any books which did not contain Christian teachings.

Yoshimune's ability was not transmitted to Iyeshige, his son, or to his grandson Iyeharu (1762-86). Iyeshige, a chronic debauchee, was hardly articulate enough to be understood by his councils; during both reigns parasites ruled the court and official corruption reached new depths. But the rulers cannot be blamed for the Great Fire of 1761, which consumed half of Yedo, or the decade of natural disaster in the eighties—seasons of crop pests, typhoon, and drought, culminating in earthquakes and the eruption of Mount Asama—when the population fell by over a million.¹⁰

Iyenari, who ruled for half a century until 1848, was a nonentity himself, though fortunate in his early counselors. To protect the nobility, whose prestige was falling, he drafted strict sumptuary

⁹ The story of the Forty-Seven was dramatized as the kabuki play *Chushingura*. Its plot of delayed revenge and feigned madness closely parallels that of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Each play is acknowledged to be supreme in the national literature.

¹⁰ Volcanic dust carried from Asama and the Mayan explosion in the Philippines probably chilled the climate of Europe enough to cause severe harvest losses in 1787-88. Revolution followed in France, but the Tokugawa system was not badly shaken.

laws regulating the food and clothing of the lower orders, and showed a new respect for the emperor; but discontent among the peasants increased.

Iyeyoshi ruled to 1852; only a year afterward an untried shogun, Iyesada, watched the black frigates of Perry's squadron drop anchor off Uruga. His government's helplessness became apparent; for the first time, a Tokugawa asked advice of the Outer Lords. All limitations on shipbuilding were withdrawn, and a few steam vessels contracted for from the Dutch. But no defense was ready when Perry returned in 1854 demanding the immediate opening of ports for trade; the council granted him Shimoda, one hundred miles south of the capital, and Hakodate, on Hokkaido Island. Perry refused to accept a concession in Nagasaki, where for two centuries the whites had been second-class residents. The United States also received diplomatic recognition; in 1856 Townsend Harris established a consulate at Shimoda, securing after eighteen months a treaty granting to Americans most of the rights they had won in China and in Siam.¹¹ There followed treaties with Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia; the walls of isolation around the island empire crumbled beyond repair.

Iyesada's troubled reign lasted only five years; his twelve-year-old son, Iyemochi, ruled after him. The boy was trapped indeed between the armed foreigner and the native isolationist whose motto was: *Son-No* (Honor the Emperor)! *Jo-i* (Expel the Barbarian)! *Sak-ko* (Close the ports)! Wild patriots roamed the streets, slashing at foreigners and Bakufu officials alike. The stern prime minister, Ii Naosuke, was appointed to deal with the terror; his agents in Kyoto rounded up numbers of "antibarbarian" agitators; some of them were executed, including Yoshida Shoin, a brilliant young fanatic who had dedicated himself to defeating the West by mastering Western knowledge; who dreamed of extending the emperor's hegemony to Korea, and thence over the Asian continent. As the revered teacher of young samurai who became the statesmen of the next era, Yoshida exercised an incalculable effect upon national history.

His death was avenged within a year, when Ii was himself assassinated and every foreigner driven, for a time, out of Yedo. The

¹¹ Mr. Harris proceeded to Japan from a successful assignment in Bangkok.

PRINCIPAL PROVINCES

OF TOKUGAWA JAPAN

(After Murdoch)

Thirty-seven of sixty-two are listed

FUJITA

(Hereditary Lords #89)

- 4 BUZEN
- 11 SANUKI
- 27 TANGO
- 33 KII
- 39 ISE
- 40 ECHIZEN
- 43 MIKAWA
- 44 NOTO
- 45 KAGA
- 46 ECHU
- 48 TOTOMI
- 49 ECHIGO
- 50 SHINANO
- 58 SHIMOTSUKE
- 62 MUTSU

The Original

- 53 SAGAMI
- 54 IZU
- 55 KOTSUKE
- 56 MUSASHI
- 57 KAZUSA

TOZAMA

(Outer Lords #89)

- 3 CHIKUGO
- 5 NIGO
- 15 SUWGO
- 16 IWAMI
- 17 ANI
- 18 IZUMO
- 19 BINGO
- 21 BITCHU
- 23 MIMASAKA
- 34 YAMATO
- 37 OMI
- 41 MINO
- 50 HITACHI

The "Four

- 1 HIZEN
- 7 SATSUMA
- 12 TOSA
- 14 CHOSHU

Cleas" pp. 153-4

Tozama strength West and Southwest

Fudal strength Center and Southeast

Shipping routes (p. 99)

Chief trunk highways (p. 98)

Scale in miles

North arrow

Yezo (Hokkaido) Ainu territory

Sendai

Kyoto

Osaka

Yedo

Tosa

Choshu

Hizen

Satsuma

Shikoku

Honshu

Japan

Scale in miles

North arrow

Yezo (Hokkaido) Ainu territory

Sendai

Kyoto

Osaka

Yedo

Tosa

Choshu

Hizen

Satsuma

Shikoku

Honshu

Japan

Scale in miles

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Scale in miles

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Yezo (Hokkaido) Ainu territory

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Scale in miles

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Scale in miles

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Scale in miles

North arrow

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Japan

Scale in miles

North arrow

Yezo (Hokkaido) Ainu territory

Sendai

Kyoto

Osaka

Yedo

Tosa

Choshu

Hizen

Satsuma

Shikoku

Honshu

Japan

Scale in miles

killing of an English merchant in 1862 and the firing on Western ships in the Straits of Shimonoseki underscored some motives of the antforeign revolt, for the murderers were Satsuma men and the batteries belonged to Choshu. Western *Tozama* clansmen, the ancient enemies of the Tokugawa, were seeking to compromise the unhappy shogun with the European powers.

Yet in 1864 Iyemochi still held the upper hand; the year before, a British naval task force had destroyed the Satsuma capital and an allied combined fleet had chastised the Choshu. But little was left of Tokugawa arrogance; alternate attendance, that kept provincial magnates subservient to Yedo, was repealed. An army sent to restore order in the west made little headway against the new, disciplined, and well-armed peasant infantry of Choshu. European warships were meanwhile making demonstrations in the Inland Sea. In 1868 Shogun Iyemochi died. A successor reluctantly took office, but after a few months abdicated all authority to the fifteen-year-old Emperor Mutsuhito. The youth was escorted to Yedo where he took residence in the castle of the shoguns; the city remained the seat of national authority, receiving the name of *Tokyo*, or "Eastern Capital."

How the Japanese Lived in the Age of Seclusion

Tokugawa rule was a simple despotism little different from the command chain of a military staff and known as Bakufu, or military government. The Imperial Court became, as noted, little other than a priesthood. The shogun sought the advice of a senior council of four or five members on matters of state importance, and of a junior council that represented the military class. Local officials of the shogunate, with power comparable to that of the Chinese mandarins, were known as *bugyo*.¹² After the Chinese manner, there was a network of censors or intelligence agents who reported direct to Yedo. Each community had its headman, and the villagers were divided into mutually responsible five-family groups.

The Economic System

The Bakufu government inherited from Iyeyasu a surplus of one million gold ryo. Half of this reserve was lavished on the Nikko

¹² *Bu* is a military prefix: *buke* (warrior), *bushido* (warrior code).

shrines, the balance in supressing the Shimabara Revolt and relieving the victims of the 1657 Yedo fire. Thereafter, the treasury was seldom solvent, and in a rigid, closed economy deficit funds could be collected only by assessing "gifts" upon daimio, by rackrenting the farmer, or by debasing the coinage. Of ten gold and silver coin issues, seven were debased; fine coin did not circulate at all but went into hoarding.

There was no national debt and the shogunate printed almost no paper money, but there were seventeen hundred issues of provincial paper. Prices advanced tenfold within a century; the chief inflation cures were moral admonitions on the virtue of thrift, rarely heeded at court levels, and sumptuary laws directed against the farmer and *bourgeoisie*. It was dangerous to cut the stipends of Tokugawa retainers for fear of undermining the clan loyalty upon which Bakufu power rested.

Agriculture provided nine tenths of the production of Tokugawa Japan. At most times food was adequate; the rice crop was in 1620 less than nineteen million koku (about ninety million bushels). This was raised to as much as sixty million koku by Yoshimune, but it leveled off at half of this figure, despite doubling of the crop area. The decline in output was caused by exhaustion of the land, with lack of labor to handle the added acreage; population remained unchanged, but the meager rewards of agriculture caused a migration of manpower to the cities.

There were rice surpluses in eastern Kyushu Island and in the newer farmlands of northeast and northwest Honshu. Yedo and the Kwanto Plain had a 50 per cent food deficit, supplied by importing 2,500,000 bushels over water. Five rice-trading exchanges developed, the largest in Osaka, whose brokers were to become the richest men in Japan; they bought and distributed annually over twenty million bushels of rice.

During the crippled productivity of Tsunayoshi's Life-Protecting Ordinance, rice was dear and the samurai grew wealthy; they became impoverished during the piping times of Yoshimune, when grain revenue brought a low cash income, and landholders began to pray to the Dragon God for bad harvests.

In lands unsuitable for rice culture, the lesser grains—millet or wheat—were produced, and there was a large output of soybean, vegetables, and fruit. In hilly land were grown the "four trees"—

silk mulberry, paper mulberry, tea, and lacquer; large tracts were devoted to cotton, hemp, and indigo for the textile industry. Farms in the central provinces bred numbers of riding horses and draught cattle; no livestock was sold for meat, but there was a small output of milk and butter—foods almost unknown to the Chinese.¹³

Fishing depended upon small craft operating inshore; huge catches of sardines were taken off eastern Hokkaido and ground into fertilizer; important schools of food fish followed the Black Current past the Yedo coast. Whales were harpooned and sometimes actually netted, to be dragged ashore and cut up for blubber and meat.

Yedo alone consumed eight hundred thousand barrels of oil, pressed from cottonseed or rapeseed, or extracted from fish or blubber; it served as an illuminant or frying fat, distributed through a tight trust using fleets of "barrel ships." The people knew how to burn, though not to refine, the petroleum found in western Honshu.

The best gold and silver mines were operated by the shogun, who applied much of the output to minting coinage or settling foreign trade balances. Copper remained the most important mineral. Iron, usually in the form of a fairly pure "sand" from quarries or stream sediments, sufficed for household utensils and weapons—particularly the peerless samurai sword, made by ordained priest-craftsmen according to secret techniques. Almost all the well-known metals were produced in Japan, and skill was developed in smelting and alloying them.

Communications (map, p. 95)

To serve the daimio coming to Yedo on court attendance, Iyeyasu prescribed the building of trunk highways, thirty-six feet wide, set between avenues of trees, with half-width side roads and three-foot pathways. There were five trunk lines, radiating from the capital, but more than half the traffic moved over the Tokaido—the "Eastern Sea Road"—between Osaka, Kyoto, and Yedo. It was 310 miles long—slightly shorter than the Nakasendo, or

¹³ A quantity of milk and butter was included in the table allowances of the Chinese emperors, the famous Empress Dowager being especially fond of milk.



EAST MEETS WEST IN YEDO, 1854

This satirical woodcut shows American sailors and their Japanese hosts in a waterfront teahouse. In the bay are Commodore Perry's "Black Ships." See page 94.



THE DAIMIO'S PROCESSION

As the two-sword samurai pass by, the villagers kneel in respect. See page 100.
—From a contemporary woodprint.



MEIJI SAMURAI REACT AGAINST THE WEST, 1876

A contemporary woodcut shows samurai and peasants destroying foreign innovations. Note peasant in straw cape, and wreckage of Western-style wooden fence. See page 160. This movement led to the Satsuma Rebellion.—Courtesy of the Laurence I. Hewes collection.



THE TOKAIDO, MAIN STREET OF TOKUGAWA JAPAN

Two woodblock prints from Hiroshige's "Fifty-three Stages of the Tokaido," 1840. See pages 106-7.

(above) "Travelers Crossing a River." The shoguns' security regulations forbade extensive bridge-building. See page 99.

(below) "The Road Passes through Kanagawa." Then a fishing village, now an industrial metropolis; the bluffs and marsh in the background are the site of the present city of Yokohama. See page 106.

"Central Highway." First-class routes totaled over a thousand miles. There were post stations with relay horses at six-mile intervals—the fifty-three stations on the Tokaido becoming a Japanese byword. Of seven rivers that intersected the road, only two were bridged; the shoguns, eternally suspicious, feared that easy communication might help to concentrate the strength of their enemies. Because of the difficult river crossings, few wheeled vehicles moved on the highways. Horses and draped palanquins served the rich or nobly born; the commoner plodded on foot. Courier service connected the two capitals in eighty hours, and commercial express required six days.

Shipping, first held to a seventy-five-ton limit, was later built to about twice this size. Fleets operated over three main routes: the long rice haul from northwest Honshu, through the Shimonoseki straits, and into Osaka; the shorter but more exposed Pacific voyage from Sendai to Yedo. Each round trip was made once a year. The third, the Osaka-Yedo run, which supplied the capital with most of its imported food and merchandise, required a round-trip time of only three months. In addition to blue-water freighters, there were numberless harbor and fishing craft, nearly twenty-one thousand of them in Yedo Bay.

The People

Population censuses were prescribed each six years during the eighteenth century; and an informal count could be made from the anti-Christian affidavits filed in Buddhist temples. These show a population of about thirty million, varying by not more than two million throughout the Tokugawa period. It was realized that limited land and a closed economy required stabilization of numbers. Large families were discouraged by the practice of primogeniture, or by the more ruthless method of infanticide, chiefly of girl babies. Poor farm families found it cheaper to buy children kidnaped in Osaka or Yedo than to rear their own; occasional attempts to subsidize larger families after natural disasters had little effect. The four social classes recognized in Confucian teaching were distinguished also in Japan: the scholar-warrior, the farmer, the artisan, and the merchant.

THE SCHOLAR-WARRIORS

The highest group, famous in history as the samurai, included about one sixteenth of the population. Its symbol was the sword,¹⁴ required of the warrior but forbidden to other orders: "The girded sword is the living soul of the samurai." Blindly obedient to all higher authority, he was privileged to kill anyone of lower rank who failed in respect. Clear distinction was observed between the court nobility in Kyoto, *kuge*—aesthetes resembling the Chinese scholars—and the feudal warrior chieftains.

Daimio ("Great Names")¹⁵ were owners of estates yielding over ten thousand koku of rice; military landowners with smaller revenues were ranked as shomio ("Small Names"). The production unit koku, about five bushels, is actually a minimum annual food ration, and thus the number of koku in an estate approximates its population-carrying capacity. A daimio might feed half his crop to the peasant producers; another fourth was awarded in stipends to his chief retainers. The remainder went for sale in the Osaka market to meet the money obligations involved in constant travel, "presents" to the Bakufu, and the household expenses of a country mansion and a *yashiki* in Yedo.

Of the average rice production of thirty million koku nearly a fourth belonged to the shogun;¹⁶ about a million was owned by religious endowments, and only forty thousand by the emperor. Of two hundred daimio, eighty were feudatory to the Tokugawa.

The shogun, theoretically *princeps inter pares* among the military aristocrats, seized progressively greater power. He was privileged to assess the cost of public works upon the near-by daimio who benefited from them. In fact, shoguns became prone to bankrupt Outer Lords by requiring them to build costly shrines in Yedo or reconstruct sections of the burned city. "Freewill gifts" or "thank-tribute" were levied also upon vassals, and the most valuable mines and fishing grounds were expropriated from them.

¹⁴ Actually, two swords came invariably to be worn: the short one, or *wakizashi*, was suitable for enclosed spaces; the long *katana* was designed as a field weapon. The cult of the samurai sword has been significant in Japan until the end of the Second World War.

¹⁵ A daimio's name was compounded with that of his estate: *Iwase, Higo no Kami* signified Iwase, lord of Higo. A similar pattern of nomenclature is, of course, found among the nobility of Europe.

¹⁶ Gifts, forced labor, and special imposts added to the shogun's resources but not to those of the emperor or of most of the daimio.

The transfer of unreliable daimio to smaller fiefs was an effective form of punishment; the first three Tokugawas thus reassigned nearly half the estates in Japan, though the practice was rarely followed afterwards. Nevertheless, traveling daimio were forced to pay honor to the shogun's tea jar as it was borne to Yedo, and the boldest two-sword ruffian dared not injure Tsunayoshi's privileged dogs. Only in Satsuma territory in remotest Kyushu local autonomy existed; there no shogun fully enforced his authority.

The shomio, often retainers of provincial lords, tended to concentrate in castle towns; samurai were so common in parts of Yedo that one man in three carried swords. It was a problem of statecraft to keep them employed during centuries of peace and to protect townspeople from their insolence. Military pastimes were generally discouraged, though Yoshimune led vast hunting parties below the slopes of Fujiyama. Two million "rice eaters," disdainful of useful employment and resentful of their diminishing wealth and privilege, were no minor threat to the peace.

Clansmen in service were less dangerous than the *ronins*, or "wave men," who had lost their masters—freelances, often forbidden to serve new lords. In earlier times, many removed themselves by *junshi*, committing hara-kiri to accompany their lords to the "Yellow Streams," but the custom was suppressed after 1670. Temperate *ronins* became scholars, took priestly vows, or entered trade; the truculent loafed along the Tokaido or the streets of Yedo, seeking quarrels, eager to test their swords' edges on disrespectful citizens. During times of disaster, *ronins* might fight in wolf packs, as they did in Osaka Castle and at Shimabara.

THE FARMERS

The farming class ranked second in honor; it numbered about 82 per cent of the national population. Though respected for his usefulness, the farmer had an unenviable lot. The peasant resembled a European serf, except that he was not bartered with the land. Early in the Yedo period, he lost the power to buy, sell, or mortgage his fields. Under the good rule of Yoshimune, farmers might rise to samurai rank. Rarely, farmers became wealthy; most of them lived in misery, despite cooperative attempts to supply credit and seed.

Iyeyasu cynically set out to "tax the farmer so that he can

neither live nor die"; yet exactions were not heaviest on the shogunal domains, for local lords could amerce the peasant almost at will. It was estimated that a farm family grossing the excellent crop of seven hundred bushels would end the season in debt. Cities could not absorb the flood of rural refugees. One hundred and fifty recorded famines, twenty-one of them severe, caused widespread starvation among the peasants, and the lack of roads between most neighboring fiefs¹⁷ made it difficult to provide relief. It is not surprising that the *Pax Tokugawana* was shaken by one thousand peasant uprisings—four fifths in protest against taxes—ten during each year of the terrible 1780's.

THE ARTISANS

The artisans formed the smallest part of a preindustrial society—only 2 per cent; they were regarded as somewhat less necessary producers than the farmers. Craftsmen—food processors of all types, spinners, weavers, and garmentmakers, building operators, miners and woodsmen—practiced their ancestral skills throughout the sixty thousand villages. The swordsmith outranked all other artificers. Low rank was assigned to plasterers or tanners, whose use of animal hair and hide violated the Law of Buddha. These, and more menial workers, might be assigned to the *eta* or *hinin*, outcast submen, not numbered in the human population.

Craftworkers in silk, lacquer, and artwork were originally concentrated in Kyoto, but Yedo soon dominated the luxury trades. Porcelain-making was centered in Satsuma Province, where kidnapped Korean ceramists were settled after the Hideyoshi invasion. Woodblock printing—learned centuries earlier from the Chinese—achieved standards close to perfection. After 1650 a mass market developed for luxury goods once purchased only by samurai. City artisans organized themselves into tight guilds localized in separate streets whose apprentices trained for as long as twenty years without pay.

THE MERCHANTS AND THEIR TRADE

The merchants numbered perhaps 3 per cent of the population; they included the lively itinerant peddlers of Omi and Toyama—

¹⁷ The custom of placing *Fudai* fiefs between *Tozama* made for neighborly unfriendliness.

Oriental Connecticut Yankees—as well as princely grainbrokers and bankers. The latter formed trusts patterned somewhat after the structure of political feudalism. Mitsui Hachirobei was, before 1600, a dealer in wine and soy sauce; his heirs became, in time, exchange bankers between Osaka and Yedo. Through generations, the Mitsui family followed the founder's code, maintained firm internal discipline, and kept high its level of ability by retiring dull-witted sons and adopting prudent employees through marriage.

Traders were honored by Iyeyasu but despised by later shoguns and forbidden to own crop land. But they escaped the heaviest forms of taxation, and their commercial associations were sanctioned in return for low rates and special favors to the Bakufu.

Foreign trade with the Dutch in Nagasaki, and, after 1644, with the Chinese also, was handled by licensees under complete government control. It continued unbrokenly except during the two decades after 1794, when Dutch bases were occupied by England. The import staple was raw silk, paid for in metal. The Dutch brought gold with them, since it was valued almost twice as highly in Japan as on the continent. But there was a steady drain upon the national silver supply, with nearly five thousand tons of the white metal leaving Japan by 1720. The amount of copper sent abroad was 140 million coins besides bullion.

The tariff, 15 per cent on Dutch and 60 per cent on Chinese goods, brought in annually about half a million ryo—3,500,000 dollars; and Nagasaki became by far the highest revenue-producing city in Japan. Orthodox economists protested exchanging the "bones" of the Empire—its irreplaceable mineral resources—for foreign gewgaws. Sometimes they alarmed a shogun into reducing the volume of trade, or at least the export of specie. At the same time, domestic silk production was so encouraged that by 1860 Japan became more than self-sufficient.

The Dutch, whether in their Deshima prison or on the visits of state to Yedo, lived subject to the contempt felt for all traders. The authorities were arbitrary; after 1672 they fixed prices of all import and export commodities. The trade still brought large profit to monopolists, and it supported a swarm of harbor-front parasites who "squeezed" the Dutch. Traffic between East and West followed the pattern set in Roman times. It was an exchange of luxuries: it clothed rich women, supplied bullion for hoarding, and

provided metal for gunsmiths, but did not elevate general living standards. Spices, which retailed in Japan at eight times their cost in Makassar, obviously could not affect the diet of the poor.

THE CITIES

The chonin, or city people, were a class in themselves. Osaka, the kitchen and workshop of Japan, lost some of its prestige with the fall of the Toyotomi, yet by 1800 it had a population of half a million. Yedo was the metropolis, nearly three times as large, with 800 street, 731 *yashiki*—the largest covering 200 acres—and 1,000 temples. The *yedokko*, or local cockney, was a special breed, impudent, alert, and resourceful; the city *bourgeoisie* quickly appropriated the funds of the visiting daimio and funneled them into a carnival of pleasure. It was risky to accumulate capital which might be taxed away or confiscated; most citizens preferred to spend their profits in the splendid geisha restaurants, as sumptuous as palaces, or the *yoshiwara* district, sponsored by the shogunate, whose "queens" were the toast of society.

The theater was hardly less famous; popular taste favored the kabuki, a drama of intrigue, bombast, and violence. A successful kabuki actor earned more than a viceroy, and his technique was the subject of endless debate in the teahouses. The wife of a merchant thought little of braving a round trip the length of the Tokaido to attend a Kyoto fashion show.

So dazzling was city life that samurai and servingmen alike lost their taste for rustic boredom. The cities grew no less in political power than in wealth;¹⁸ but the swollen metropolis pressed closely upon its means of supply. If rice deliveries were halted for a week, Yedo was threatened with hunger—and the system failed often enough to cause one hundred urban rice riots during the Tokugawa age.¹⁹

The distinctions between samurai, farmer, artisan, and merchant were hereditary; but there was some shifting of classes, when, for instance, a nobleman entered a profession or a priest became a financier. Variations in living standard were less wide than in Europe: in every house, straw mats and paper walls sufficed; meat was forbidden by Buddhist law, and most of the poor could enjoy

¹⁸ When Yedo ran short of oil, sales were stopped in rural areas.

¹⁹ The comparison with imperial Rome's *panem et circenses* is obvious.

the rice staple. The rule of economy in display enabled the impoverished aesthete with a few well-chosen art objects to hold his own with the wealthy collector.

The Codes Men Lived By

Iyeyasu warned against unnecessary interference with the religious priesthood. During his time the Buddhist Church retained some of its earlier revival impetus and acquired merit by leading the attack upon Christianity. The Church had a near monopoly upon education and, like the contemporary Catholic Church, it was a patron of the arts; there were nearly fifty thousand ecclesiastics in Kyoto alone. Endowments were substantial—though less than 5 per cent of the national wealth. A few monasteries proved to be cruel landlords,²⁰ but more often priests served as intermediaries between the peasant and the exactions of the feudal system.

Shinto weakened with the decline of emperor worship. Confucianism, despite its foreign associations, became almost official. Many articles in Iyeyasu's Legacy are derived from the philosophy of the Chinese sage; indeed, the concept of fixed social orders, with benevolent rule strengthened by willing submission, was implicit in the Tokugawa system. Iyeyasu, who had so adroitly subverted the vassals of Hideyoshi, was determined that his own house should not fall by want of loyalty. The first three shoguns earnestly patronized Hayashi Razan, exponent of Chu Hsi Confucianism, whose teaching set the highest value upon obedience. Proficiency in this doctrine became a prerequisite for administrative office, and it ranked with military skill in qualifying young samurai for guard commissions.

Strong discouragement was given, however, to the Confucianism known as *Oyomei*,²¹ this emphasized intuitive ethics, or doing "right for its own sake"; such a creed seemed to the censors to border upon anarchy, and it was blamed for heterodox thought and rebellion.

²⁰ Koyasan Monastery, chief shrine of the Tendai sect, was attacked by peasant malcontents three times within fifty years.

²¹ The greatest of the *Oyomei* thinkers was Kumazawa Banzan, a scholar widely read and respected, but denied any important post and kept under restraint during his career—the early half of the seventeenth century.

Accomplishments of the Period

It is admitted that, had not the curtain of seclusion been drawn, Japan might have kept pace with Western progress. As it was, the Tokugawa period was not one of stagnation. Sugar, tobacco, oranges, and sweet and Irish potatoes were introduced; the added food supply enabled Japan to support three times the population of contemporary England. Silk production expanded eightfold in two centuries. Gunpowder was adapted to rock mining, and coal was used in quantity after 1700 to evaporate brine. Oil wells were dug in Echigo thirty years before Colonel Drake brought in the first Pennsylvania gusher. Dutch pumps greatly improved irrigation systems, and a major engineering feat was accomplished in the Tokyo aqueduct of 1654.

Far Eastern architecture has seldom excelled the magnificence of the Nikko and Shiba Park mausoleums. Baroque and colorful rather than classically restrained, they compare with the contemporary Bourbon palaces at Versailles. Common dwellings, too, were improved; the Tokugawa found Yedo thatched but left it tiled—more handsome, and a much improved fire risk.

There were intelligent codifications of law; economists wrote extensively on the nature of money, on distribution of commerce, and on labor problems. Experiments in price and production control were continuous, though not more successful than those of Wang An-shih in China or in Western lands today; the rice exchanges of Osaka and Yedo permitted "futures" sales and closely resembled the modern wheat pits of Chicago and Liverpool.

The shoguns built and ruled the largest metropolis in the world. For the nobility, they encouraged refined ceremonies like the tea or flower-arranging cult. The influence of poetry permeated every class; its most admired form was the terse, seventeen-syllable *hokku*, an almost perfect vehicle for epigram and descriptive vignette. The *hokkus* of Basho have a secure place in world literature. The revels of citizens, samurai, and courtesans in the gaudy "Transient World"²² of Yedo are recorded in the contemporary woodcut prints of Utamaro, Moronobu, and their fellows of the Genroku age. Even more celebrated are Hokusai's and Hiroshige's prints during the closing decades of the shogunate, including the

²² Familiar to the Japanese as *Ukiyo*.

world-famous "Fifty-three Stages of the Tokaido" and "Views of Fuji." Perhaps no society before the mechanical age has been so vividly preserved by its artists as Tokugawa Japan.

The writing of history was handicapped by uncritical adulation for the dual-rule principle, and a prohibition upon discussing events after 1600; but there were fairly substantial works on earlier periods. The first public school was founded in 1666, though education for the masses was never attempted. The leading university at Yedo remained a stronghold of dry Confucian doctrine. But knowledge was by no means limited to the Chinese classics; there was published a mass of Western learning transmitted by the Dutch.

The Dutch introduced tropical medicinal plants and supplied treatises on botany; guided by the Dutch anatomy books, the Japanese made the first dissections and postmortem studies ever recorded in the Far East; and by 1840 a few physicians were using smallpox vaccination and surgery. Optics, electricity, and chemistry were taught to Japanese students; finally, in 1771 there was published a comprehensive treatise on Dutch studies, *Rangaku Kotohajime*.²³ The history of Europe became known by 1860; maps showed latitude and longitude, and a celestial globe in Yedo demonstrated Newton's cosmogony; artists experimented with Dutch-style oil painting. Western magazines were on file in the shogun's library, as were models of machines; thus, Japanese savants were able at their first visit aboard to identify almost every part of Perry's ships.

Tokugawa Japan understood fundamental problems, practicing sound conservation of its soil and forests, and limiting population by effective, if ruthless methods; but it offered small outlet for mercantile enterprise or ambition of warriors.²⁴

It was the merchant class which, most of all, liquidated the Tokugawa system. Iyeyasu forestalled military rebellion by impoverishing the daimio; inept and proud, scorning even to touch money,²⁵ the two-sword men fell easy victims to brokers and

²³ *Rangaku* would mean "Dutch learning." *Ran* for "Orange" is the Japanese word for Holland.

²⁴ Now that the Divine Mission of Meiji has run its course, modern Japan may question whether its ancestors "took the wrong turn" or not in 1638.

²⁵ The first Japanese ruler known to have handled money in centuries was Hirohito when, as crown prince on tour, he dropped a coin into a Paris Metro turnstile.

merchants. By 1735, it was said, the *shonin*, or merchants, had risen above the farmers; by 1780 they were treating their artisan craftsmen as slaves; at the end of the century they spoke condescendingly of the debt-ridden samurai; and by the fall of the shogunate three fourths of all rice receipts in Osaka went to service the debts of the landholders. The upper *bourgeoisie* owned 70 per cent of the national wealth; they demanded titles, carried swords, and intermarried freely with the military class. The shoguns found no remedy save occasional *tokusei*, or forgiveness of debts, which caused a risk of altogether destroying samurai credit.

The guard officers, main prop of the shogun's military power, had progressively mortgaged their incomes until a bare rice ration remained. Some turned for a living to teach the children of the *shonin*; some married into merchant families, and thus the Small Names became allied with the men of trade against the upper nobility. At these higher levels, the privileged *Fudai*, whose government duties interfered with estate management, lost ground to the Outer Lords, whom higher taxation forced to operate their lands efficiently.

The Rise of Loyalism

Emperor worship had been relegated to limbo by Yedo philosophers, and there was censorship of pro-imperial writings in the capital. The Tokugawa had, however, encouraged the courtiers of Kyoto to pass their time in harmless antiquarian studies, and it was these studies which led to a revision of thought as well as, eventually, to political Shintoism. The *kuge*, most of whom had no resources save small imperial stipends, had all to win by backing the neglected emperor. A Tokugawa, the prince of Mito, wrote before 1700 the *Dai Nihon Shi*, based upon ancient records and confirming the Tenno's unique sovereignty. The dangerous volumes did not appear in print for over a century, but they influenced school men, who transmitted their ideas to the students who swarmed in Kyoto. Sentiment gathered about the phantom ruler, hidden from men behind moated walls in his ancient garden—"The Shogun, all men fear; the Emperor, all men love."

Since national seclusion had become a fixed principle of Tokugawa rule, foreign incursions appeared as a challenge to the state. After 1750 Western pressure was fed by the demands of the new

industrialism; British, French, and Russian warships visited Japanese harbors; whalers made catches close to the Western beaches, and some of them bargained for water and provisions. A few were wrecked, and their survivors conveyed to Nagasaki for repatriation.

By the 1840's, conservatives watched with alarm, and liberals with hope, long streamers of smoke to seaward and heard the blast of steam whistles. Perry's arrival fully exposed the weakness of the nation. His ships dwarfed anything in Yedo Bay, and the admiral, a true "gunboat diplomat," hinted at a supporting fleet of a hundred cruisers. Against them, the land was naked; when called to arms, the samurai were found to have pawned their armor and swords for rice.

As early as 1846, in a crisis forced by French warships, the Emperor had played a firm role. As Townsend Harris in 1858 referred to Imperial authority, the council roared with laughter, but swift events were to reverse the joke. When a shogunal deputy took the Harris treaty to Kyoto for the formality of approval, he was kept waiting for weeks and forced to return without the emperor's signature. Pleading this defect, many of the Outer Lords refused to honor the convention.

Some years of anarchy followed, during which the Yedo authority grew weaker. Iyeyasu's diplomacy had played itself out with its balancing of feudal power, its gerrymandering of fiefs, its web of intelligence. Overwhelmingly, the people turned to the ancient cult of the Sun Goddess. As Mutsuhide, one hundred twenty-second descendant of the divine Jimmu Tenno, opened the era of Meiji, or "Enlightened Rule," only one clan drew sword on behalf of the fallen Tokugawa; the last shogun swore allegiance to the emperor, and of the Bakufu little was saved except its flag, red sun on white field, which remained the national ensign.

And so passed Old Japan, mourned by romanticists. Few ages have been more swiftly eclipsed from history. Intent upon westernization, speeding toward unknown goals, the people remembered their "hermit" era as something glamorous but remote—like a faded silk painting of the mountains of Horai in the dream world of Shinkiru.

Greatness and Decline under the Ch'ing Manchus

※ Our dynasty's majestic virtue has penetrated to every country under Heaven, and Kings of all nations have offered their costly tribute by land and sea. As your Ambassador can see, we possess all things. I . . . have no use for your country's manufactures. It behooves you, O King . . . by perpetual submission to our Throne . . . [to] secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter.

Emperor Ch'ien Lung to King George III, 1793

Rise of the Manchus

CHINA'S NORTHEAST frontier had remained fairly stable since the thirteenth century. There the mountains of Jehol fall away to the Gulf of Chihli; beyond are the plains of South Manchuria, anciently divided into the provinces of Liaotung and Liaohsi, east and west of the Liao River. To eastward of these plains, the Long White Range forms the boundary of Korea. Its forested peaks form the source of the Yalu, Tumen, and Sungari rivers; in its valleys lived the Tungusic, or Eastern Mongolian peoples.

Their tribal groups began in the sixteenth century to press westward. On the maritime plains they encountered Chinese settlers, whom the Ming emperors protected with a stockade extension of the Great Wall. Tribesmen coming to farm or to trade were grossly mistreated by the frontier mandarins; they found a spokesman and

leader in Nuerhachi, a chieftain who had traveled in embassies to Peking and surely observed the growing helplessness of the Chinese court. Born in 1559, Nuerhachi established his leadership through years of tribal warfare before, in 1618, he could gather sufficient forces to challenge the Chinese; after his protests had gone unheeded, he captured a number of their outposts, one of which, renamed Mukden, became his capital.

The Great Pure Dynasty

Nuerhachi died in 1626, leaving his title to a grandson, Abahai. Tungusic cavalry had by this time begun to raid North China, and had severed the land route between Peking and the vassal state of Korea. When the Koreans took up arms on behalf of their Ming overlords, Abahai's tribesmen struck across the frozen Yalu River in the winter of 1632; Seoul was sacked and the king of Korea signed a humiliating surrender.

Until 1635, the Tungusic tribes acknowledged themselves to be Chinese vassals. In that year they adopted the name of Manchus, subjects of the Ta Ch'ing, or Great Pure dynasty. Though their original stock numbered hardly five million people, these nomads had made themselves a continental power. Resembling the Koreans, they had nevertheless a distinct spoken language and a form of phonetic writing based upon the script of the Uigur Mongols and hence upon the Sanskrit alphabet. Their society was feudal, with agricultural serfdom. Contemporaries admired the manly qualities of the Manchu warriors and the "stunning beauty" of the women. Their race has been called the most adaptable in Asia.

Nuerhachi commanded a nomadic horde divided into eight banners of about 12,500 warriors, designated by color, such as the Red Banner, or the Red-bordered Green. Two further systems were formed among the Manchu allies or enemy deserters, so that the army was finally composed of twenty-four banners—Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian—each ruled by a chief of the Nuerhachi line.

Betrayal of the Mings

The time of the Mings was indeed running out. Jesuit engineers had designed for them some batteries of artillery (with each cannon

named for a Christian saint!). But for lack of pay the imperial guard revolted. A peasant bandit, Li Tsu-ch'eng, headed a rebellion which overspread all of northwestern and central China. When Li captured Peking in 1644, the last Ming emperor hanged himself.

A trusted general, Wu San-kuei, was stationed at the Pass of Shanhaikwan to resist the advance of the Manchus. Wu may have felt, justifiably, that the Ming rulers had lost the Mandate of Heaven, and he held a blood feud with Li. He realized that the banner troops were no longer barbarians; the line of Nuerhachi was as ancient and noble as that of the Ming, who were the upstart descendants of a wandering priest. There had been so much mixture of blood in the cities of Liaotung that the invaders were, racially, almost as much Chinese as Tungusic. Furthermore, the Manchus had shown generous favor to all Chinese officials who entered their service. Wu San-kuei welcomed the invaders inside the Great Wall and marched with them to Peking. Shun Chih, the six-year-old grandson of Abahai, was placed on the Dragon Throne as the first emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty.

But China was not won with the fall of Peking. The northern provinces, long familiar with the Manchus, accepted them peacefully. Below the Yangtze, where several Ming princes made their stand, the struggle was long and bloody: one Chinese army retreated far into Burma before surrendering, and the fighting in Szechuan Province cost six million lives.¹ The most stubborn loyalists were the sea people of the southeast, led by the half-breed pirate called by the Europeans Koxinga.² He was born in Japan to a Chinese father—a Christian convert and freebooter who rose to high rank in the navy of China.

When the dynasty fell, Koxinga was able to gather hundreds of fighting ships and an army of one hundred thousand men; these did not suffice to recapture Central China, but their hold on the southeast coast proved unshakable. While operating in Fukien, he struck at the Dutch in Formosa, captured Fort Zeelandia, and cleared all white garrisons from the island.³ Koxinga might have

¹ Chang Hsien-chung, the mad dictator of Szechuan overthrown by the Manchus, is infamous as perhaps the bloodiest tyrant in Chinese history.

² This is a phonetic rendering of his honorific title *Kuo Hsing Yeh*, "Lord of the Imperial Surname." His family name was Cheng Ch'eng-kung.

³ Koxinga's depredations caused the abandonment, for a time, of all coastal communities in the southeast except Macao.

added the Philippines to his conquests had he not met an early death, only a few months after his triumph in Formosa. This island and the southeast provinces passed under Manchu control by 1682. Though resistance to the "foreigner" lasted for a generation, it produced no hero comparable to Koxinga—handsome and vain, striding the deck of his war junk or dictating terms to the Dutch in his blue-draped field tent. His descendants shared with the line of Confucius the distinction of being China's only hereditary nobility.

Ch'ing Government

The Manchus did not long attempt to govern "from the saddle"; from the time of their first victories in Liaotung, they used captured Chinese scholars to keep their records. To weaken the resistance of Ming garrisons, Nuerhachi claimed the Confucian sanction of the Favor of Heaven.

Ch'ing government studiously followed the pattern set by earlier dynasties, formalizing and strengthening it. Thirteen years before the Manchus entered Peking, they had adopted the six-board system long used in China: Rites, Revenue, Civil Office, War, Law (or Punishment), and Public Works. The Board of Rites, interpreting the Confucian canon and governing court protocol, continued through the Ch'ing era to outrank all other agencies. The Tartar emperors inherited the ancient authority of the Son of Heaven, and they perpetuated the Ming institution of a grand secretariat of six members as the Executive Cabinet. The secretariat, chosen from among the highest nobility, became increasingly an ornamental body, and, though it remained in existence, real power passed after 1730 to another agency, the Grand Council, an active body designed to handle emergencies with dispatch.

The Manchus made full use of the censorate established during the T'ang dynasty,⁴ whose traveling inspectors reported directly to the emperor on all affairs in the empire; they increased the dignities of the Han Lin Academy—the nation's supreme cultural arbiter and historical repository—providing for it splendid quarters in the imperial city. Though as indifferent as its predecessors to foreigners, the Manchu state was prompt to establish an office

⁴ See p. 37.

of Mongolian affairs; only during its last decades of power did it create any type of foreign office—and then, at a level far below the boards of state.

Provinces were administered by viceroys, who ruled two or three contiguous provinces, or governors, who ruled one; these were virtual satraps, swearing allegiance to the emperor but absolute in their domain; each was aided by a lieutenant-governor, a judge, and at least two chief revenue officers in charge of the crop tax and the salt monopoly. There were prefects or intendants of districts, and below these, at the local level, the *hsien kuan*, or magistrate, who represented the government at the "grass roots"—the versatile official who fulfilled the duties of Confucian priest, literary pundit, tax collector, sheriff and judge, notary, and family counselor: the "father and mother" of the community.

The Civil and Military Bureaucracy

Access to all posts in the civil service came, at least in theory, through state examinations, first instituted during the Han dynasty and continued thereafter with few interruptions. Three types of examinations were given under the Manchu bureaucracy. The preliminary one was given every two years in every district. Those who passed—about 1 per cent of the entrants—were eligible to enter the provincial examination, an ordeal usually held at three-year intervals. The few successful candidates from each province were finally examined in Peking.⁵ Contestants were required to write poems and essays on prescribed subjects—style, historical knowledge, and profusion and accuracy of citations from the classics being weighed heavily in grading.

Only those who passed the Peking examinations were assured of posts in the magistracy, and, since there were never enough of these vacant for all candidates, assignment would be made by lot (or, as commonly charged, through influence at court).

The army rose somewhat in public esteem under the Manchus. They were the first rulers to establish a military academy and give examinations—paralleling those of the civil service—to can-

⁵ The three levels are, arbitrarily, compared to the A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. in America. If the subject matter of the tests seems irrelevant, it does not qualitatively differ much from that of most British civil service examinations offered since 1855: these emphasize literary polish, history, and the European classics.

didates for military commissions. These included some literary tests, but were mainly contests in weight-lifting, swordsmanship, and foot or mounted archery; apparently tactics and military technology were not included. Promotion depended too often upon family connection. Originally the eight banners were ruled by different princes, but fear of subversion led the emperors to take command of three.

The nine grades of rank in the army corresponded precisely to those in the civil bureaucracy and were identified by similar cap buttons. The civil official was, of course, more respected, and an almost unique feature of Manchu rule was the transfer of civil officials with no military background to high command in the army.

Edicts and Memorials

Legislation was by imperial edict, usually after consultation with the Grand Council;* promotions or punishments—even the death penalty—could be summarily ordered at the court level, though capital sentences by provincial authorities were reviewed in Peking. A continuous stream of memorials poured in upon the council from censors, governors, and the high officialdom: lower officials could not address the throne directly, though statements were often transmitted by their superiors. These documents, written in the purest classical literary style, covered every subject and were notably influential upon the court. Considered en masse, they were the closest approach to free editorial expression that the Ch'ings would tolerate. An unpopular official might expect to be executed if fifty or more memorials demanded his death. Bold censors did not hesitate, even at the risk of severe punishment, to impeach the emperor of misconduct, and wise censors listened to the voice of the masses. Sometimes they were enjoined to "hear what the people are singing," for public opinion about the government often expressed itself in ribald ditties.

Ch'ing Innovations

The Manchus, though forming less than 5 per cent of the population, reserved to themselves half the places in the Grand Secre-

* Especially important edicts, such as those designating the emperor's successor, were likely to be written in vermilion ink.

ariat and the Grand Council, and the same fraction of all examination honors. The emperor and all his consorts must perforce be of the Master Race: "No Chinese concubines; no Manchu eunuchs." Peking, close to their homeland, was well adapted to continue as the imperial capital. All Chinese were evicted from within the inner walls, which became the Manchu city, home of the court and the bannermen. Smaller Manchu reserves were created in the leading provincial cities, and intermarriage was forbidden between the races.

The fashion of the braided pigtail was imposed upon all male Chinese as a badge of conquest—though Koreans never abandoned the top-knot style of the Mings. Manchu women's feet were left unbound, in contrast to the "lily bud" feet of the Chinese.

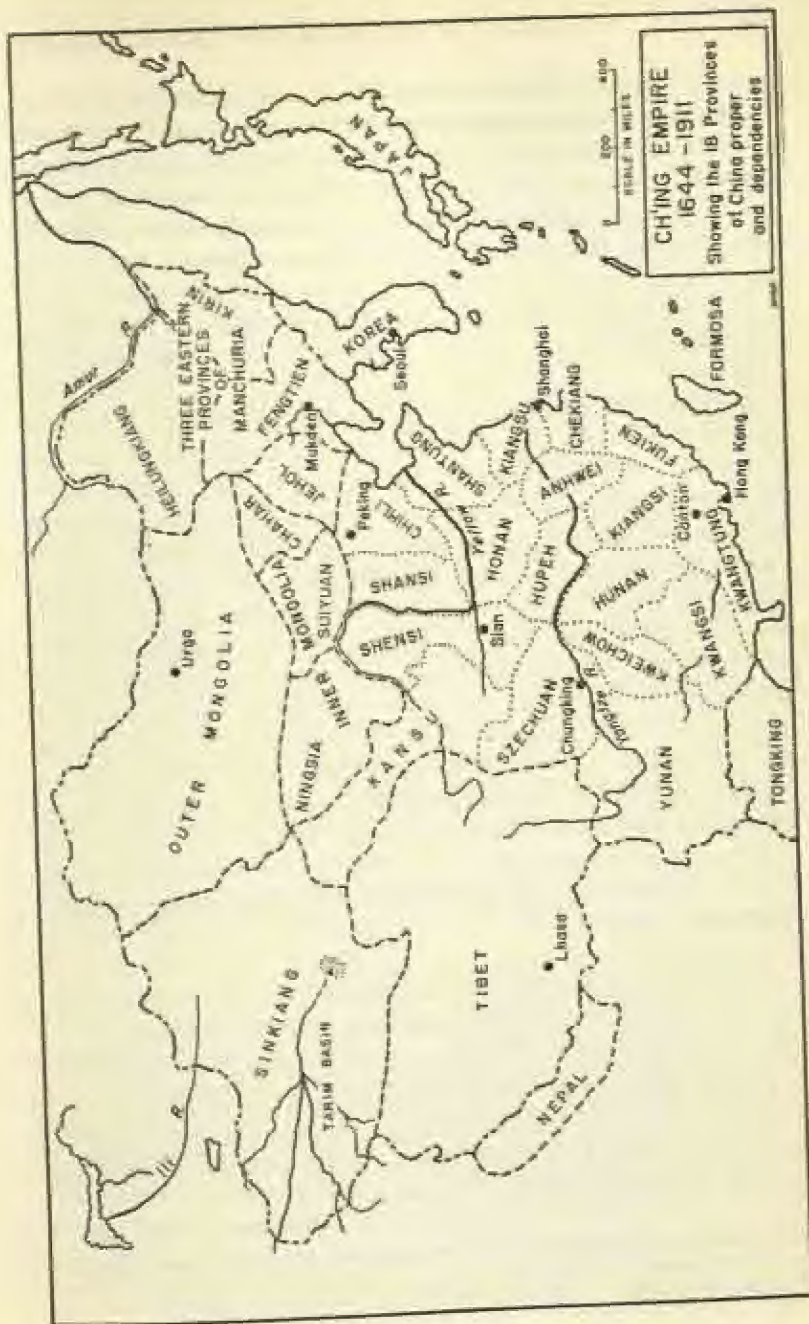
The Manchus were, as a select military caste, forbidden to enter trade; many of them served in the banners. The imperial kindred were distinguished by a yellow or red sash; but the cadet branches were firmly disciplined, the plague of eunuch rule abated, and for two centuries the throne held power and respect. Six emperors divided the period between them, each choosing his successor with care. Manchu became only a ceremonial tongue—like Latin in contemporary England—and but once in a decade the emperors traveled the imperial road to their ancestral tombs in Mukden.

Their greatest mistake was to "tie themselves to their own past"; they feared any change, lest it should unseat them from power. As their barbarian vigor ebbed, they settled into a treadmill routine; Nuerhachi's last injunction was to maintain their skills in archery—and so the banners punctiliously carried their bows and quivers into the age of Maxim guns.

K'ang Hsi the Unifier

Shun Chih, only six years old in 1644, remained under the tutelage of his uncles. He showed a strong sympathy with the Chinese culture but not much vigor in finishing the conquest of the country. Sentimentally attached to his wife, he reverted to barbarian custom by sacrificing thirty lives at her death; he himself died shortly after reaching manhood.

The child K'ang Hsi inherited the throne and held it for sixty years (1662-1722), one of the greatest epochs in Chinese history.



In 1673 he consolidated the empire by forcing a contest with three almost autonomous commanders in the south—one of them Wu San-kuei, who had placed the Manchu dynasty on the throne. There followed ten years of struggle before the authority of Peking was supreme throughout China and the northern steppe. With the land pacified, the emperor made official visitations which gave him an encyclopedic knowledge of "every river and mountain" in the twenty-one provinces.⁷ In his domestic policy, K'ang Hsi encouraged scholarship and paid attention to the complaints of his censors.

K'ang Hsi threw open his country to foreign intercourse, so that, following the lead of the British East India Company in 1684, six European nations established trading depots in Canton; in the north he handled the Russians with a firm hand, first destroying their outposts and then negotiating the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), signed in the presence of twenty-five thousand Chinese troops. This, the first Chinese treaty with a European power, fixed a boundary above the Amur watershed, where it remained for nearly two centuries. It freed the emperor to carry on a series of campaigns against the northern Mongols, who were reduced to vassalage. He won later victories against the Khalkas of Central Asia, and established a protectorate over Tibet. Thus he was able to protect China within an arc of tributary peoples, wide deserts, and impassable mountains—from the Korean straits to the Himalayas.

K'ang Hsi's autobiography sets forth his devotion to the duties of his office and explains the prestige of his state during the early eighteenth century:

I have worked [for fifty years] carefully, patiently, and faithfully, as if for a day. . . . Whenever anything comes to me for decision, I always go over it very carefully . . . whether the thing is important or not. If I leave anything undone today, I will do it tomorrow. . . .

I never executed one of my subjects without justifiable cause. The Treasury reserve has never been used except for military campaigns and famine relief. Each of my palaces is run with less than one per cent of the annual expenditures on dams and dykes.⁸

⁷ The Manchus organized China into eighteen provinces besides the three eastern provinces of Manchuria.

⁸ As quoted in Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Chinese Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), pp. 81-82.

The enlightened K'ang Hsi was succeeded by a younger son, Yung Cheng, whose energies were at first wasted in securing his position against his elder brothers. His administration was, though lasting but fourteen years, respected and free of abuse.

The Zenith of Manchu Power

The achievements of K'ang Hsi were equaled, and perhaps surpassed, by those of the fourth Ch'ing emperor, Ch'ien Lung, the hardy, intelligent ruler reared as the son of an obscure concubine.⁹ He reigned for six decades (1736-96).¹⁰ His military accomplishments are recorded as the "Ten Victories": five over rebellious Mohammedans, Miao tribesmen, and Formosans; the rest over outlying peoples. His conquest of Nepal in northern India, beyond the Himalayas, was brilliantly executed; but the campaigns against Annam and Burma were expensive stalemates—victories only in the language of servile court poets. Under Ch'ien Lung, if the Ch'ing dominion reached high noon, it began also to set. The treasury was drained to support armies at the end of a supply line sometimes two thousand miles long; rich lands were devastated in the civil wars; possibly three hundred thousand banner troops perished of wounds, exposure, or tropical fevers.

The emperor, with advancing years, became isolationist. He confined foreign traders to the Canton Delta, and gave in 1793 a cold—if brilliant—reception to the British commercial envoy, Lord Macartney. For the last two decades of his reign he was dominated by an avaricious parasite, Ho Shun.

The Weaklings

The reigns of Chia Ch'ing (1796-1820) and Tao Kuang (1820-50) were unfortunate for the nation. Two conscientious though weak emperors struggled to maintain the greatness of their line. Chia Ch'ing's cuts in court expenditures alienated the Manchu pensioners. Tao Kuang patiently endured the summer heat of the Forbidden City to save the cost of visiting his mountain retreat in Jehol. But Ch'ien Lung's wars against the Moslems of the Far

⁹ By some accounts, Ch'ien Lung was a servant's baby, "switched" with one of the emperor's sons by an ambitious mother.

¹⁰ He abdicated so as not to show filial disrespect by outlasting the term of his grandfather.

West had to be fought over again, and the rapacity of officials caused insurrection in almost every province of the vast, disintegrating empire.

When Lord Amherst came from "beyond the Four Seas" in 1816 to announce the victory of Waterloo and open up China to trade, he was sent from Peking without an audience. But the pressure of the white nations could not indefinitely be resisted; their demands were backed by war fleets far more powerful than any seen before in the Orient. Before Tao Kuang died in 1850, these nations had occupied Chinese soil in Hong Kong and wrested trading privileges in his southern ports. The emperor forbade any honorific tablets to be set before his tomb.

Decay in Civil Government

Obsessed with the danger of secession movements, the later Ch'ing rulers forbade important officials to serve in their home provinces, and rotated them at three-year intervals. At a triennial Great Reckoning, all promotions were bestowed by the emperor himself to bind successful officials to his person.

Yet by the early nineteenth century, censors reported extortion and corruption beginning at the palace walls and growing worse with distance from Peking. This caused almost chronic rebellion in Turkestan and Formosa, to whose wilds the most dishonest officials were banished. Government salary rates had remained unchanged since antiquity despite continuous price inflation. Yung Cheng set a schedule of supplementary grants; even including these, a customs collector in Canton drew but twenty-five hundred dollars for his entire staff of two hundred men. Regularly, however, during the nineteenth century, he was able to pay all expenses besides remitting over twenty-five thousand dollars to Peking and accumulating a personal fortune.

Swarms of flunkies, mainly indigent relatives, preyed upon litigants in the magistrates' yamens; popular proverbs expressed the cynicism with which the people regarded these "wolves and tigers."¹¹ K'ang Hsi frankly advised his subjects to avoid the courts and seek justice in their family and village councils. For

¹¹ Such as, "It is possible to be arrested by accident, but not to be so released"; or, "A large rooster does not eat small rice"—a warning to offer bribes commensurate with the official's rank.

moral guidance he left a sacred edict, appealing to all the Five Orders of society to be honest, loyal, and thrifty. The edict, deposited in every yamen, was removed from its yellow-silk box and read on the first and fifteenth of each month.

Punishments were somewhat milder than those inflicted in eighteenth-century Europe, though Ch'ien Lung's maxim—"to rule barbarians [Europeans] by misrule is the true and best way of ruling them"—sowed seeds of bitter misunderstanding between the East and the West.

Decline in Armed Strength

The eight Manchu banners who drew pensions from the throne became a state within a state, distributed throughout the realm; there were also provincial Chinese Green Banner levies, with nominal strength of half a million men. The troops were more orderly than the samurai of Japan, though they were poorly trained and often commanded by court favorites.¹² Parasites gravitated to the military theaters to share the "squeeze" in supply purchases; in peacetime a fourth of the names on Green Banner rolls were fictitious, and their pay appropriated by the higher officers.

Bows, swords, and spears remained standard service weapons, though Manchu textbooks contained procedures for gunpowder manufacture, and matchlock and artillery fire. Warships were up to 1850 likely to be junks mounting a single deck cannon. The trade of war was, as always, despised; gentlemen never carried weapons in private life.

Ch'ien Lung offered his generals the alternatives of victory or death, but richly rewarded those who won. He constructed near Peking replicas of Tibetan and Mongol fortresses where his troops maneuvered before leaving for Central Asia. It is possible that the imperial armies of 1750 could have held their own against Europeans; a century later they were little better than a rabble.

The Financing of the Empire

In the reckoning of the Jesuit fathers, eighteenth-century China was a better and richer land than France; certainly it was self-suffi-

¹² Ho Shen, for example, was transferred from a literary office to supreme command of an expeditionary army in Mongolia; and nepotism accounted for much of the command inefficiency in the Burma and Formosa wars.

cient in food, clothing, shelter, and secure employment for a hundred million workers. There was little reason to doubt the favor of Heaven.

Tax collections in the realm were about one hundred million silver taels, of which one third was remitted to Peking. About half the state income came from the land tax; a fourth was derived from the salt monopoly. There were no regular internal tariffs before 1860, though special tolls were often collected at city gates or fair grounds. The court, with the entire Peking government apparatus, cost twenty million taels;¹³ an equal sum was provided for the banner armies, and half as much was needed for coastal defense and control of piracy. A tenth of the tax receipts was spent in Manchuria and the dependencies; most of the small annual budget for public works went to control the Yellow River.

Manchu China was lightly taxed; crop land paid about sixty cents per acre. The normal cost of government per capita amounted to 3 per cent of a banner private's pay, relatively far less than the expenditure in Tokugawa Japan. Nevertheless, prosperity diminished in the later eighteenth century, and inflation forced down the value of the tael from two dollars to seventy-five cents. Internal wars greatly lowered state income, while the campaigns in Central Asia were enormously expensive.¹⁴

The most chronic natural disasters were the Yellow River floods—seventeen of them in a single quarter century. The damage was aggravated by misgovernment; engineers were suspected of purposefully leaving the levees insecure, since each inundation provided ample "squeeze." Such practices led to the catastrophe of 1855, which destroyed the Grand Canal, buried millions of fertile acres, and permanently changed the bed of the Yellow River.

More Mouths to Feed

Though corruption doubled the cost of government, it could not alone impoverish a great nation. Demographers attribute the decline in living standards apparent by 1850 to population growth. Official census figures, drawn from the tax rolls, are unreliable, but

¹³ A tael was a silver currency unit defined by weight, differing in value somewhat in various parts of the empire.

¹⁴ It is estimated that it cost two ounces of silver to move a pound of war material across the deserts.

they indicate that a population of about one hundred million at the beginning of K'ang Hsi's reign had increased to 275 million by the end of the eighteenth century and fifty years later to 400 million. While the number of people increased fourfold, the acreage under crops hardly doubled.

The food supply was greatly increased by introduction of New World plants—maize, sweet potato, and Irish potato—capable of high yields from inferior soil, and with a short growing season.¹⁵ These permitted steady population growth despite war, disaster, and an infant death rate so high that only half of the imperial family reached maturity.¹⁶

Confucius versus Competition

Enterprise was retarded by Confucian distrust of "new things," which might change the good ways of the ancestors; and by the organization of strong merchants' and artisans' guilds, formed to discourage competition and control output. Few improved techniques developed in China during seven generations. The scholar-gentry, whose surplus income might have been used as industrial capital, preferred to hoard their silver or reinvest it in land. Government funds financed salt-well drilling along with most other forms of mining; and they operated the porcelain kilns that were the pride of the Ch'ing state.

The Spread of Discontent

The most serious domestic problem of the Ch'ings was regional hostility. In the southwest provinces lived forty-one types of Miao or Lolo aboriginal peoples, who were exploited by land-hungry settlers and dishonest officials. They took to the warpath many times, and were never fully subdued despite massacres and wholesale deportation. Enclaves of Mohammedans in the western provinces added their discontent to the general unrest.

¹⁵ China alone, of the Asian countries, approximated its swollen twentieth-century population during the mid-nineteenth; Japan and India were then one half, and Java one fourth, as populous as today. Burma and Siam had fewer than five million people each, Korea not more than twelve million.

¹⁶ Smallpox was the most widespread killer; K'ang Hsi was, it is reported, chosen emperor because he had survived this plague as a child and was thus the prince most likely to enjoy a long life.

The half of China south of the Yangtze, with the most adventurous and gifted people in the empire, was restricted to only one fourth of the examination degrees and official appointments. There developed in the state a class of ambitious, frustrated intellectuals who saw their best hope in the overthrow of the Manchus; and the common people grumbled at paying levies to build temples in Peking and sending their best rice as tribute to a "foreign" bureaucracy.

Opposition to the Ch'ing was channeled through secret societies, which, though outlawed, were never suppressed. They were nationalistic in their appeal, keeping alive the memory of native-Chinese Ming rule; they attracted patriots as well as mystics and malcontents of every type, and to the poor they offered fraternal benefits. The White Lotus Society, of ancient origin, had helped to evict the Mongol dynasty; it quickened its activities throughout the nation during the Ch'ing era. The superbly organized Triads developed during K'ang Hsi's reign, named for the symbols Heaven, Earth, and Man; their initiation ritualized the struggles of China against her Manchu overlords. Only less powerful were the White Clouds, the Illustrious Worthies, or the Society of Heaven's Law.¹²

Manchu Dealings with the West

Russians infiltrated the valley of the Amur in the same year that the Manchus entered Peking. They were checked by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, signed during the minority of Peter the Great. When Peter became Czar, he confirmed the agreement, and good relations between the powers lasted for a century and a half.

The Manchus, foreigners themselves, were not at first unfriendly to foreign visitors. The Co-Hong, a merchant guild, was granted a monopoly of the Canton maritime trade and made responsible for the behavior of local Europeans. Whites in Peking were required to adopt Chinese dress and never return to their homeland. All petitioners were expected, in the imperial presence, to perform the kowtow or nine obeisances, knocking the head to the floor. Dutch trade missions kowtowed, but Macartney and Amherst refused to do so. During even the years of unrestricted trade, the Chinese

¹² This T'ien Li Society narrowly missed assassinating Emperor Chia Ch'ing in 1813.

government entrusted foreign communication to a minor bureau, the Office for Regulation of Barbarians. In 1757, alarmed at the European military penetration of Indonesia, Southeast Asia, and India, Ch'ien Lung closed to Western shipping all his ports except Canton and Macao.

Relations with the Perimeter States

Over their neighbors the Ch'ing were supreme. A Chinese amban with fifteen hundred troops controlled Tibet. Turkestan and Mongolia were far more heavily garrisoned. The eastern Kalmuck Tartars attempted to build their own desert empire until utterly crushed in 1755 by the Chinese; a part of their lands was given to the Kazak Turks, and another portion to the Western Kalmucks, who came as refugees from Russian oppression. Formosa, developed as a profitable rice-bowl plantation, became, like Turkestan, a place of exile for Ch'ing mandarins. One of the worst-governed places on earth, the island was the scene of many insurrections.

Japan maintained no diplomatic connection with Peking, but the sovereign of Okinawa promptly recognized the Manchu authority and sent regular embassies. Burma deferred to her northern "elder brother" with occasional state missions. Most kings of Siam, especially the usurpers, sought confirmation of their titles from Peking. In Seoul, representatives of the Manchu court crowned each new sovereign. Delegates to the Manchu court were classed as "tribute-bearers," though gifts of great value were usually returned with them, and the exchange was, in effect, a form of commercial trade.¹⁶ From Mongolia came wool and furs, from Korea, paper, gold, and tiger skins; faraway Nepal once in five years furnished peacocks and live elephants. Chinese administration of vassel states was largely symbolic; but the diplomatic pageants in Peking raised the prestige of the Dragon Emperor, permitting Ch'ien Lung to proclaim, "Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view; to maintain the perfect good and to fulfill the duties of the state."

¹⁶ Lord Macartney brought sixty cases of "tribute" from London. Ch'ien Lung in return lavished \$800,000 on entertainment and gifts to the English.

Lesser Asian States during the Ch'ing Period

KOREA

The only Korean provinces spared by Hideyoshi's invasion were overrun by the Manchu horde in 1637. After the Tai Kuk ("Great Land") across the Yellow Sea succumbed to the Manchus, the Seoul monarchs had no choice save to become obedient satellites—reinsuring themselves by sending embassies also to the shoguns at Yedo. The seclusion of the Korean Peninsula was maintained on every frontier. Industry stagnated, and old skills in shipbuilding, ceramics, and architecture became lost. But after the introduction of the cotton plant about 1600, the Koreans developed some new interests, weaving cloth and developing a tough paper which, sewed in multiple sheets, served as plate mail for the Manchu armies.¹⁹

BURMA

Burma was ruled from 1600 to 1752 by the Toungoo dynasty, princes of Burmese blood who extended their power far down the Malay Peninsula; their capital was at Ava, on the Upper Irrawaddy. They welcomed trade relations with the British and Dutch, but suffered considerably from the operations of Chinese freebooters who entered Burma after the fall of the Mings. The Toungoo kings were in the majority weak debauchees; by the time that the southern Mon tribes overthrew them in 1752, some of the richest rice lands in the delta had reverted to wilderness.

A village headman from Upper Burma named Alaungpaya, or Alompra, rallied an army that defeated the Mons; he gave their captured stronghold the name *Rangoon* ("The End of Strife"). Alompra was killed while besieging Ayuthia, the Siamese capital; the city was captured by his son, but soon abandoned. Fearing a threat to the near-by border of China (and perhaps out of sympathy for the Siamese), the Emperor Ch'ien Lung sent three expeditions against Ava, but all were repulsed.

Alompra's successors became friendly to China, but carried out frequent raids on Bengal, a fief of the British East India Company. The company mustered eleven thousand troops for a sea expedition

¹⁹ Layers of leather were used in most Japanese armor. But the processing of leather broke the Buddhist law protecting animal life and was regarded as degrading.

in 1824 against Rangoon. The new explosive shells of the British decided the war; by the Treaty of Yandabo, Assam, adjoining Bengal, and the coastal provinces of Burma were ceded to Britain.²⁰

SIAM

As early as 1661, agents of the French had entered the Menam Valley,²¹ despite the protests of the Portuguese; in time, French chaplains established a seminary and converted Phaulkon, a Greek adventurer who was chief adviser of King Narai. A delegation from Siam visited Louis XIV at Versailles. But like other Oriental princes who bestowed favors on Christianity, Narai was actually in search of secular benefits—arms and allies to repulse the Dutch. The king never accepted baptism; Phaulkon was executed; in 1689 French priests and soldiers were driven away, and for a century Siam had few contacts with Europe.

There was bitter rivalry with Burma throughout the Ch'ing period; the fall of Ayuthia seemed to forecast national disaster. But deliverance came through a tough upstart named Phaya Tak, a bandit with Chinese blood, who recaptured Ayuthia and counter-attacked deeply into Burma. After Phaya Tak's death, a prince taking the title Rama founded the Chakkri dynasty which rules Siam at the present day. Ayuthia was never rebuilt, but in 1776 a new capital arose one hundred miles down the river at Bangkok. During the reign of Rama the Third, or Mongkut,²² Siam made territorial concessions to British Burma, and signed trade treaties with England in 1826 and the United States in 1833. Though condemned to an insignificant place between the imperial titans, France and England, the Siamese monarchs could pride themselves on being the last autonomous rulers in southern Asia.

Religious Trends

Christian teaching almost disappeared from East Asia in the seventeenth century, save under Spanish protection in the Philip-

²⁰ Though from Mandalay, the Konbaungset dynasty continued to rule the Shan states and the Irrawaddy Valley for sixty years.

²¹ This was three years before the establishment of the French East India Company, which made heavy investments in Siam.

²² All of the Chakkri monarchs assume the royal title of Rama, in association with a personal name.

pines, Japan, Korea, Burma (where Philip de Brito failed to establish a Portuguese Catholic province), and Siam successively closed their doors to Western teachings. In China, the Jesuit fathers gave military aid to the Mings, and, though a few learned priests remained at K'ang Hsi's court, the emperor was alarmed by reports of the political activities of Western religionists in Japan and the Philippines; he published edicts against the Christian faith in 1711 and 1717, and it was banned two years after his death.²³

Buddhism also lost ground through its support of the Mings; however, the Zen sect soon became popular among the Manchu aristocracy. In Korea, Buddhism was outlawed late in the sixteenth century; the beautiful monasteries among the Diamond Mountains fell into decay, and no new temple was permitted in Seoul.²⁴

LAMAISM

In Mongolia and Tibet the Yellow Lama form of Buddhism increased its authority. Its creed was mystical, consisting largely of the accumulation of merit as the means toward a higher rebirth. Merit was available through repetition of the formula, *O mane padme hoong* ("Hail to the Jewel in the Lotus Flower!"). The prayer could be spoken or inscribed upon hand rattles, wind wheels, and water wheels. The Ch'ing emperors encouraged Lamaism as a means of sublimating the energies of the nomads and reducing their numbers through monastic celibacy. The warrior Mongols passed under the hierarchical rule of the Dalai Lama of Tibet, the Panchen Lama of Mongolia, the lesser monastery abbots, *marambas* and *hutukhtus*; and their fighting spirit flickered down in austerity and trancelike choral chanting before images of the Buddha.

Fed by this official encouragement, the *mystique* of Central Asia strongly influenced Manchu China. Several golden-roofed temples were erected for lama services; and a white *dagoba* shrine, built to celebrate the visit of the Dalai Lama in 1652, still dominates the Peking skyline. The summer retreat in Jehol, the Fontainebleau of

²³ In 1724, as a result of the Rites Controversy respecting the Chinese and the Christian concepts of Heaven.—See pp. 76–77.

²⁴ It was charged that Japanese officers infiltrated Korean defenses disguised as Buddhist priests; priests were thereafter forbidden to enter Korean cities.

the emperors, contained a scaled-down version of the Potala Palace in Lhasa.²⁵

THE HINAYANA CULT

The Hinayana Buddhism of Southeast Asia showed remarkable vitality; each monarch of Burma and Siam aspired to ultimate Buddha-hood; white elephants regarded as the incarnation of the Buddha were given divine honors. Four of these sacred beasts were taken by the Burmese at the fall of Ayuthia; Siam achieved a greater triumph in 1780 with the capture of the Emerald Buddha,²⁶ now revered as the greatest national treasure. Sometimes the pursuit of holiness took puritan forms—as in Burma about 1800, when the use of alcohol or the eating of animal flesh became capital offenses.

The ancient cult of Taoism became a hodgepodge of magic though it did not lack priests and followers;²⁷ shamanism, the earth magic of the steppe, spread among the lower classes in Korea. Mohammedanism had long since overspread the Indonesian Islands and the Malay states; it was the faith also of the Western Mongols, and there were Moslems in Manchuria and in the western Chinese provinces. Both in foreign wars and domestic rebellions, the followers of the Prophet were often enemies of the Ch'ing; as a security measure, it was proposed that Moslems be barred from all office; however, no official persecution of Islam took place.

CONFUCIANISM

The Confucian cult prospered uniformly:²⁸ principally because of their veneration for the classics, the Manchus were sometimes called "more Chinese than the Chinese." In Japan and Korea, Confucianism was hardly less fully accepted; the ideal of the Sage, a life of virtue, was valued more than dogma or revelation. Ch'ien Lung was notably devout: he practiced simplicity, using the plain-

²⁵ A reproduction of one hall of the lama temple in Jehol was exhibited at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1933.

²⁶ Actually the statue is of jade, eighteen inches high; originally "fallen from heaven," it was brought back by Siamese forces from an expedition to the Mekong.

²⁷ Elixir of life potions were rumored to have caused the death of Emperor Yung Cheng in 1736.

²⁸ Jesuit missionaries, expounding the Confucian cult to Bourbon France, influenced French philosophers, who in turn taught Thomas Jefferson to write of a "Nature's God" who justifies the deposing of kings.

est vessels in ritual; yet he created the most perfect religious monument in China, the blue-tiled Temple of Heaven, facing the marble Altar, where at dawn on New Year's Day, the Imperial Person knelt to pray for the nation.

Cultural Activity—Prolific but Commonplace

The seventeenth and eighteenth were not centuries of creativeness in the Orient. The culture of China was stereotyped by the Ch'ings, who feared innovations; in the southeast, the ancient Hindu culture was at first largely effaced by Islam and later menaced by the ascendancy of the Europeans.

The Manchu emperors refuted any charges of barbarism by achieving prodigies of patient scholarship. Ch'ien Lung produced three hundred volumes of verse—two poems for each day of his rule. To standardize the classical texts and provide models of fine calligraphy, hundreds of tablets were carved and exhibited; K'ang Hsi sponsored a sixty-three volume philological dictionary, and his grandson collected an imperial manuscript library of 36,000 volumes. Not less than 171,000 volumes of encyclopedic scope were produced under royal patronage. The motive was not purely scholarly, for court scribes deleted in the revised editions every hint of disrespect for the Manchus and censors repressed all contemporary "dangerous thought."

Originality was encouraged in form rather than in thought: successful civil service examination papers were likely to be filled with literary conceits, acrostic forms, and palindromes; the "eight-legged essay" was among the most admired prose forms. The drama, with its mass appeal, was less stilted and formal; a novel, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, has been classed as the only Ch'ing contribution to world literature.

Painting was in court favor—indeed, it was practiced every afternoon by the versatile Ch'ien Lung—but it produced no successful new techniques.²⁰ In ceramics only, the Ch'ing reached a sublime level. They inherited the Ming porcelain works at Ching-

²⁰ Merely a few imitations of the Italians Castiglione and Ponzi who were employed for a time as portrait artists by the emperor. Chinese artists preferred not to paint living people and their portraits did not necessarily resemble reality; the client could select from a book of sketches the features, hair, and expression which he preferred in the painting.



LIFE OF THE CH'ING ARISTOCRACY

Scholar-bureaucrats in full robes of state attend a garden fete. See page 113.



A SATIRE IN SANDSTONE:

This carved frieze from the temple ruins at Angkor in Cambodia (see p. 53) shows (left) the Khmer army of Suryavarman II (1113-50) following the forces of its Siamese ally (right). The Khmer artist represents his own troops in faultless military array, but satirizes the Siamese as a disorganized rabble

ANGKOR WAT

in rustic costume. Note the Khmer officers mounted on horses, the Siamese on an elephant, reflecting the dual influence—of Central Asia and of India—upon tactics in Indo-China. See page 53.—Reproduced by permission from *Angkor Hommes et Pierres*, B. Arthaud, publisher, Paris, 1956.



INDIAN SUMMER OF A MANDARIN

Governor Tsen Yu-yin of Yunnan (1829-89) entertains his sons and grandsons in his hall of audience. Buttons on tasseled caps indicate court rank; "pigtails" were worn only during Ch'ing period, 1644-1911. See page 115.

te-Chen, whose kilns supplied the court each year with thousands of table services, vases, and urns. Ch'ing porcelains form the basis of many of the finest present-day collections; especially admired are the green-glazed K'ang Hsi and the oxblood Ch'ien Lung ware. Earlier craftsmen had discovered the secret of a few color glazes; almost every shade and tint was used in Manchu times; porcelain, appropriately named *china*, became the choicest export of the Middle Kingdom and probably the most admired art product on earth. The Korean porcelain industry was destroyed by Hideyoshi's invaders. Siam produced up to 1525 a fair grade of celadon-green ware. But the product of Ching-te-Chen was never rivaled. The industry required expensive and continuous research, with large, vulnerable fixed investments, which required a stable society.²⁰

Crafts and Architecture

Almost every form of craft was encouraged in the Peking court: a hall of arts built by K'ang Hsi housed clockmakers, printers, calligraphers, and astronomers. Wood carving reached a high development everywhere in East Asia, though the Chinese excelled in working in ivory and jade; cast bronze provided not only enormous temple bells but the mirrors, braziers, and kitchen bowls used in middle-class homes; high-grade silver filigree work was produced by both civilized craftsmen and primitives, such as the Miao tribes and the Kelantan Malays.

To the emperor and his Board of Rites, the "practical" scientific studies were meteorology and astronomy, for these undergirded the prestige of the Son of Heaven. Free experimentation received little encouragement, and the Orient produced nothing like an industrial technology in time to defend itself against the West.

Architecture produced few new designs. Its greatest stimulus continued to come from religion; the most popular form was the pagoda, developed in India to protect sacred relics, but modified in China to produce beneficent yang influences. Chinese pagodas show the familiar multiple narrow roofs, ornamented often with wind bells and guardian demons, and are constructed of masonry—while those in Japan are of wood. In 1800 China possessed

²⁰ Before 1800 the leading nation states of Europe had established porcelain works, such as those of Staffordshire, Nymphenburg, and Limoges.

seventy thousand of them, the finest being the Porcelain Pagoda of Nanking.⁸¹

Devotion and Decay

The Hinayana pagodas of Southeast Asia were rounded windowless spires falling away in smooth curves to a flaring base.⁸² Monarchs or wealthy philanthropists built pagodas to gain merit; in abandoned capital cities—Pagan, Pegu, Ayuthia, or Ava—thousands of spires decayed into ruin, to be replaced by the forests of new pagodas in Bangkok and Mandalay.⁸³ With the decline of piety, pagoda-building fell away, though the most lavish shrine of all, the Shwe Dagon, was completed in the nineteenth century; this "Pyramid of Fire," rising 370 feet above the Royal Park in Rangoon remains the finest structure in Burma.

Western influence appeared in the Yuan Ming Yuan Summer Palace outside Peking, designed by Jesuit architects in the Italian style. The buildings in the Forbidden City became a model as much admired as the Bourbon palaces at Versailles. The grand design—an audience chamber flanked by offices of the boards of government, ornamental lakes surrounded by wooded hills, island summer houses approached over marble bridges, poetry pavilions, and winding water courses—was copied in Mukden, Seoul, and Hué. After the Great Pure dynasty had fallen, monarchs in the petty court of Annam continued to carry on its majestic rituals, soliciting heaven's virtue and praying to the celestial powers for fertility and peace.

⁸¹ Built by the Ming about 1620, 261 feet high; destroyed in the Taiping Rebellion.

⁸² An alternative form was square in section.

⁸³ A practice developed of settling military disputes by assigning the rival armies to construct pagodas. The army to finish first was declared victor without bloodshed.

China: The West Takes the Initiative

☼ Your country is twenty-thousand miles from China. Yet barbarian ships come here for trade for the purpose of making a great profit. The wealth of China benefits the barbarians. By what right do they in return use opium, a poisonous drug, to injure the Chinese people? Let us ask, where is your conscience? Is there a single article from China which has done any harm to foreign countries?

Commissioner Lin's Memorial to Queen Victoria, 1839

IN THE latter part of the eighteenth century, China was still the leading power in Asia. More justly than any emperor since Kublai Khan, Ch'ien Lung regarded himself as Ruler of All Men, receiving tribute from Nepal overlooking the Plains of India, to the bleak shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, an area equal to that of the modern United States and Mexico, with twice their combined population.

The East India Companies

Portugal, first inheritor of the East, controlled by 1750 only the port of Macao and half the island of Timor. Eight European East India companies were chartered, but of these only the French, Dutch, and British made any impact upon history.¹ The French

¹ The other companies were established by Denmark, Scotland, Sweden, Spain, and Austria—the Ostend Company. These lost their charters or sold

company was re-established after some feeble beginnings by Louis XIV's minister, Colbert, in 1664, Louis taking one fifth of the shares. French Jesuits became extravagant admirers of the "philosopher kings" of the Manchu dynasty, even prompting the Grand Monarch symbolically to plow a furrow at a spring planting festival after the manner of the Son of Heaven in Peking. Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* was to affirm that the constitution of China was the finest on earth.²

But the company's commercial operations were not notably successful. It was expelled from Siam before the eighteenth century;³ some decades later it withdrew from Lower Burma. By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, almost all of its properties in India were ceded to the British, and shortly afterwards the company was dissolved. Though Louis XVI in 1787 sponsored landings in Indo-China, the outbreak of the revolution two years later removed France from Pacific affairs for half a century.

Dutch control of the Indies became secure during the seventeenth century, built upon supply depots at the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, and six strong bases in the islands themselves. The company maintained its monopoly position in the Japan trade throughout the Tokugawa shogunate,⁴ but it lost all of its footholds except Malacca on the Asian mainland. The Dutch East India Company's fortunes declined as Holland itself became weaker: trade dividends disappeared, and, as the company became involved in military and political administration, its income was derived from forced contributions rather than commerce.

When Holland joined the continental League of Neutral States against Great Britain during the American Revolutionary War, England retaliated by seizing Dutch factories and shipping. After Napoleon overran the Netherlands, the Batavian Republic became a satellite of the French Empire, and the exiled stadtholder of

out to the British. The galleon which carried Spanish trade from Acapulco to Manila was discontinued in 1815, six years before the collapse of the Spanish New World empire.

² The impact of China was marked throughout the European world; Addison and Steele expressed concern lest every English parish church be rebuilt as a pagoda; Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* papers expressed the viewpoint of a Confucianist upon contemporary London.

³ See p. 127.

⁴ Though after 1680 never more than one ship a year was sent to Japan, profits of the voyage often paid the entire 12 per cent dividends of the company.

Holland advised all overseas garrisons to surrender to the British Navy. In 1798, the Dutch East India Company was declared bankrupt; thirteen years later, the British seized Java, and the island was administered until 1818 by John Company's most mercurial and dramatic servant, Stamford Raffles. The Treaty of Vienna restored the Indonesian Archipelago to Holland, but Britain retained Ceylon and Cape Colony.

The Straits Settlements

In 1786, the sultan of Kedah sold to the company the small island of Penang,⁶ to which was added after twelve years the province of Wellesley, three miles away on the mainland. In 1819, Raffles' achievement, acquisition of the island of Singapore at the tip of the Malay Peninsula, added a second unit to the Straits Settlements, invaluable steppingstones to China and the Pacific. Five years later Malacca, after nearly two hundred years of Dutch authority, became the third Company holding on the straits; it was exchanged for the remaining British interests in western Sumatra, leaving the Dutch supreme in the Sunda Islands, the British on the mainland. In 1867, long after the company was liquidated, they were organized as a single crown colony, basis of the protectorate of Malaya.

The Situation in 1800

By 1800, Europeans had effected settlements in all Far Eastern coastal lands except Korea. Their interest was mainly commercial; trade was in luxuries or the materials of war, and was handicapped by immense voyages and long turnaround in harbor. Maritime losses were high; few vessels completed ten voyages between Europe and Pacific Asia. Political parasites "squeezed" the traffic everywhere; all forms of interference harassed it: monopoly practices, high customs duties, embargoes, quotas, and national preferences, until, of all the chartered East India companies, only the British remained.

Some island sultans were puppets of Europe; and the Philippines

⁶ Like many other Western possessions in the Far East, the island was actually leased for an annual payment—of ten thousand pounds.

belonged to the Spanish crown, but the white man's law seldom ran five miles from harbor. Europeans had been dislodged from more outposts than they still held. Not a church or a Christian priest remained in Japan, Korea, or China;⁶ and on the East Asia mainland there were fewer converts than in 1600. There may have been fewer white men; certainly not ten thousand resided continuously in the entire area. Since these did not bring their families, no Asian creole class developed;⁷ Westerners had earned a reputation for rowdiness and piracy, though their technology was respected. They had won concessions by adroitly playing off Asian factions against each other, and European wars spread their ripples as far as the Pacific—chiefly in the form of privateering raids.

The Orient had experienced Western fads and largely discarded them; in dress, religion, and domestic custom it preferred its own way. Isolationism was in the ascendant.

Tea Reaches the West

At the end of one century of business, the British East India Company was importing annually a million pounds' worth of merchandise, mainly from India. Much of the payment was in bullion; this drain of metal, and the protest of English industries against Oriental competition, caused Parliament for a time to restrict John Company's operations.⁸ These became transformed, however, after the year 1699 when the Indiaman *Macclesfield* loaded a cargo in Canton which certainly included chests of tea, since this "fragrant leaf" appeared for sale the next year, for the first time, at the London pleasure resort of Vauxhall Gardens. By 1800, ten thousand tons of tea left China annually for Europe. Fifty vessels, two thirds of them British, cleared from the Canton estuary during the first days of the winter monsoon. The first arrivals in Europe received premium prices; the last comers found the market flooded. To be profitable, the ships sacrificed cargo space to streamlining and speed; out of the Canton trade was evolved the clipper, with slim

⁶ Except in Macao.

⁷ The creole, or pure-blooded white reared in the tropics, should not be confused with the *mestizo*.

⁸ John Company was the familiar term for the British East India Company. London cabinetmakers complained of the competition of Chinese carvings; weavers protested against the importation of cotton and silk fabrics, then regarded as equally expensive and fashionable luxuries.

hull but immense spread of canvas—the finest achievement of the Age of Sail.

Enter the Yankee Trader

But the new bonanza brought the East India Company its most effective competition. During the Napoleonic Wars, European rivals were eliminated from Eastern waters, but in their place appeared the seagoing Yankee. In 1772, colonial resentment at the monopoly practices of the company—a spearhead of restrictive British mercantilism—had brought on the famous Boston Tea Party and helped to launch the Revolution.⁹ The year after independence was recognized, the American *Empress of China* rounded Cape Horn loaded for Canton with ginseng root for the Chinese drug trade. Nine sailings to the Far East were made from New York in the next four years and one each from Philadelphia, Salem, and Baltimore.

American skippers drove their own bargains, generally outbidding the East India monopolists. They learned how to exchange British manufactures in Mexico for kegs of silver dollars, gather seal and otter furs from the Oregon coast, and sandalwood from Fiji and Hawaii, exchanging these commodities in Canton for chests of tea. They were accused of smuggling the leaf at cut prices into Upper Canada and even into England. Though small traders were gradually forced out, several early American fortunes, such as those of Astor, Perkins, and Girard, were based largely on the China trade.

Americans came to handle much of the pepper export from Sumatra; they traded fairly extensively with Siam, shipped salt pork to Dutch garrisons in Indonesia, carried rice from Manila to Canton, and from Pacific atolls took *bêche-de-mer*, a sea cucumber relished by Chinese epicures.

The Canton Trade

The coastline of Kwangtung Province is hauntingly beautiful—a maze of straits and inlets, where rugged mountains fall away steeply to tidewater. Canton is surrounded by a complex riverine

⁹ Perhaps as a result of the Revolutionary bitterness, Americans turned to drinking coffee, now a twentyfold favorite over tea.

system formed by the junction of the West, North, and East rivers. In the winterless climate, myriads of people spend their lives afloat, making the streams and sea channels the greatest rendezvous of smugglers and pirates on earth.

Macao forms the tip of a small peninsula east of the bay; Hong Kong is separated from the mainland by a half-mile-wide anchorage. The mouth of the West River is called the Bogue, or the *Boca Tigris*.¹⁰ Twenty miles above the Bogue is Whampoa Island; and thirteen miles farther upstream is the city of Canton, after 1757 the only maritime trade outlet of the Manchu Empire.

Clippers picked up pilots at Macao, paid their port charges at the Bogue forts, then dropped anchor off Whampoa through the three-month winter season. Sailors were confined to their ships or to near-by beaches; about three hundred traders lived in a compound of thirteen "factories"—combining warehouse, accounting, and residence quarters—close to the walls of Canton.

These foreign merchants worked in almost monastic isolation; their women, forbidden to enter the trading area, perforce stayed in villas at Macao. None spoke the Chinese language, though for commercial purposes they could fall back upon a prattle called pidgin (i. e., "business"), a mixture of Cantonese, English, and Portuguese;¹¹ or they could draw upon the services of two missionary interpreters, Morrison, who had learned the language from emigrants to Malaya, or the eccentric Prussian Gutzlaff.

Foreign merchants were, like their Chinese agents, the thirteen Hong guild members, classed at the fourth level of Chinese society.¹² Britain had attempted to improve their status and regularize trade by the Macartney Mission of 1793 to the Manchu court. It had failed, and the Europeans were still subject to the whims of the local viceroy and the hoppo. They enjoyed private luxury, but wore humility in public. The Hong were their brokers, landlords, and stewards, buying entire import cargoes and before spring loading their vessels out at fixed prices with tea, silk, porcelain, and rhubarb.

¹⁰ A Portuguese translation of the Chinese name "Tiger's Mouth." *Bogue* is an anglicized sound.

¹¹ *Factory* denoted a trading post, where a "factor" operates. *Canton* was pidgin for Kwangtung; *hoppo* for *hai-kwan-pu*, the customs collector.—See also p. 74 n.

¹² Scholar, farmer, artisan, merchant.—See p. 28.

Europeans could not specify what they wished to buy, nor visit Canton to see how their wares were selling. All sales were loaded with enormous commissions, for the Chinese guildsmen suffered heavy exactions by the customs collectors and the Canton and provincial authorities. Hong merchants addressed these officials on their knees, and, though a viceroy might visit the factories, none was known to waste a greeting upon the "barbarians" who lived there.

Official contempt for the Europeans seemed, to Chinese eyes, quite fitting: they were mere "dollar-grinders," whose manners seemed uncouth.¹³ Many brawls occurred at the Whampoa anchorage and, during the Napoleonic Wars, British, Americans, and Spanish fought each other in near-by waters. Lastly, it should be remembered that Chinese traders were held under even closer confinement in Manila, and that the Chinese government, informed of the imperialistic activities of John Company in India, determined that Canton would not become another Calcutta.

Crimes between foreigners were left to their own adjudication, but offenses against native people were settled by Chinese law—whose objectionable features included group responsibility, which made any crew member chargeable for his shipmates' offenses; and torture, to obtain confession. After 1784¹⁴ the British surrendered none of their nationals to the Chinese authorities.

The trade of China was worth in 1700 only one twentieth that of India; by 1800 the two were of equal value. Both were claimed as British East India charter monopolies. The company licensed independent Country Firms to share in the interport trade of India and China; two of them, Jardine, Matheson & Co.¹⁵ and David Sassoon & Sons, were to play a significant part in future Anglo-Chinese relations. The tea trade was worth twenty million dollars

¹³ For instance, their use of metal knives and forks at the table made them appear to be doing the work of kitchen servants. No Chinese gentleman cuts or carves food before his guests.

¹⁴ In this year, a ship's gunner was executed for killing a Chinese accidentally with a salute salvo. Life was actually not unsafe in the trading depots; during 130 years after 1700, there were but ten homicides involving white men, with five other serious crimes. No Chinese mob demonstration occurred before 1820.

¹⁵ William Jardine, a Scotch surgeon from the county of Dumfries, founded the firm in 1828. It is still active and is always administered by a Scotsman from Dumfries. His partner, Matheson, resigned rather than deal in opium.

to the United Kingdom alone in government excise taxes.¹⁰ The Peking bureaucracy profited no less from the Canton trade; assessments on the Hong Merchants' Guild paid for much of the Yellow River control program, besides helping to maintain the court in Peking. Nevertheless, Howqua, dean of the guild, became perhaps the wealthiest merchant prince of his time.

The Celestial Drug

In 1833, the British brought over forty million dollars' worth of goods to Canton. Though they earned large profits as distributors of Chinese tea throughout Europe, their staple, woolen cloth, sold poorly in tropical China, and exports were handled at a loss, covered by balance payments of mint silver from Mexico. The East India Company became gravely concerned about finding merchandise salable to the masses of Chinese; there was a growing market for Bengal raw cotton, but by far the most profitable plantation export was opium.

The Celestial Drug had been known in the Near East from ancient times and introduced into western China by Moslems. The Dutch in Indonesia and Formosa smoked it to dispel malarial fevers. It was outlawed in China by 1728, though not then treated as contraband on foreign vessels. Macao became a receiving depot and though, in 1800, importation was prohibited, the traffic from Macao continued almost unchecked; and, when the Emperor Tao Kuang in 1821 strengthened the edicts against it, the drug was playing a firm part in international commerce.

Nearly all opium was grown in Bengal and auctioned in 160-pound chests at Calcutta by the East India Company. Fearful of directly defying Chinese law, the company would not handle these in its own fleet and they were therefore carried in ships of the Country Firms. Jardine developed an armed, rakish clipper, which could make three round trips yearly from Calcutta; it defied pursuit and delivered opium chests anywhere on the China coast; Gutzlaff, retained as interpreter, distributed Scriptures as he bargained with the seaport mandarins.

¹⁰ Much investment capital was also smuggled from India—against a strict Chinese law—to take advantage of the very high Canton commercial interest rates.

By 1840 imports increased to a total of thirty-five thousand chests. The spread in price from ship's hold to opium divan was not less than twenty million dollars. Skippers were paid in cash; the Hong monopoly was broken; local officials grew rich by taxing the smugglers, but the stream of legitimate revenue for Peking was drying up. No new bullion flowed into the Chinese economy, and the land developed symptoms of deflation. Since taxes were payable in silver, a metal that grew dearer as it disappeared into the opium traffic, the burden of government on the people was nearly doubled.¹⁷

Failure of the Napier Mission

The East India Company grew increasingly inefficient until, in 1833, Parliament canceled its monopoly of the China trade. Lord Palmerston, the aggressive foreign minister in London, decided to appoint a crown agent as superintendent of trade; his choice fell upon Lord Napier, a titled peer with naval experience, whose rank, it was hoped, would raise British commercial prestige. Upon arrival, Napier ordered his secretary to proceed to Canton with a dispatch for the viceroy, but the secretary could not gain admittance at the city gate. Napier managed to hold an audience, complicated by mutual insults, with a few officials; then, negotiations proving useless, he withdrew to Macao, ill of a fever from which he died in October, 1834. The mandarins had rebuked a British bid for diplomatic equality; shortly afterward, Captain Elliot, a British representative in full uniform, was assaulted when he endeavored to lodge a protest on behalf of some mistreated sailors.

The emperor became convinced that a drought in 1832 was caused by the anger of heaven against the opium traffic. His government had winked at much profitable smuggling—out of a fixed Ch'ing practice not to interfere with the perquisites of the local authorities, since it was upon them that the Manchus depended to keep order among the discontented Chinese masses. At last in March, 1839, he sent to Canton one of his ablest officials, Lin Tsu-szu, an honest, singleminded martinet, to serve as special opium

¹⁷ Many authorities believe that silver was not actually drained from China, opium revenues being at once reinvested in tea and silk. All agree that the flow of silver into China was checked, the Americans buying their cargoes with bills on London.

commissioner. Lin had studied the progress of English arms in India, Burma, and Malaya, and was determined to give the "barbarians" no further access to the China seas.

To British traders, opium appeared to be the key to both the China and the India markets; the merchants and the missionary editors of *The Chinese Repository*¹⁸ poured contempt upon the junk navy and the "rabble army" of China. Nevertheless, had Lin brought a fair *quid-pro-quo* proposal—perhaps throwing all of China open to trade in exchange for foreign cooperation in suppressing opium—he might have found a ready hearing. The British valued their good reputation and disliked the thought of debauching a friendly people.

Instead, he wrote two letters of protest to Queen Victoria, meanwhile placing the factories under siege until the foreigners surrendered twenty thousand chests of opium; these Commissioner Lin destroyed, forcing the owners to pledge that they would never again deal in the drug. English residents of Canton promptly withdrew to their ships in the Hong Kong roads.

Shortly afterward, the commissioner demanded that some British sailors involved in a brawl be surrendered to his court; when the order was refused, a Chinese fleet blockaded the British. Two English frigates arrived to protect the refugees, and on September 5 a regular battle ensued, in which Lin's force was dispersed with a loss of four vessels. A local quarrel had developed into war.

The Opium War

There was an interval of more than half a year, during which American ships carried British merchandise to Whampoa. In June, 1840, there arrived from India sixteen British warships armed with explosive shells and four steam transports, bringing four thousand troops. The Chinese navy which opposed it had not been modernized since the sixteenth century.¹⁹ After blockading the Canton

¹⁸ The *Repository* was published between 1832 and 1851, generally under the editorship of Gutzlaff and Morrison; it is the most valuable foreign-language source upon Chinese affairs during the period, since its editors were the only foreigners who could translate official Chinese documents.

¹⁹ Lin persuaded the emperor that British vessels were too unwieldy to be used in narrow waters. The Chinese furthermore placed reliance upon fire ships; these were expected to destroy the barbarian fleet, but failed to injure a single vessel.

estuary, the British fleet sailed northward to the mouth of the Peiho River, but failed to establish diplomatic contacts with Peking. Early in 1841, negotiations began in Canton with the new Commissioner Kishen, Lin having been banished after his defeat to Central Asia.

When these failed, a new offensive began under Sir Harry Pottinger; the British seized Amoy and steamed up the Yangtze River, capturing the city of Chinkiang to cut off rice shipments over the Grand Canal to Peking. Both by sea and land, victory came easily, through a few Manchu banner brigades fought well. In late August, Chinese peace envoys were piped aboard HMS *Cornwallis*, Pottinger's flagship, at berth in the river off Nanking.

The Treaties

The Treaty of Nanking assessed a twenty-one-million-dollar indemnity upon China, six million of it in payment for opium surrendered by British subjects.²⁰ Lantau Island and Hong Kong were ceded to England as bases to "careen and refit ships." China opened for trade the five treaty ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, allowing foreign merchants rights of residence; the Hong monopoly was abolished.

The British drafted in 1843 a supplementary treaty providing for "fair and regular" tariff duties—later fixed at about 5 per cent. During the summer of 1844 the United States secured by the Treaty of Wanghia all the concessions granted to Britain, together with the right of extraterritoriality: trial before their own consuls of criminal offenses committed by foreigners. The Treaty of Wanghia also contained a "most favored nation" clause—a device thereafter used by all foreign states, which secured for all of them the privileges granted to any one. In the same year, King Louis Philippe's representative, mindful of the French role as protector of the Catholic Church, requested the emperor to authorize its teachings in the Treaty of Whampoa. As a result, edicts were is-

²⁰ For this price the British surrendered their moral case and fixed on themselves the stigma of fighting an opium war. Pottinger urged the Chinese to legalize opium dealing and check corruption. They replied that the emperor would not hear of such a plan. Pottinger affirmed further that England could not stop the growing of poppies in Bengal; yet he must have known that the East India Company required its tenants to produce opium and obliged the Country Firms to ship it in order to hold their trade licenses.

sued, granting successively to Catholic and to Protestant missionaries the right to preach and build chapels in the treaty ports. By 1847, Belgium, Sweden, and Norway signed treaties with the empire; and before 1887, seventeen conventions had been signed, securing for every trading nation the rights for which Palmerston had fought a war.

Aftermath of the War

Of the five treaty ports, Ningpo developed little importance; Foochow became a specialized outlet for Chekiang tea, largely consigned to the United States; Amoy's contacts remained with Formosa, Malaya, and the Philippines, her most significant export being coolie labor. From the first, Shanghai was marked out as the new emporium of foreign commerce. A square mile outside of the city walls was assigned to Western residents; this tract formed in time the International and French Concessions, ruled by a foreign municipal council, in which Chinese could rent but not own land.

The output of the Yangtze Valley began to pour over the wharves of Shanghai; in 1855, over four hundred steamships entered or cleared the port, and two years later its overseas trade amounted to sixty-five million dollars, or half the total for the empire.

Opium was almost entirely ignored in the treaties; the traffic remained illegal, to be treated as contraband in the open ports. But off Hong Kong, receiving ships still transferred their cargoes to fast cutters which called at almost every village along the coast; consumption of the Celestial Drug was half again as great in 1850 as before the war.

Domestic Difficulties

The position of the Manchu government at Emperor Tao Kuang's death in 1850 was more insecure than it had ever been. The prestige of the army had been lost in the Opium War; magistrates' offices were openly on sale.²¹ Overpopulation was reducing every man's share of the national product; three fourths of all the peasants were landless and ready to turn to banditry; internal trade

²¹ In 1711, K'ang Hsi had decreed that there must be no further increase in the land-tax rate. Shortage of revenue therefore compelled the government to find new sources of income, including the sale of offices.

fell away for lack of silver currency. Of all candidates in the civil service examinations, only one in five hundred was appointed to office, and many of the rest joined the reservoir of discontented intellectuals. There was a rapid increase in the membership of the secret societies, and an outburst of political pamphleteering; by 1850, all signs foretold a revolution.

The closing issues of the *Chinese Repository* early in 1851 record stubborn uprisings in the mountainous areas of the far south. A leader had arisen: Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, younger son of a Hakka family whose ancestors had migrated from the north eight centuries before. Hung had three times failed the provincial examinations. In 1843, at the age of twenty-nine, he had listened to the preaching of a Protestant missionary; four years later he accepted Christian training and in time assembled about him a cult which revered Hung as the younger brother of Christ.²² Launching a rebellion in 1851, Hung led an army of thirty thousand peasants, charcoal workers, and tough overland porters. They faced half a million government troops in the two southern provinces, but many of these were opium addicts and their officers were untrained.

Onset of the Taip'ing Rebellion

During the eighteen months after April, 1852, the rebels reached the Yangtze Valley, followed the river for four hundred miles, and launched a flying column north to the outskirts of Tientsin—an advance of two thousand miles through the heart of the empire. After the fall of Nanking, Hung installed himself in the ancient southern capital as emperor of the Taip'ing, or "Great Peaceful," dynasty.

The imperial troops did not win a victory before 1854; had the Celestial Emperor promptly driven the Manchus from Peking or occupied Shanghai with its large customs revenue, his reign might have become secure.²³ The foreigners were inclined at first to wel-

²² As such, millions of Chinese thought of him as the third person of the Trinity, replacing the Holy Ghost—a concept the Chinese utterly fail to understand.

²³ Shanghai fell for a time to a branch of the secret Triad Society, but there was little trust between the Taip'ing God-worshippers and the secret societies. Hung agreed with a part of the Triad Society motto: "Down with the Ch'ing!" but would not consider the restoration of the Ming. He was averse to taking allies who would not subscribe to Christian teaching.

come the rebels as coreligionists; the Shanghai volunteers even drove away a Manchu army encamped on the Concession Race Course. The T'ai'p'ings posed as nationalists. Their abolition of the braided pigtail gave them the nickname of "Long-haired Rebels"; they exterminated the Manchus whenever they found them, but treated Chinese with consideration and promised regular redistribution of land according to need. Some scholars find in their movement a reversion to some of the doctrines of Wang An-shih.²⁴

There are suggestions of Christian influence in their bans upon opium, gambling, and polygamy; T'ai'ping troops sang hymns and honored the Trinity. Women received equal treatment and formed an independent force in the army. Their bureaucracy was recruited by examination, but the tests were "practical" and sometimes included questions upon the Bible. During the northward drive the rebels kept superb discipline: they respected private property; their movements were bold and they mastered the strategy of by-passing strong points and making diversionary attacks. But the loss of their best field officers in action weakened the crusade; Hung himself settled down in Nanking to a life of dissipation, practicing Taoist magic²⁵ and filling his palace with concubines.

International Incidents

As the Chinese had feared at the time of the Nanking Treaty, contacts between their people and the whites produced a series of diplomatic incidents. Once, after a mob attack on missionaries near Shanghai, His Majesty's Consul Sir Harry Parkes blockaded the rice fleet from the Grand Canal. Since pirates steadily pursued their vocation along the southeast coast, foreign vessels began to offer armed escort under their national flags to the harassed Chinese merchants. This practice of convoying was honest at first, but it degenerated into racketeering as foreigners charged extortionate rates for their services and looted the communities which refused to buy protection. Many Chinese-owned junks operating from Hong Kong registered as British ships, claiming under the Union Jack the privileges of foreign status.

Canton retained its factories outside the walls, but the city filled

²⁴ See pp. 38-39.

²⁵ The destruction of the Porcelain Pagoda in Nanking, the rebels' greatest cultural crime, was carried out on the ground that the tower's geomantic influences were hostile to the T'ai'p'ings.

with demobilized troops and its people, steeped in a century of mistrust, remained hostile to the white nations. For fourteen years after the Opium War, no foreigners were admitted within the gates.

War with England

An energetic commissioner, Yeh Ming-chin, was sent to Canton to suppress local rebellions and compromise foreign demands as far as possible. In October, 1856, the *Arrow*, a Hong Kong coastal junk flying the British flag, was seized under suspicion of piracy. Although Yeh ultimately surrendered the *Arrow* and its crew, Lord Palmerston, the chauvinistic prime minister, requested Parliament to avenge the insult to English prestige.²⁰ Local naval forces under Admiral Seymour sailed to Canton and breached the city walls. Chinese mobs replied by burning the factories, which had stood for a century, and massacring a number of white men.

Lord Elgin arrived with full diplomatic powers in the summer of 1857; his troops had been diverted to Calcutta for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, but he was able to muster a few hundred English and French sailors. His force entered Canton, captured Yeh in his yamen, and sent him as a prisoner to Calcutta. French units joined the British after Chinese authorities executed a provincial Catholic missionary, Father Chapdelaine—probably under the impression that all Christians must be confederated with the T'ai'p'ings.

The Tientsin Negotiations

Allied delegates met with the Chinese at Tientsin in May, 1858; their firmest demand was for intercourse with the Chinese court through legations in Peking; they demanded also trading privileges in the interior of the country, and the creation of a foreign office equal in rank with the boards of state. The Manchu envoys could not bargain strongly while their richest provinces were under rebel rule, but they feared for their own lives²⁷ if Peking, the inner citadel of Chinese culture, should be opened to the foreigner; Ch'ing diplomacy was haunted by the memory of how a moderate

²⁰ The Commons refused to support his measures, but Palmerston carried them to the people in a national election and received a vote of confidence.

²⁷ Commissioners were expendable throughout this period: Kiyong was forced to commit suicide after the Tientsin capitulations; before him, Yeh, Keshin, and Lin had suffered exile or death.

force of Tartar bannermen, entering the capital in 1644, had overthrown the Ming empire.

Representatives of China, Britain, France, the United States, and Russia signed in June the Tientsin treaties, which drew up rules of protocol to govern future diplomacy between China and the West, also legalizing opium imports under a high tariff and opening eleven new treaty ports. Damage and indemnity claims totaling nearly eight million dollars were assessed against China.²⁸ Discussions were continued at Shanghai during the winter, and scheduled to be ratified in Peking. China requested the foreign delegates to land on the Chihli coast and proceed overland to the capital. However, a flotilla of English warships attempted in June, 1859, to carry the mission up the Pei-ho River past the Taku forts at its mouth. Chinese batteries opened fire and sank four gunboats; later a landing force of Allied soldiers was repulsed with severe losses. Since the recapture of Formosa in 1662, no worse check had been inflicted upon European invaders²⁹ in the Far East.

The Fall of Peking

The Allies forwarded from Shanghai in March, 1860, a demand for full apology; although the T'ai-p'ings still threatened them, the Manchus rejected it. In late summer Britain and France collected two hundred ships convoying nineteen thousand troops and began to march on Peking.³⁰ There was a delay for truce negotiations, during which Sir Harry Parkes, the British envoy, was treacherously seized and imprisoned. In reprisal, Lord Elgin ordered the destruction of the Imperial Summer Palace five miles from Peking,³¹ the finest treasure house of Ch'ing art.³²

²⁸ The American share, then over seven hundred thousand dollars, was refunded in 1885.

²⁹ The astonishing success of the defense led to rumors that Russian gunners were serving the Taku batteries; they are expressed in a letter written by an American who was not present at the engagement. Russians had assisted in building the forts, as permitted by international law, but their efficient showing probably resulted from special training against a possible T'ai-p'ing attack.

³⁰ They preferred not to engage the Taku forts again by sea, but flanked and captured them from the land side.

³¹ See p. 132.

³² The French General Montauban, who must have known Versailles, wrote that "nothing in Europe can give an idea of such luxury" as that of the Summer Palace. The French commander did not consent to its destruction.

Before the fall of the capital itself, the emperor had fled with the court to his mountain refuge in Jehol, leaving a younger brother, Prince K'ung, to negotiate with the Allies. The peace protocol was signed on October 18, in a yellow-roofed hall of the Forbidden City;³² it more than doubled the indemnity rate set at Tientsin, securing payments from imperial customs receipts. Kowloon, a small peninsula across the strait, was added to Britain's Hong Kong colony—the first outright cession of territory on the Chinese mainland. The Yangtze was opened to foreign shipping; missionaries were permitted to work freely throughout the eighteen provinces; one article provided that properties seized in the past from Christian organizations should be restored or paid for.³⁴ And China was forced to admit permanent legations to Peking. After twenty-six years of struggle, she became a full diplomatic member of the family of nations.

The Russians Fish in Troubled Waters

In the mid-seventeenth century, Russia, advancing eastward, established fortified outposts near the Mongolian border at Selen-ginsk, Nerchinsk, and Albasin. Clashes followed with the Chinese, the Russians were checked, and at the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689,³⁵ they abandoned claim to the entire Amur watershed but received limited trading privileges. At Kiakhta, another frontier town, in 1727, a further treaty permitted numbers of Russians, accompanying the trade caravans, to visit Peking and to establish an Orthodox church in the capital for their own use.

The Mongolian border remained quiet for a century and a half thereafter; the Bering Sea, Alaska, and Turkestan were Russia's prime objectives, and China was accepted as a friendly "joint heir of the Empire of Genghis Khan." Throughout the sixty-five-year desert war of the Ch'ings against the Dzungar Mongols, the czars

³² William B. Reed, the American treaty delegate, was considered until recently to have been the first U. S. national to enter Peking. The distinction belongs in reality to three deserters from an American whaler, who were brought to Peking from Korea in 1855. The facts were established by Professor Earl Swisher, of the University of Colorado.

³⁴ This article entitled the Catholic Church to press claims for restitution of lands seized in 1724 and used by secular owners 140 years. Resentment against such seizures helped to swell antiforeign agitation throughout the country.

³⁵ See p. 118.

maintained full neutrality. However, by 1850, they were ready to resume an active policy. Though engaged four years later in the Crimean War with Britain and France, they offered help to the imperialists against the T'ai-p'ings. It was refused. Meanwhile, they were again encroaching upon the Amur Basin, and they fortified the mouth of the river in time to repulse an Allied naval attack.³⁶

In 1858, by the Treaty of Aigun, China ceded to Russia all the lands above the Amur and provided for joint control of the Maritime Province between its mouth and the Tumen River—the Korean border. Russia received also navigation rights on the Sungari and Ussuri. During the engagement off the Taku forts, Ignatieff, a Russian representative, was at the Court in Peking. When the imperial family left the capital, he persuaded Prince K'ung, the emperor's brother, to remain so that the dynasty might be saved; at the same time Ignatieff urged moderation upon the Allies, finally convincing K'ung that Russia alone saved the entire city from the fate of the Summer Palace. China was persuaded out of gratitude to surrender all claim to the Maritime Province and thus the 350,000 square miles of Primorsk were added to the czar's dominions. Its new capital, at the head of a deep fjord close to the Korean border, received the name Vladivostok, "Mistress of the East."

The Close of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion

At first, foreigners were not unfriendly to the T'ai-p'ing dynasty in Nanking. Some missionaries hailed it as the first autonomous Christian state in the Far East, agreeing with the bishop of Hong Kong that the "imperfectly enlightened" insurgents were toiling with "praiseworthy vigor of mind" to undertake a moral revolution in a heathen state; and traders were gratified that silk exports from the Yangtze Valley tripled under T'ai-p'ing rule.

Nevertheless, by 1860 the "God-Worshippers" were losing their popularity. Their new aristocracy—peasant veterans of the northward march—were hardly less arrogant than the Manchus. Large

³⁶ Though victorious, the Russians fully realized that they could not indefinitely hold both shores of the North Pacific against Anglo-French naval power. Hence their willingness to dispose of Alaska in 1867, having occupied an equally large but contiguous territory in the Amur Valley and the Maritime Province.

regions were overrun, plundered, and evacuated; Shanghai became filled with refugees who helped to crystallize foreign opinion against the rebels.

The Treaty of Peking actually helped the imperial cause; the whites could not afford to deal with two rival governments, and only by supporting the Manchus could they exploit their victory; in 1862, British officers were granted leave to serve in the imperial armies which they had so recently defeated.³⁷ Supplies were sold only to the imperialists; these included breech-loading artillery and steam transports which ferried the government forces rapidly among the canals of the war zones.

The American, Frederick Ward, financed by Shanghai bankers, proved with his army of six thousand that Chinese troops ably led and adequately paid could fight well; Ward, killed in 1862, was succeeded by Charles Gordon, major in the Royal Artillery, whose Ever-Victorious Army captured fifty walled cities.

Even without foreign intervention, the T'ai-p'ing state might have fallen before a counterattack of the conservative Chinese gentry, led by Tseng Kuo-fan, a Hunan scholar-landlord who undertook to defend Confucian society against the new-fangled doctrines. His lieutenants were the young Han Lin scholar from Anhwei Province, Li Hung-chang;³⁸ and the tactician, Tso Tsung-t'ang, who, like the Celestial Emperor, had repeatedly failed the civil service examinations—but still remained faithful to the government. Tso crushed the T'ai-p'ings in the southeast, while Tseng in 1864 stormed Nanking; shortly before the fall of his capital, Hung committed suicide.³⁹

The struggle "lasted fifteen years, affected sixteen provinces, destroyed six hundred cities, and cost twenty million lives." Poets had agreed that "nothing good, graceful, or elegant is to be found except in Soochow and Nanking," and the shops of Hangchow were said to equal those of London. In 1865, all were level wastes; when rebuilt, they were drab caricatures of the splendid cities that Marco Polo knew. The Nanking Pagoda was gone, and the porcelain

³⁷ Admiral Hope was, for instance, wounded once on the deck of his gunboat off the Taku forts in 1859, and again three years later while leading Chinese infantry against the T'ai-p'ings.

³⁸ Later, the greatest Chinese statesman of the century.

³⁹ The period of Western intervention in the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion approximates the length of the American Civil War, since the last remnants of the rebel army were not dispersed—around Amoy—until the spring of 1865.

works of Ching-te-Chen, that had for centuries provided the finest ceramics on earth. Not before 1900 did Central China rebuild its population.

In two wars and a revolution, the Occident and Orient had taken each other's measure. The Chinese saw the turbulence and energy of the white man released through the Eighteen Provinces; few indeed of the soldiers, adventurers, or even missionaries who opened up the country, showed regard for courtesy or proficiency in the Five Virtues. White men deplored the classical pedantry of the Chinese mandarins. They despised also the popular lack of military virtue and the feeble patriotism that permitted soldiers to bargain for their pay before forming ranks, and coolies to serve any enemy if he showed his silver.

War, to a Confucian thinker, is a contest of savages, below the threshold of ethics; he prefers stratagem to violence and has no concept of chivalry⁴⁰—in fact, the concept is hardly known. Li Hung-chang executed the T'ai'ping princes who surrendered under promise of amnesty; he was merely puzzled at the fury of General Gordon, who threatened his life before returning all decorations Li had given him.⁴¹ A political bridge joined Europe and China above a gulf of misunderstanding that remained deep and broad.

⁴⁰ It is not recorded that Lord Elgin's destruction of the Summer Palace implanted any sincere respect for the flag of truce.

⁴¹ Shortly afterward, leaves were canceled for all British officers in the Manchu service. Li must have been secretly gratified: they had served their purpose and were merely a nuisance after the victory.

Architects of the Era of "Enlightened Rule" in Japan

✿ We have succeeded to the Throne young and weak. Day and night we wonder how we can maintain Our nation's position among the other world nations and fulfill the Will of Our Ancestors. . . .

At present when the world has greatly progressed and every nation is expanding right and left, only Our nation remains remote from the rest of the world, abiding by the old traditions and customs. . . .

Therefore, We pledge . . . to . . . bring welfare and happiness to Our one billion subjects and expand over the unlimited span of ocean and waves to bring forth Our national influence, and put Our nation on a foundation solid as a rock.

The Meiji Emperor to His Subjects, 1868

The Four Clans (map, p. 95)

THE MEIJI era witnessed a transfer of power from the Tokugawa to four western clans, of which the chief was Satsuma in southern Kyushu, daimiate of the Shimadzu family. It was in rice revenue the second largest of the old feudal fiefs. It drew commercial wealth from the Ryukyu (Loo-Choo) Islands, which the Shimadzu ruled as kings. Of its trade with Okinawa much was contraband from China, for Satsuma, secure in its southwestern bastion, could almost ignore the authority of the shoguns, though it conformed with the law of alternate court attendance at Yedo. Satsuma's antiforeignism embarrassed the sho-

gunate in its closing years, but the bombardment of their capital, Kagoshima, by a British squadron in 1863 taught the clansmen to respect the West and made them earnest advocates of sea power.

Choshu, fief of the Mori family, situated at the western extremity of Honshu Island, had grown powerful through its control of the Shimonoseki straits, the water route between West Japan and the ports of the Inland Sea. It had also resisted the "barbarians" and been counterattacked by an Allied fleet. There followed an internal struggle in which the isolationist faction was defeated. Choshu thereupon drew freely upon foreign direction in building up a clan militia—the *kiheitai*—recruited among poor samurai and rustics, but armed with rifles and thoroughly drilled in European tactics. The *kiheitai* checked the Bakufu army and destroyed its prestige.

The Hizen clan, close to Satsuma but only half as large, was ruled by the Nabeshima. Although almost landlocked, it benefited by the foreign trade and enlightened ideas of near-by Nagasaki. Hizen warriors defeated the last shogun in his capital and received his surrender.

Last of the four clans was Tosa, fief of the Kochi, occupying a maritime province on the wide Bay of Tosa in southern Shikoku. Though only sixteenth among the clans in revenue, its almost tropical climate assured a double annual rice crop and a flourishing papermaking industry. Tosa was not among the early enemies of the Tokugawa, but its samurai were blooded in attacks upon the first British and French forces to land near Osaka.

These clans, named from their initial syllables the *Sat-Cho Hi-To*, with a total population of only two million, were to lead the Empire in court and camp until the close of the century. The emperor fully trusted the powers which had restored him to office, and his guard consisted of Satsuma and Choshu men. Kagoshima supplied so much of the metropolitan police force that Tokyo cockneys loved to mimic the constables' Kyushu accent.

Architects of the New Era

The architects of the new era were few; their number has been set at only fifty-five. They included eight court nobles of whom only the princes Sanjo and Iwakura figured prominently in the

Restoration. The rest were samurai, mostly of low rank, the most famous of them being Saigo Takamori of Satsuma, "The Sword of New Japan," commandant of the Imperial Guard. Brought up in genteel poverty, he displayed from youth soldierly qualities, a magnetic personality, and traits of leadership. His alliance with Kido Takayoshi of Choshu sealed the fate of the Tokugawa.

Kido himself, a thinker and statesman, differed in temperament from the warlike Saigo, but performed equally indispensable service in the organization of the new government.¹ The third member of the triumvirate of the Restoration was Okubo Toshimitsu. Subtle and haughty, perhaps more affected than his fellows,² he helped to construct the new national army and eventually to lead it against his Satsuma kindred and his neighbor and boyhood friend, Saigo.

An associate of Kido, who reached eminence after Kido's early death in 1877, was Ito Hirobumi of Choshu. He had defied the isolation laws as early as 1863, stowing away for London among tough British fo'c'sle hands. He became the most inveterate visitor to the West, whose institutions he adapted to Japanese use. His name is perhaps the most familiar one in Meiji annals.

Omura Masujiro did most to adapt the discipline of the *kiheitai* to the Imperial Army. At his death in 1869, his leadership passed to Yamagata Aritomo. From a minor landed family in Hizen came Okuma Shigenobu; and from Tosa, Itagaki Taisuke and Goto Shojiro—three who were to champion representative government in the new Japan. These many leaders were young men, averaging under thirty years of age at the Restoration. All of them, especially Saigo, were erudite in the Chinese classics, but they had been trained likewise in the cult of the samurai sword.³ Several had been personal students of Yoshida Shoin, the martyr of the new era, who, in defiance of the Bakufu police, preached the divinity of the emperor and the duty of expanding his dominion over the Asian continent. Okuma, almost alone, sufficiently surmounted the warrior's contempt for money affairs to become an able financier.

¹ Kido is said to have gone at the age of twenty to Yodo where he disguised himself as a laborer to gain access to Perry's ships and make a painstaking study of American naval technology.

² Okubo is pictured in rather dandified Western costume and sideburns.

³ Foreign diplomats were astounded, shortly before the Meiji era when an official procession was ambushed in the streets, to see high government officers leap from their sedan chairs and fight successful duels with the attackers.

The Enlightened Emperor of the Meiji Era

After the surrender of the shogun, a few of his retainers defended themselves to the death in their northern castles, and the Tokugawa navy held out for some months in Hokkaido. The French were slow to recognize the change in government,⁴ but the vigorous British minister, Sir Harry Parkes, summoned from Peking, favored the emperor.

Mutsuhito Tenno, whose reign was styled Meiji, signifying "Enlightened Rule," was sixteen years old on the first day of 1868 when he published the Restoration Rescript. It is difficult to evaluate his personal qualities behind the official aura of divinity, but he would seem to have possessed firm character and above-average mentality. He contributed much more to the greatness of Japan than did Queen Victoria to the rise of the contemporary British Empire.

Nearly two years after his accession, the Imperial Court was moved to Yedo, thereafter known as Tokyo, or the "Eastern Capital." His three-weeks' progress along the Tokaido to the new palace was his first escape from ceremonial seclusion and he often halted the gilt and purple palanquin to watch his subjects harvest rice. He brought a return to the earlier forms of emperor worship, suspended since the days of Iyeyasu.⁵ He was the first monarch to pay personal respects at the Ise Shrine to his ancestress, the divine Amaterasu. Confucianism fell, despite the protests of scholars, under the stigma of a "foreign" creed. An ecclesiastical bureau set out to "purify" and nationalize religion, and for a time it separated the international faith of Buddhism from the true native Shinto and outranked in importance all other organs of state.

The Meiji return to antiquity aimed to restore imperial authority almost as it existed in the seventh century after the Taika Reform of the Regent Shotoku. The highest law was the Imperial Rescript, an edict drafted in archaic court language and published in the presence of the throne. His Majesty, inaccessible to common men, met on fixed days with a council composed of two chief ministers and the heads of the six boards: Imperial Household, Civil Affairs,

⁴ France had received valuable contracts from the shogun, especially the building of the Yokosuka Naval Base.

⁵ For instance, at the enthronement the "foreign" Chinese custom of burning incense was abandoned.

Finance, War, Justice, and Foreign Affairs. Beneath it in rank was a more shadowy legislative council headed by an imperial prince and meeting irregularly to debate, but never to initiate, laws.

The Meiji emperor set forth his own political objectives in the Charter Oath of 1868 as follows:

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be established and all matters decided by public opinion.
2. The nation shall unite in carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3. Every person shall be given the opportunity to pursue a calling of his choice.
4. Absurd customs and practices of the past shall be discarded and justice shall be based on the laws of heaven and earth.
5. Wisdom and knowledge shall be sought all over the world in order to establish firmly the foundations of the Empire.

The emperor's plan to gather wisdom from foreign lands was effectuated in 1871 when Prince Iwakura, accompanied by Ito, Kido, and Okubo, took an observational journey of eighteen months through the United States and Europe.⁶ Upon leaving, they instructed the remainder of the Council to proceed cautiously until their return. Actually, this rump cabinet seized power eagerly, initiating railway and lighthouse building, adopting the Gregorian calendar, military conscription, and a system of national banks.

The Iwakura Mission introduced further innovations, chiefly political: the Council which advised the ruler was separated from the departmental chiefs; a supreme court was established; and laws were posted for the public to read instead of being kept confidential by the magistrates. More in the Oriental tradition was the formation of the *Genro-in*, or cabal of Elder Statesmen, most of whom had known Mutsuhito as a young prince in Kyoto. Though without definite duties, the members of this group were honored as the emperor's most intimate counselors.

The Samurai Enter Politics

The first concession to popular rule was the creation of a conference of prefectural governors. These were appointive officers of

⁶ They knew so little of diplomatic protocol that they started without official credentials. Ito was obliged to secure these by making a roundtrip between Washington and Tokyo.

high rank, not in any sense popular representatives, and they discussed chiefly economic matters.

From beneath, the former samurai had begun to form political parties, whose purpose was revolt against Sat-Cho domination. They were strongest in Tosa Province, where Itagaki Taisuke and other leaders, during the struggle against the shogunate, had fallen under the influence of French doctrines and exchanged their feudal allegiance for a new sense of nationhood. They pressed for concessions to public opinion, by which was meant not any form of democratic freedom but rather more political recognition for the Outside Clans.

In 1874, Itagaki founded the Patriots' Society, whose chapters spread widely. He drew up petitions for a national assembly. The government responded with a public gatherings ordinance which forbade political meetings without police permission. In 1881 the Patriots were merged into the *Jiyuto*, or Liberal Party, which, unlike any European namesake, was nationalistic and devoted to military expansion. Its support came from overtaxed farmers, disappointed smaller bureaucrats, and revolutionary hotheads. The members did not hesitate to use violence, and they were blamed for riots which flickered through the rural prefectures.

To the *Jiyuto* was added Okuma's *Kaishinto*, or Reform Party. It reflected its founder's admiration for nineteenth-century English parliamentarianism and used its best effort to further the development of trade, extension of suffrage, and strengthening of self-government. The Sat-Cho offset progressive demands with a rescript promising a constitution after nine years, and launched an imperial party, the *Teisaito*. Feelings ran so high that Itagaki was stabbed by a young reactionary as he addressed a rally.⁷

The government was generally successful in setting the opposition leaders against each other and smirching them with scandal. When they attempted to unite their factions in a common front, they were met with the Peace Preservation Ordinance of 1887, which, in the name of national security, banished many liberal politicians from Tokyo, in company with common criminals.

⁷ Itagaki ignored his serious wound with the fine slogan, widely circulated by his followers, of "Itagaki may die, but freedom, never!" It has been pointed out above that the meaning would probably not be equivalent to the English sense of the words. *Jiyuto* means "Freedom Party."

Westernization amid Peasant Rebellions

While officeseekers wrangled, the changes of the Meiji Revolution proceeded unchecked. It was realized that feudal classifications must be abolished. Therefore, in 1872, the ban on sale of farm lands was lifted, enabled the agriculturist to move freely, increase his holdings, or change his occupation. The base of taxation was changed from rice assessment to a fixed cash payment of 3 per cent of the land value, or one fourth the return from the average crop. The plan provided dependable cash revenue, making possible a national budget. But the farmer—whose median property was hardly three acres—frequently became obliged to mortgage his land to raise cash for taxes. During the '80's, there were fifty thousand tax foreclosures per year, and the number of fifteen-yen taxpayers decreased by one third. Intensifying rural distress, the state appropriated the common lands formerly used by the peasants for fuel and pasture.⁸

But the government offered no relief, and it may have welcomed the migration of bankrupt farmers and their surplus children to the cities, where newly operating mills required cheap labor. The money tax also forced the development of agricultural export crops like silk, or of sweated home industries. Labor contractors canvassed the villages offering a price for girls suited to factory work or geisha training. Between 80 and 90 per cent of national revenue had to come from the land, and agriculture bore the burden of subsidizing new industry. There was no other way.

As the farmers realized that the Meiji era offered them no gains while urban wealth increased, squire landlords entered Okuma's Reform Party and peasants rebelled, rising as often in ten years as their forefathers had done in a century of the Tokugawa. They struck unselectively at all Western innovations—enforced vaccination, military conscription, Christianity, and telegraph lines and railways.

⁸The average deficit causing foreclosure was less than a dollar. The whole process resembles the enclosure system which uprooted the yeoman farmers of medieval England and laid the basis of eighteenth-century manufacturing.

Samurai Acquiescence in Liquidation

If the farmers were degraded in status, the warrior samurai seemed slated for extinction. There was no more need for a social class to monopolize fighting skill; war pertained to the state alone. The new Japan could not tolerate 273 autonomous clan authorities. In the second year of the Restoration, the Sat-Cho Hi-To, daimio of the four great western fiefs, surrendered their lands to the crown. They acted patriotically, not unaware that they would be promptly rewarded with rank and pensions by the emperor, and that the lesser daimio must follow their example.⁹ With the national domain under secure unified control, the memory of feudalism was erased as the names and boundaries of the old provinces disappeared. They were replaced by uniform-sized prefectures, or *ken*, and these were subdivided into smaller districts, or *gun*. Most of Satsuma became the prefecture of Kagoshima, Choshu, the prefecture of Yamaguchi, and Tosa the prefecture of Kochi.¹⁰

The daimio did not come off badly. Their debts were assumed by the nation, they were confirmed in possession of their urban mansions, and their rice revenues were discounted for a 10 per cent money pension. Many received prefectural governorships or rank in the peerage.

The daimio were relieved of responsibility for their samurai retainers; and for these the change was disastrous. It dissolved the basis of their loyalty—the bond between lord and vassal. Half of the samurai were reduced to commoners, although at first all received state incomes in lieu of their rice stipends. A poor government soon found, however, that it could not carry two million people as permanent pensioners. Finance Minister Okuma therefore offered in 1873 to commute the samurai pensions for a four- to six-year single payment, half in immediate cash. Three years later, acceptance of this commutation became obligatory.

With a loyal fortitude that has few parallels, most of the samurai acquiesced in their own liquidation. It was not surprising, since they had been trained for generations to despise commerce, that

⁹ Seventeen daimio are said never to have surrendered their fiefs voluntarily.

¹⁰ The First French Republic carried through the same process: the proud medieval duchies of Burgundy, Normandy, and Provence were broken up into small departments.

most of those who ventured their capital in trade were swiftly ruined. Some, however, did prosper in such new enterprises as banking, shipping, and export. The bureaucracy absorbed some of them as clerks and teachers. Tough samurai became police officials, carrying out their duties with an officiousness which their class had always shown toward the common people.

The Desire for Colonization and Conquest

The pressure of the unemployed samurai influenced national policy for years. They were given, for example, priority in the settlement of Yezo, the island wilderness north of Honshu, now called the prefecture of Hokkaido. Its land was unsuitable for rice culture, and too foggy and wind-swept to permit the building of the traditional Japanese paper-walled house. The Tokugawa abandoned the island to fishermen and the wild Ainu. But after 1875 Russia was in Sakhalin, eyeing the warmer lands to the south, whose defense became imperative.

Hokkaido was colonized according to a military plan, which contrasted with the haphazard individualism of the American westward movement. Selected families received grants of land in strategic locations. American agricultural experts advised them about methods of farming, while American engineers laid out the island metropolis of Sapporo. All the colonists of military age were enrolled in militia, which trained for war while it built and plowed.

Korea had offended Japanese pride in 1871 by snubbing a diplomatic mission and boycotting the trading colony in Pusan. In the Cabinet, Saigo begged to lead his samurai to punish these insults.¹¹ Itagaki and the Liberals were no less bent upon military intervention. While the debate proceeded, the Iwakura Mission returned. Its members realized the technological backwardness of their nation far too well to court the risk of a general war. After a bitter debate, the emperor ruled for peace, and the war party leaders resigned. Japan was able to open up Korea a few years later with a slight show of force.

The kingdom of the Ryukyus had long been paying tribute both

¹¹ Saigo proposed to go himself as an envoy to Seoul, where he expected to be assassinated, thus providing a *casus belli*.

to Peking and to Kagoshima—though the latter was more in the nature of blackmail against pirate raiding. The murder of some Ryukyu fishermen in Formosa offered another pretext for military adventure. Saigo, retired after his Korean rebuke, gathered an expeditionary force in Kagoshima. However, its sailing orders were countermanded under pressure of Great Britain and America, as the white powers had no wish to see Japanese influence extend toward South China. Nevertheless, transports were finally purchased and the expedition sailed late in 1874. It punished the Formosan savages but won no glory and plunged the treasury into debt. When, after long negotiations, China ultimately "permitted" Japan to engage in a punitive expedition against the Formosans, she, in the eyes of the Western world, conceded Japan's sole suzerainty over the Ryukyus.

The New Warriors

The best hope of the samurai was to enter the newly organized military services. The beginnings of a navy had been provided by Dutch officers in 1855. The shoguns built under French supervision a formidable naval base in Yokosuka at the mouth of Tokyo Bay. Their steam fleet at first withdrew to Hakodate in Hokkaido, where it resisted the Meiji authority. It was defeated in 1869 and absorbed into the new Imperial Navy, already under firm command of the sea lords of Satsuma.¹²

British officers in the same year assisted in organizing a naval training school, numbers of whose cadets proceeded for advanced study to England.¹³ Imitation of the Royal Navy included the phonetic adaptation of English deck commands into the Japanese language.¹⁴ In 1872, the Navy Department was formed and three years later Japan launched its first iron warship, after purchasing abroad seventeen small fighting vessels averaging less than a thousand tons' burden. Twenty years later, when the time came to

¹² The imperialists had no modern navy until the arrival of the powerful ram, *Andrew Jackson*, from America. Though consigned to the shogun, it was finally delivered to the new government, which used it to disperse Admiral Enomoto's fleet in Hakodate.

¹³ Including Togo Heihachiro, later the national naval hero.

¹⁴ It is interesting to listen to a Japanese pilot using an unmistakable phonetic form of such orders as "Hard aport!" "Full Speed Ahead!"

destroy Chinese sea power, the Imperial Navy included twenty-eight ships of the line with fully trained and disciplined crews.

The new army adopted the slogan *Fukoku Kyohei!* meaning "A Rich Country and a Strong Fighting Force!" A military mission had been dispatched quite early to France, but, arriving at the depth of Napoleon III's defeat, it turned logically enough for instruction to von Moltke and von Bismarck. Omura set his face against using feudal warriors as a national army. Enemies assassinated him, but Yamagata Aritomo, who succeeded him, rigorously carried out the conscription ordinance, which laid the basis for a modernized army. Conscription was hated by the samurai, who lost their monopoly of fighting, and it was resisted at first by superstitious peasants.¹⁵ When their suspicions were overcome, the common people became proud to "wear the emperor's uniform" and bow deeply before his gift of a magazine rifle—remembering that their ancestors had been forbidden to carry any weapon other than a sharpened stake.¹⁶ Six military districts were defined, each garrisoned by seventeen thousand men with field artillery and stiffened by the fifteen thousand crack troops of the Imperial Guard. Experts rated the personnel as equal to Europeans. For domestic service, the state could rely further upon a police force of twenty-three thousand.

The Satsuma Rebellion

The first battle test was not long delayed. As many as thirteen samurai uprisings flared up after the abolition of the pension system. Some were led by former high officials, and others merged with the chronic peasant revolts. Thousands who had accepted with fortitude the loss of their fortunes rose in fury when, in 1876, the wearing of swords was banned and they lost their "steel conscience" and emblem of prestige.

The men of Satsuma swung westward for the last time along the Tokaido with their swords wrapped in cotton bags. Saigo had improved his retirement by opening a college where he taught swords-

¹⁵ Peasants in some regions were persuaded that the phrase "blood tax," applied to the conscription law, meant that their sons would be drained of their fluid blood for use in new industries.

¹⁶ Yamagata's conscripts served for three years with four more in the reserve. A payment of \$270 purchased exemption from military service.

manship and the virtues of *bushido* ("The Way of the Warrior") along with up-to-date military tactics. One hundred and twenty-four branches of the school spread over Kyushu, and its graduates began to control the prefectural administrations. When the government took alarm, Saigo's followers seized the Kagoshima Arsenal and Navy Yard.

Saigo was not present at the outbreak, but he decided not to repudiate his men. Placing himself at the head of forty thousand Satsuma warriors, he led a march toward Tokyo where he vowed to present the grievances of his clan and save the emperor from "evil advisers." He was blocked for fifty days in Central Kyushu at the fortress of Kumamoto, providing enough time for the national army to muster and raise the siege. By early June of 1877 the Satsuma cause was lost, and late in the autumn Saigo died fighting on Castle Hill above Kagoshima.

The victory saved Japan from a Satsuma shogunate. Since the insurrection was carried out in the name of the emperor, little stigma was attached to taking part. Mutsu Munemitsu, for instance, served in the Cabinet less than ten years after release from a prison sentence for serving with the rebels. Saigo has been nationally venerated as a patriot.¹⁷ The Sat-Cho continued to rule, for Satsuma officers led the national forces against their own clan. Though Saigo's schools disappeared, great families from the north continued sending their sons to be educated in the "Kyushu spirit." But one issue at least was settled: the antique mode of warfare was disposed of, and no sword-bearing chivalry would ever again try conclusions with the emperor's shock troops.

Commercial Innovations

The Satsuma War strained the Meiji financial system, which could not absorb the flood of paper—about forty-five million dollars—needed for military expenditures; and the prices of staples rose by nearly a half. Mutsuhito had come to power with only a few weeks' expense money in reserve for his court. The first flood of official outlays had been met by the confiscation of the Tokugawa

¹⁷ Saigo's statue formerly stood beyond the sea wall of Dairen in Manchuria, guardian of the imperialistic dream he never saw fulfilled. Omura appears in bronze on a column in the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, pointing toward the southwest.

gawa estates¹⁸ and the crown seizure of common lands. This revenue was not adequate to pay for armament, industrialization, and the settlement of Hokkaido. To the land tax were added imposts on rice, wine, tobacco and soy.

Half the new excise revenues were needed to import specie. The output of the mines had fallen, and the nation had been drained of considerable gold by foreign traders before the Restoration. These traders had quickly found that the gold koban, worth four silver pieces in Japan, would fetch fifteen in China or London and accordingly bought up gold to realize quick profits. In the first year of Meiji, treasury notes were issued against the rice crop, but within three years this paper circulated at a par with silver.

On Ito's advice, Japan adopted the gold currency standard. It was abandoned after the Satsuma rebellion, and re-established only after the payment of the China War indemnity. Every effort was made to avoid foreign-loan financing: the elder statesmen knew how often European military imperialism followed a bond issue. No more than twelve million dollars was borrowed abroad,¹⁹ but the domestic interest-bearing debt rose to about two hundred million dollars, or one seventh of the annual national income.

Japan was prompt to adopt a banking system patterned after that of the United States. By 1880, 153 national banks had been chartered. This overexpansion of credit brought on a panic with a number of bank failures. The system was stabilized in 1882 with the founding of the Bank of Japan, half of whose shares were government owned.

With the break-up of the occupational class system and freedom of choice in residence there followed a rush of new enterprises. Most utility and communication systems known to the West had been adopted in Japan by 1875. Railway building moved slowly until the government guaranteed a return of 8 per cent to investors. By 1888 only 320 miles of rails had been laid, two thirds by the state. A decade later the mileage had increased tenfold, three fourths of it financed by private capital. The work was directed at

¹⁸ These included the huge rice domains of which only three small estates were left to the Tokugawa, with mines and timber reserves. There were also urban properties, especially the Marunouchi in Yedo, enough all told to make the emperor one of the richest men on earth.

¹⁹ About one half went for the first railway; the rest, for payment of samurai pension commutation.

first by English engineers, who introduced the meter gauge used in the railways of India. Promoters showed less hesitation in organizing shipping services. In the first thirty years of Meiji, merchant tonnage rose from eighteen thousand to nearly six hundred thousand, half of it still in sail, added to one of the world's largest fishing fleets.

Foreign commerce was welcomed, although its first effect was to increase domestic prices. Suitable export products were found—raw silk and tea for Europe and rice for the China market—whose value rose to over twenty-five million dollars.²⁰ Cotton fiber took its place as a leading import soon after English experts introduced spinning machinery. In 1882 the Japan Spinners' Association was formed, and cargoes of cotton cloth were moving into world trade channels.

Save in the matter of natural resources, industrial prospects were bright from the beginning. Labor was both intelligent and prodigally abundant; fabricating skills, division of labor, and nationwide marketing had been developed under the Tokugawa. In addition, the powerful trade guilds, which had formerly repressed competition and resisted new methods, were now dissolved.

At first, the Meiji government set up model corporations in such new industries as iron-founding, glass- and cement-making. After these had served a training purpose, they were sold to private interests. The influence of military expenditure upon Japanese manufacturing was critical. All enterprises helpful to the army and navy were fostered, while others went unaided and were likely to remain small and scattered, relying on sweated home labor.

Zaibatsu Concentration of Capital

Money capital had accumulated among the rice brokers before 1868, and Osaka, the grain exchange, was said to have 70 per cent of the national wealth. The smaller capitalists tended to reinvest in land only, but there were among the upper *chonin* men willing

²⁰ Under the shoguns' mercantilist doctrines, staple goods were embargoed to keep their price down domestically. Early Yokohama traders tried buying up shiploads of clothing rags for the English papermakers. The venture lost money. But profits were made by buying up Buddhist idols, despised during the period of Euromania, and melting them for bullion. A windfall for the Japanese was the silkworm egg blight in France and Italy that called for new egg stock to be imported from the Orient.

to finance the emperor's Restoration. Chief among these was Mitsui Tokiaki, scion of the great mercantile family, who became fiscal agent of the new regime and, in time, founder of the First National Bank.

By a different route there rose the House of Mitsubishi.²¹ Its founder, Iwasaki Yataro, was granted, virtually without cost, the transports used by the Formosa expeditionary force, and he organized them into an efficient coastal merchant fleet. Perhaps in gratitude to Finance Minister Okuma, Iwasaki helped to establish the Progressive Party. The Sat-Cho punished him by backing a rival shipping line which was, however, consolidated with Mitsubishi in 1885 to form the Nippon Yusen Kaisha system. NYK, aided by a substantial subsidy, soon drove British interests out of the coastal trade, then developed passenger and freight services to China and America. Its house flag was to become familiar on many of the main routes of world trade.

Comparable achievements were made by other firms, so that Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, and such smaller complexes as Konoike and Shimada, acquired the collective nickname of *Zaibatsu*, or economic overlords, as firm in financial power as were the Sat-Cho in politics. Each of the *Zaibatsu* included interrelated vertical trusts entrenched in both industry and banking. Thus they lent money at from 10 to 18 per cent to small competitors, skimming their profits and, as occasion served, absorbing them completely. Japan has never attempted to control its trusts and cartels; monopoly, the economic form of oligarchy, perpetuates the spirit of family feudalism.²² But, though the collective power of the trusts was great, the new bureaucrats and their military allies had no intention of being "taken over" by the *chonin* as were the Tokugawa samurai.

The wealth of the nation in 1890 reached about eight billion dollars, or two hundred and fifty dollars per capita, half of it invested in the land. The national product was one and a half billion,

²¹ Meaning "Three Wells," from the escutcheon on the company's crest and trade-mark.

²² The great firms have remained family trusts in a full sense. Inheritance laws affect them but little. Three generations cannot measure the span "from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves" as in the West, since incompetent sons are set aside and the ablest young employes may be adopted and married into the clan. Hence, a Mitsui always rules Mitsui, and the level of natural ability does not fall.

less than the gross income of many single twentieth-century corporations, but enough to supply a hardy race with the sinews of world power.

Bread, Beef, and Imperial Haircuts

Western institutions were in a measure transmitted to the Japanese through the influence of an enlightened emperor and royal family. Mutsuhito changed himself from an inaccessible high priest to a monarch of European style, attending military maneuvers and naval parades, and inspecting mines or colonization projects more often than performing Shinto rites. His early appearance in a foreign cut of uniform changed the dress standard of the nation. (Significantly, in China, no Ch'ing ruler adopted Western costume before the fall of the empire in 1911.) He set a pattern for his subjects in such further ways as having his hair cut short and serving bread or, finally, beef, at palace banquets.²³

The Iwakura Mission of 1871, recruited to study foreign institutions, divided its one hundred members into three specialized groups, one observing Western laws and politics; a second, the economic structure; a third, education and human welfare. Of the ideas presented to these envoys, none was as willingly received as von Bismarck's dictum to become strong above all, since international law is only for minor settlements. The doctrine of survival of the fittest became immensely popular,²⁴ and Herbert Spencer, founder of an all-embracing synthetic evolutionary creed, became a national idol.²⁵

There was no intention of importing a foreign religious faith, though Japan accepted the conveniences of the Gregorian calendar and of Sunday as a day of rest. Until 1868 the anti-Christian laws were sporadically enforced, and not before the twelfth year of Meiji was the Bible fully translated. In that year the estimated number of Christians was twenty-five thousand, three fourths of them Roman Catholic, among thirty-four million people. The influence

²³ Such behavior seriously weakened purely religious sanctions in Japanese life, since the taking of animal life is forbidden by the five laws of orthodox Buddhism.

²⁴ Adapted as *Yusho Reppai*: "Superior Wins; Inferior Loses."

²⁵ Readers may recall Lafcadio Hearn's almost pathetic trust in his master, Spencer. Spencer did help to end the craze of foreign imitation by writing that Japan should above all develop her indigenous culture.

of missionaries was implemented by that of religious-minded foreign technicians.

Foreign influence bettered the position of women, who are of low esteem in Confucian and Buddhist thought, although better regarded in primitive Shinto. In 1872, women were permitted for the first time to visit religious shrines. Mission boards opened forty-three women's schools and later the famous Tsuda College. The civil authorities likewise enlarged opportunities for women, so that by 1880 a fourth of all elementary students were girls.²⁶

Education for the State

Two decades after the start of the era, seven hundred Japanese were enrolled in American schools at one time, their studies covering the full range of Western learning. Well-to-do boys might saturate themselves with a decade of foreign study, and even the ambitious poor might qualify for government grants.²⁷

In 1871 a department of education was established upon the French pattern.²⁸ Japan was divided into eight university districts, each containing at first thirty-two secondary schools which drew upon a total of nearly five thousand primary schools. Textbooks were standardized and class procedures made uniform. Above the elementary grades, enrollment was sufficiently limited to cause bitter competition for each place. By 1900 at least one secondary middle school could be found in each prefecture, and the public higher schools accommodated nearly five thousand students.²⁹

Private institutions helped to meet the urgent demand for collegiate training. Two Christian colleges early became celebrated:

²⁶ Few girls progressed above the elementary level. The middle school was known as a higher school for girl pupils, since it marked their limit. No woman graduated from an imperial university before 1917.

²⁷ These were likely to be loans of perhaps one thousand dollars for a year's study. It was equal to twenty-four months' civil service earnings and therefore very difficult to repay.

²⁸ In other fields, "German measles" was rampant. But the diverse educational system of the different German states was less suitable for Japan than the monolithic French system.

²⁹ Higher schools qualified their graduates directly for the bureaucracy. Their students ranged in age from eighteen to twenty-five years. No boy entered the university before twenty-two. This achievement required a mastery of many fields of knowledge in Japanese and Chinese, and one European language.

Doshisha in Kyoto, founded by the American-trained educator, Neeshima Jo, and Rikkyo, in Tokyo. There were numerous metropolitan universities: Chuo and Meiji law schools; Hosei, under French influence; Keio, chartered by Fukuzawa and specializing in training for commercial careers; and Okuma's great liberal foundation of Waseda, which offered all courses in Japanese, thus eliminating the drudgery of multiple language study.

Three small institutions were amalgamated to form the public University of Tokyo, designated in 1897 as Tokyo Imperial University, the capstone of Japanese education. "Teidai"³⁰ became supreme in the cultural hierarchy, dominating other schools. It himself supervised its curriculum and approved the teaching staff. Teidai law graduates monopolized the higher bureaucratic posts and controlled the executive and judicial branches of the government, though graduates of the private universities gained some influence in the elected Diet.

Education was able to evoke the spirit of national sacrifice. The university student entered upon his course with the resolution of a soldier committed to win or perish. Austerity became the keynote of student life, reaching a point where it threatened health, until the government introduced recreational and gymnastic exercises. Up to 1880, Japan spent twice as much upon elementary education as upon her navy, voluntary contributions making up a fifth of this income. The emperor supported students from his privy purse, and provincial prefectures maintained hostels in Tokyo for students of their region. College teachers were known to divide most of their salaries with needy members of their classes.³¹

Samurai and Confucian education had trained the national character. It was superseded in the 70's by "practical" learning which provided useful knowledge and rejected the "ornamental." The chief exponent of this pragmatic philosophy was Fukuzawa Yuki-chi, the Christian encyclopedist, founder of Keio University and probably the first intellectual influence of the age. After earnestly observing Europe and the United States, Fukuzawa published the

³⁰ The abbreviation stands for *Teikoku Daigaku*, "Imperial University." It was applied to the Tokyo institution, though later imperial universities were founded in Kyoto, Osaka, Fukuoka, Sendai, and Hokkaido, as well as at Taihoku in Formosa and Seoul in Korea. Each exerted arbitrary cultural control in its territory.

³¹ There are moving passages describing this sacrificial educational spirit in Lafcadio Hearn's *Japan, An Interpretation*.

simple-language classic, *Conditions in Western Lands*, which became a chapbook in almost every literate household.

The trend toward practicality was fixed in the technical schools, which were founded by the score, giving almost every type of training known to the outside world. But in the academic domain there came a reaction expressed in fuller study of philosophy, revival of Shinto learning, and the practice of *kendo*, or ancient swordsmanship. The Ministry of Education fully accepted the German concept, utterly at variance with American thinking, that "education is not for the benefit of the student but of the nation." It is embodied less succinctly in the Meiji Rescript on Education of 1890:

Know ye, our subjects:

Our imperial ancestors have founded our empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our empire, and herein also lies the source of our education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.

This document, kept in a special sanctuary in every school and read on frequent occasions to every classroom pupil for fifty-five years, mentions education but once in an oblique reference. There are clear allusions to the Confucian doctrines of Harmony and Benevolence, and to the Five Relations. Almost entirely moral in tone, the rescript restored the pre-eminence of religion based upon

the nature of the emperor over any type of useful learning. But there is no encouragement of free inquiry, and it was not to be long before a Teidai professor could be removed for affirming that Shinto was adapted from the ancient Sun Ritual.

Western Fads and Passing Fancies

There had been broadside news releases under the Tokugawa, but the first regular newspaper, the *Yokohama Mainichi*, appeared during the Meiji epoch. Within a decade there were 192 magazines and journals and, in 1897, 800 different periodicals circulated 463 million copies per year, or 60 per family. The intellectuals, even some of the younger peers, flirted for a time with liberal publications, but these were generally suppressed in the name of "the emperor's will." Some papers employed a special editor to serve jail sentences, but in time censorship was repealed except for *lèse majesté*. There was in fact not enough protection against newspaper libel, so that blackmail and scurrility became common. The press had only a limited influence upon the mass mind, however, because it used the archaic vocabulary of scholarship and the court.

Native Japanese art suffered devastating competition from the cheap Western chromo, and woodcut makers starved or turned to grotesque foreign-style "red-hair prints."³² There was an avalanche of literary translations, with favorites like *Robinson Crusoe* going through many editions. The English classics were accepted in almost all university and higher school curricula.³³ Revolutionary works from the Russian became well known, and native Japanese fiction developed "high seriousness" with lovers whispering to each other the theories of Herbert Spencer or John Stuart Mill. Their precocious sense of destiny contrasted with the vapid self-indulgence of the Tokugawa "Floating World."³⁴

The court adopted Western dress in the fourth year of the Restoration, and Imperial levees became gorgeous with frogged tunics,

³² Since the coming of the Dutch to Deshima, the European was known as a "red-hair," a description applied also to the *oni*, or native demons.

³³ Under direction of Professor Tsubouchi, Waseda University was to erect a half-timbered Shakespeare library and museum. Here the author presided over a festival on the Bard's birthday in 1946 at the depth of national defeat.—A.C.

³⁴ See pp. 106-7.

plumed hats, sashes, and spangles. People aspiring to fashion were completely outfitted if possible by foreign tailors, though trousers or frock coat separately could be superimposed upon Japanese dress. However, all escaped in private life to the comfortable native kimono and haori. Western rooms, annexed to upper-class houses, featured flowered carpets and stiffly carved chairs and tables, seldom used except on ceremonial occasions.⁸⁵ For a time, bread, sour and poorly baked, replaced rice in the Tokyo cafes, and dairy foods banned by Confucian precept appeared on menus, such as cream, milk, and cheese. But all proved to be a passing fad.⁸⁶

Euromania had run its first course by 1890, and it left behind valuable institutions such as new crops and agricultural techniques, postal services, communication and transport systems, and bank credit facilities. Research scholarship, especially in the natural sciences, was patterned after German *Wissenschaft*. Equally permanent were certain social changes, such as the abolition of public nakedness and mixed public bathing in the urban areas, and the sale of indentured *yoshiwaras*. Some serious projects did not fully "take," as the use of Romaji writing or the experiments with Western theater production or portrait art.

There had been lastly transitory extravagances, such as waltzes and card parties in the large metropolitan Social Hall, culminating in the Masquerade Ball of 1887, in which Ito appeared in the garb of a Venetian nobleman. Its absurdity helped to bring on a reaction, so that during the '90's there was a decrease in the rate of borrowings and translations, the number of foreign language schools fell away, and there were more open criticisms of Christianity. Finally an academy of national letters took official measures to protect the native culture. The craze ran its course almost entirely in the cities, with the peasant accepting but one innovation: a rugged, general-purpose red wool blanket.

Treaty Equality

Euromania cannot be regarded as mere apishness, for it played a part in Ito's strategy. He wished to impress the foreign world

⁸⁵ The style is illustrated in many of the murals of the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo.

⁸⁶ The Trappist fathers in Hokkaido were first to operate a permanent dairy farm. Dairy products are moderately popular at the present time.

with Japan's modernization, and thus remove the stigma of inferiority written into the unilateral treaties signed since 1858. Treaty revision became the goal of all statecraft; the regaining of Japanese tariff autonomy, and the abolition of the white man's extraterritorial privilege in the treaty ports.³⁷

"Extrality" was written into the Townsend Harris Treaty to assure its ratification by the American Senate, and it was championed by Sir Harry Parkes, the strongest member of the diplomatic corps, whose mistrust of Japanese law had been deepened after an attack on his own life by nationalist fanatics.³⁸ Bakufu and early restoration statesmen had proved weak negotiators in the presence of foreign warship fleets, but a strong ground swell of public opinion set in favoring revision. A board sat continuously to study ways and means. In 1882, a general conference failed of results, since the foreign delegates presented a common front.

Japanese law was under implied criticism. Therefore a new legal code was drafted with French assistance in 1870, and modified and adapted for another quarter century, the final form containing large elements of the jurisprudence of Saxony.

Okuma was placed in the Foreign Office to develop a new approach. He dealt with Mexico alone; the weak Latin state had but one citizen in Japan, and willingly disposed of all extraterritorial privileges. The Mexican Treaty was then offered as a reverse form of "most-favored-nation" precedent to the great powers. Foreigners who visited the interior received vexatious treatment; to protests, the foreign minister replied that full protection outside the ports could be arranged only through new treaties.

In a critical series of conferences held in the imperial presence, Okuma compromised by offering foreign judges an advisory function in the Supreme Court. Shortly afterward, he was bombed and seriously injured by the agent of a nationalist secret society. Later,

³⁷ Aside from Tokyo, Yokohama was the leading treaty port, about twenty miles below Tokyo on deep water. When first assigned for foreign residence, it was little more than the Bluff, separated by marshes from Kanagawa.

³⁸ Sent as an orphan of thirteen to Hong Kong, Parkes learned Chinese from early missionaries, entered the consular service, and served as Lord Elgin's advisor at the capture of Peking in 1859. His seizure by the Chinese was punished in the burning of the Summer Palace. Transferred to Japan, he cowed almost all Japanese politicians and forced them to stand in his presence. He supervised the Austrian Treaty of 1868, writing maximum extrality privileges into it. He retired from duty in Tokyo in 1871.

ministers persuaded Great Britain in 1894 to relinquish extraterritoriality after five years; other powers followed suit, but tariff autonomy was not fully achieved until 1911.

Ethical Standards

Political corruption that was fast demoralizing China was not prevalent enough in Japan to weaken the Restoration regime. The custom of giving presents was rooted and universal, in politics as in social life. High state officials could not be called venal, although the middle group and the class of government contractors lived by a flexible code of ethics. In every Oriental country, political power is meant to be enjoyed, but in Japan the rewards are not necessarily weighed on the silversmith's scales. A time-honored code forbade the samurai to handle or even to count money, and at the apex of the new system stood an emperor who could not be charged with an unbecoming action during his long reign, living frugally and devoting his fortune to the national welfare. Few of the elder statesmen or the Sat-Cho acquired great wealth, and the military leaders often lived in ostentatious austerity.

There was intermarriage between the political families and the Zaibatsu, who received subsidies and favorable grants. In 1881, Okuma resigned from the government to denounce the disposal of government holdings in Hokkaido to privileged interests. Four years later, the Waseda statesman was himself accused of accepting bribes; though a scrupulous man, he saw no impropriety to accepting a voyage to Europe from Iwasaki, whom he had benefited during his term as minister of finance.⁹⁹ Members of the Diet were to think little of selling their votes, and in city governments there was unabashed corruption.

The most venal of the Tokyo politicians was shot by an outraged moralist,¹⁰⁰ and, indeed, a safeguard against the abuse of authority was to be found in the assassination cult. Almost every member of the Restoration oligarchy underwent attack by at least one of the hairtrigger "patriots," who regarded deviation from their own views as treason to the emperor. A minister of education died

⁹⁹ It has been stated that Okuma's grant of the Formosa expedition fleet laid the basis of Iwasaki's fortune.

¹⁰⁰ The victim was Hoshi Toru, once speaker of the Diet, who showed promise of becoming one of Japan's first demagogues.

for the "irreverence" of lifting a sacred curtain with his cane. Omura, Okubo, Saigo, and eventually Ito met death by violence, but their fellow counsellors persisted unflinchingly with their policies under the suspended Damoclean sword. Courage has seldom been lacking among Japanese statesmen, and the masses have remained disciplined; the repression of individualism, accomplished in Europe only by police action and prison camps, was achieved in Japan voluntarily.

The Constitution: an Imperial Gift

The enactment of a fundamental law for the nation was implied in the Meiji Charter Oath, and the emperor was further inclined toward constitutionalism by the assertion of ex-President Grant that the strength of the United States was based upon representative government operating through political parties. A rescript of 1881 positively promised a constitution at the end of nine years.

Probably no Western constitution has been so meticulously drafted, although the process was lifted far above popular participation. Ito Hirobumi revisited the "barbarian lands" in 1882 to study the full workings of their governments. He returned captivated by the policies of von Bismarck, and he even imitated the mannerisms of his mentor. The instrument which governed Japan until the Atomic Age was fundamentally Prussian, although adapted with insight to native tradition. Ito dominated the five-year, secret sessions of the Bureau for Investigation of the Study of the Constitution. Forty-five years of age, he was prime minister and the emperor's most trusted confidant. He served the nation brilliantly, though hardly deserving the tribute of some admirers that he was the greatest Oriental since Confucius.

The constitution was promulgated by the emperor on his birthday, February 11, 1889.⁴¹ It defined itself as—

. . . a fundamental law of State by which we are to be guided . . . and . . . [to which] our subjects and their descendants are for ever to conform.

⁴¹ The grant was cheered with the first popular chorus of *Banzai*. This salute seems to have been invented for the occasion. The meaning, "Ten Thousand Years," is analogous to the Biblical "O King, Live Forever." Similar greetings are found in the Korean and Chinese languages.

It acknowledged the absolutism of the sovereign, who, "sacred and inviolable . . . of a line unbroken for ages eternal,"⁴² was privileged to make war and treaties, fix ordinances, laws, and titles, appoint officials, and determine their salaries. He alone might initiate amendments to his own document.

There was to be religious liberty so far as it was not "prejudicial to peace and order," and the promise to protect "the rights and . . . property of our people" came closer to a guarantee of individual privilege than the nation had known before. Traditionally, since primitive times, in Asian societies people have no guaranteed rights, only duties. Jurists found the term "civil rights" in French and English usage untranslatable into Japanese, and only the Tosa freethinkers, steeped in Rousseau's doctrines, emphasized the term.

The Privy Council, ordained in 1888, was in fact the final authority in the state, since it conferred in the emperor's presence and must have helped to draft his rescripts. Beneath it were nine ministries of state. Seven of these—Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Finance, Justice, Education, Agriculture, and Commerce—were subordinate to the prime minister. War and Navy possessed after 1889 the right of direct access to the sovereign.

The upper house of the bicameral Diet, known as the House of Peers, included 250 members appointed by the emperor for seven-year terms. Ito had introduced in 1882 the five German orders of nobility: prince, marquis, count, viscount, and baron. Court rank was promptly conferred upon many of the old aristocracy and the Sat-Cho hierarchy, and more tardily upon some opposition leaders. Not over a thousand patents were contemplated. A fraction of each order, averaging less than a fifth, sat in the House of Peers, together with over a hundred commoners chosen chiefly from among the highest taxpayers.

The lower house was elected by a form of popular franchise. Voting qualifications were omitted from the constitution, to become a subject of legislative debate for thirty-six years. In 1890, the vote was limited to males over twenty-five years of age who paid fifteen yen in direct taxes. They numbered only half a million, or one seventieth of the whole population. By 1900, ten-yen tax-

⁴² This language does not fully postulate divinity for the royal line.

payers were enfranchised, and the voting requirement fell progressively until manhood suffrage was enacted in 1925.

The prime minister was like his model, the Prussian Iron Chancellor, responsible to the sovereign and the Cabinet alone but not to the elected Diet. Ordinances drafted when the lower house was out of session could be debated at its next meeting,⁴³ and the same body had a negative control of the purse. Should the Diet refuse to ratify a budget, the Cabinet could resign or dissolve the legislature.

Appropriately to its small prestige, the first elected governing body met in a flimsy two-story building soon to be destroyed by fire. Significantly, of its 300 members, only 110 were former samurai. It included a medley of poorly defined parties: 60 General Agreement members, 56 Liberals, 56 Progressives, and 140 Independents. A large majority opposed the dictation of the Cabinet. The Diet moved at once to reduce the budget by 10 per cent, or eight million yen, and actually secured a substantial reduction before being angrily dissolved.

Within five years there were six stormy legislative sessions and four general elections. The election of 1892 resulted in much bloodshed, particularly in Tosa, as the minister of the interior marched troops against the opposition. Popular resentment strengthened the liberal parties, and they proceeded at the next session to attack the naval estimates. The emperor intervened by offering three hundred thousand yen for warship construction from household expenses and by cutting 10 per cent from official salaries; whereupon the Diet promptly reversed itself by granting the full naval appropriations.

Since public assembly had hardly been known to the Japanese, there was virtually no art of public speaking. Hence, platform verbosity and filibustering oratory had not been learned. Discussion was laconic, and business proceeded so rapidly that important bills were debated and disposed of in an average of three hours.

Disagreements were superficial, though they deluded the Peking court into believing that Japan was too divided to launch a war. In the Cabinet, a stable Sat-Cho oligarchy shuffled the portfolios among themselves, and the inherent conservatism of the Privy Council and upper house and the overriding authority of Meiji

⁴³ If not approved, the laws might be declared invalid by the government.

Tenno kept policy continuous. Ito considered his country too weak to afford a change in course with each new whim of the people's will.

Local government came fairly close to democracy. In the 47 prefectures⁴⁴ and the 653 *gun* subdistricts, there were small assemblies of 8 to 60 members. Voting in local elections required only a three-yen tax payment, though representation made use of the three-class system.⁴⁵

The Meiji civil service at first was recruited and trained under German advice, and therefore designed, like von Bismarck's bureaucracy, to function with minimum supervision by the legislature. It numbered sixty-eight thousand persons by 1900, a formidable and efficient body, sometimes respectfully referred to as the *Kambatsu*.⁴⁶ There were four grades in the service separated from each other by educational and social barriers, so that promotion between them was rare; each received a salary scale approximately four times that of the grade below.

The Pressure of Russian Imperialism

Even before her emergence from isolation, Japan sensed the pressure of Russian imperialism. Putiatin appeared in Nagasaki during 1853 to discuss the disposition of Sakhalin and the Kuriles. In 1861 the czar's navy occupied Tsushima Island, key to the Korean Straits, withdrawing only under British protest. Saigo's colonization of Hokkaido lessened the threat from the north, and with the help of American arbitration there was a series of agreements whereby Sakhalin went to Russia in 1875 but the Kuriles and Bonin Islands went to Japan, including the uninhabited lava cone named Iwo Jima.

Russia then slackened her sea encroachment to attempt surer gains on the land frontiers of China and Korea. In 1891, construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway began simultaneously from the Urals and Vladivostok. Japan feared that with the meet-

⁴⁴ Including the prefectural cities of Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka.

⁴⁵ This system, well-known in Germany, gives one third of the representation to each one third of the taxes paid. Thus, one person may, if he pays as much as a third of the total taxes in a district, nominate the same proportion of representatives.

⁴⁶ Cognate with *Zaibatsu*, or with *Gumbatsu*, the military overloads.

ing of the rails she would be forced to abandon hope of taking a strong position on the Asian mainland. Feeling ran high, expressing itself in an attempt to assassinate the tsarevitch, later Nicholas II, on a visit of state in 1891. Ito favored an understanding with Russia and France, but he was overborne by the military party, which inclined toward Great Britain and eventually consummated with the English the most important foreign alliance of the Meiji era. Relations with China opened with a friendly mutual grant of extraterritoriality in 1871. Shortly after, Japan dispatched the first envoy of ambassadorial rank to serve in Peking.

The Opening of Korea

Korea's isolationism outlasted that of any other Asian maritime state, despite her lack of defenses. Tokyo faces an open bay, but Seoul lies at the head of fifty miles of treacherous tidal estuary. A French task force was dispatched in 1866 to punish the Korean king for persecution of his Catholic subjects; and in May of 1871 Rear Admiral John Rodgers, USN, attempted to open diplomatic relations with the Hermit Kingdom. Neither expedition was able to navigate the river approaches to the capital.

Two "successes" bred contempt in Seoul for the Japanese who had supinely "sold their souls" to the West. Yet it was the Japanese who, in February, 1876, brought Korean seclusion to an end. They followed Admiral Perry's tactics, carrying gifts for the Court and combining official pageantry with a parade of naval force. Korean representatives signed the Treaty of Kanghwa Island, under whose terms Korea—or *Chosen*, to use its Japanese name—was recognized as a sovereign state; consuls were exchanged and Pusan in the south, Inchon (or Chemulpo) the port of Seoul, and Gensan on the East Coast were opened to Japanese trade.

To offset Japan's favored position, Li Hung-chang, the Chinese foreign minister, encouraged the Western nations to demand equal privileges. He brought Korean envoys to Tientsin in 1882 to treat with Commodore Shufeldt; their agreement gave the United States the benefits of the Kanghwa Treaty, and in addition promised American good offices if Korea should be embroiled with any third power. Protocols were signed in due course with England, Germany, Italy, Russia, and France. Since Li presided at the sessions,

these treaties restored also the figment of Chinese suzerainty. Japan received the privilege, long enjoyed by China, of stationing troops in Korea; but to hold the Japanese in check, Li appointed as resident in Seoul his most able protégé, Yuan Shih-k'ai.

Factional disputes continued to keep Korea in a state of anarchy. Accordingly, in 1885, Count Ito called upon Li, and the two statesmen arranged for the withdrawal of both Chinese and Japanese troops from the peninsula; should either government plan further intervention, it would send prior notice to the other.

The Tonghak Crisis

The Li-Ito compromise kept Korea free of foreign troops for nine years.⁴⁷ Eventually, the antiforeign Tonghaks ("Eastern Learning") Society in March, 1894, threatened the Korean throne. China sent a force in June to suppress the rebellion; Japan, duly notified, sent troops also, but the Tonghaks were subdued without foreign help. Tokyo suggested that the two powers remain to keep order in Korea. Li refused the proposal; shortly afterward, the Japanese dispatched another brigade to Seoul and forced the weak king to "request" their help in expelling the Chinese.

Yuan and Li Hung-chang had not expected to fight and would probably have negotiated until assured of Russian help, but a noisy war party close to the Dragon Throne called for punishment of the "yellow dwarfs." Three centuries had passed since Japanese sea rovers had terrorized the continent, and there had been no important domestic fighting since the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600; furthermore, many Chinese felt reassured by the series of Japanese parliamentary crises, the latest of which was still in progress. Military experts compared the paper strength of the armies—which showed China to be three times as strong—or pointed to naval tonnages: Japan under sixty thousand to China's eight-five thousand including the battleships *Ting-yuen* and *Chen-yuen*, which outgunned anything in the Mikado's fleet.

Chinese soldiers crossed the Yalu from Manchuria and late in July another reinforcement set out for Inchon in the chartered British steamer *Kowshing*. She was intercepted off the Korean coast by Japanese cruisers under command of Captain Togo

⁴⁷ See Ch. 10, pp. 205-7, also Ch. 11, pp. 226-28, for a fuller discussion of the period.

Heihachiro, which drove off her naval escort and then sank the transport with her twelve hundred troops.

The Sino-Japanese War

Japan had waged undeclared war. Formal opening of the struggle was delayed until August. There was no further irresolution in the Diet; when it met in Hiroshima, almost in the shadow of the military GHQ, a special appropriation of 150 million yen was passed without debate.⁴⁸ A few days sufficed for the Japanese to clear the enemy from the neighborhood of Seoul. Six weeks later, the city of Pyongyang fell to General Yamagata in a one-day attack, opening the way to the Manchu border.⁴⁹

During September the two navies engaged at the mouth of the Yalu River in the greatest battle of ironclads to that date. It was a one-sided contest in which the Chinese lost four cruisers, though their two capital ships escaped across the Gulf to Wei-hai-wei. In complete control of the Yellow Sea, Japan landed her Second Army before Port Arthur, which fell in November. Ground forces then struck across southern Manchuria toward the Great Wall and Peking, while the Imperial Navy maintained a close winter blockade of Wei-hai-wei, with the purpose of destroying the *Ting-yuen* and *Chen-yuen*, backbone of China's naval power. Both were sunk by torpedo attack, and, after surrendering the naval base, Admiral Ting saved his honor by suicide. A short time before, a Japanese task force occupied Formosa and the Pescadores Islands.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki

It could dictate terms of peace. These were ratified in April, 1895, at Shimonoseki, Japan's port of entry opposite Korea. Li Hung-chang accepted the difficult post of Chinese plenipotentiary.⁵⁰ China recognized the complete independence of Korea—the orig-

⁴⁸ A diet had been dissolved in June. It reconvened in October; according to his prerogative and without consulting the House, the emperor declared war in August.

⁴⁹ Pyongyang marked the farthest advance of Hideyoshi's army in 1593; his further grand design of invading China was defeated by the Korean Navy. Yamagata was fulfilling the plan devised three centuries earlier.

⁵⁰ Wounded by a Japanese fanatic, Li showed such fortitude that the Emperor Meiji granted an armistice during the negotiations. His troops had until then continued to advance.

inal issue in the war; further, she ceded Formosa and the Pescadores. An indemnity of two hundred million silver taels was agreed to and, in the following year, a commercial treaty was signed, which granted Japan "most favored nation" rights and opened to foreign trade Hangchow, Soochow, and the far western river port of Chungking. The most humiliating article in the treaty was that ceding to Japan the Liaotung Peninsula, the "pistol pointed toward Peking"—only two hundred miles away.

Li had appealed during the conflict for Western help. Britain proved unresponsive, indifferent even to the loss of the *Kowshing*—her attitude summed up in a June 18 editorial in *St. James Gazette*:

We are no losers if [defeat] throws open China to foreign trade; we . . . have most to gain by it in spite of competition by Yokohama and Tokyo.

But Russia showed strong interest in the Shimonoseki negotiations, asking other European powers to exchange views with Finance Minister Count Witte. On April 23, Germany and France joined Russia in presenting identical notes to the Foreign Office in Tokyo, demanding that Japan retrocede to China the Liaotung Peninsula.

The move caused resentment in Japan which lasted for a generation. War against the European coalition was impossible, and a general conference might lead (like the Congress of Berlin) to complete revision of the treaty terms. Ito decided, therefore, to accept the three-power demand; and an amended protocol restored Liaotung, but added thirty million dollars to the indemnity, Weihai-wei to be occupied until the payments were completed.

Consequence of the War

The world was amazed at the self-dedication and fervor of the Nipponese people; at their splendid organization and swift, crushing victories; and no less at their disciplined and civilized behavior.³¹ The mighty empire of China was humbled with battle casualties fewer than those inflicted by the tiny clan of Satsuma.³² The Meiji

³¹ A brief massacre at Port Arthur was explained as a reprisal for the torture of Japanese prisoners.

³² In 1894-95, over one thousand Japanese died as against six thousand in the Satsuma campaign. However, seventeen thousand casualties were counted in China from disease and exposure.

Revolution had achieved its moral objective, to sublimate in emperor worship and national patriotism the loyalty of the clansman, the spirit of the Forty-seven Ronins. With the triumph over China, the nation stood on the threshold of greatness; no compromise seemed possible between armed expansion and subjection to the West. At home, power developed from a stepping-up of industrialization; abroad, through trade and military alliance, Japan was determined to seek equality with any rival.

But Japan accepted also the dangerous doctrine that war is profitable. The Shimonoseki indemnity approximated four times the national budget; it paid the cost of the war operations and construction of the Imperial Navy, with surplus enough to place the yen on a gold basis. A military oligarchy had won the victory; retrocession only added to its prestige, since the treaty brought prospects of a renewed struggle—against the czar. Active officers of general rank took over the War and Navy Cabinet portfolios, a practice that was, in time, to substitute military for civilian authority in the state.

China: The Period of Humiliation, 1860-1898

☼ Whose semi-colony is China? China is the colony of every nation that has made treaties with her, and the treaty-making nations are her masters. China is not the colony of one nation, but of all, and we are not the slaves of one country, but of all. . . . It is only necessary that the diplomats of the different countries meet in one place and make their signatures . . . in that day, united political action would wipe out China.

Sun Yat-sen

Palace Revolution

THE FEEBLE emperor, Hsien Feng, died in exile the year after the fall of Peking. Seven years earlier, in 1854, he had taken as senior concubine the Princess Yehonala. Promoted for bearing him a son, she became a powerful—and reputedly anti-Western—influence upon state policy. She was in temporary disgrace at the time of the emperor's death, but the event elevated her five-year-old son to the Dragon Throne. After a bitter struggle with a rival court faction, Yehonala,¹ assuming the title Tzu Hsi ("Motherly and Auspicious"), became coregent with the former

¹ Yehonala somehow secured the imperial seal from Hsien Feng's death chamber. Since no woman could accompany the imperial funeral procession, she preceded it, arriving in Peking some days before her rivals, who were obliged by etiquette to escort Hsien Feng's coffin. The time proved ample for her to issue the necessary decrees, seal them, arrest the rival regents on their arrival, and sentence three of them to death and the rest to degradation.

empress, Tzu An, during the minority of her son. In fact, Tzu Hsi, the Empress Dowager, ruled alone, a masterful and controversial figure, during most of the period until her death forty-eight years later. Against her treachery and ruthless love of power must be offset gifts of personal charm, remarkable judgment, and a dedication to the Manchu state that alone enabled it to survive her by three years.

Of necessity the Empress Dowager viewed the world from the women's apartments in Peking or the pleasant Summer Palace, rebuilt to her order. She could not, like K'ang Hsi, make long visitations among her people; familiar with eunuchs during her years of concubinage, she depended upon them throughout later life. One of these, Li Lien-ying, a former cobbler's apprentice, became for thirty years the richest subject in the empire. Thus, during her long rule, the throne—represented by two successive weak young men—sank into insignificance. The Manchu clans, which had helped her to overthrow her enemies in 1861, and were the most conservative and arrogant power in the state, grew stronger. Much authority passed to favorites, who might be actors or rhymesters, for Tzu Hsi, like the Emperor Nero, loved pageantry. Most credit was reflected upon her by her unfailing trust in Jung Lu, the Manchu noble to whom Yehonala had been affianced, before joining the imperial harem. He remained her stanch supporter and closest adviser through forty troubled years.

Tung Chih and Kuang Hsi

Yehonala's son was installed as emperor under the title of Tung Chih; for the twelve years of his minority, while his mother held the reins of state, the boy drifted into dissolute habits. Ascending the throne in 1873, he survived for only two years. Despite her apparently sound health, his young empress with her unborn child died a few months later.²

Once more, as in 1860, the empire was without a sovereign; again Tzu Hsi asserted herself. Succession would normally go to the nearest relative in line of blood, but the Empress Dowager persuaded the council to choose her four-year-old nephew, the son of

² The circumstances were suspicious and the death termed a suicide. Had the baby been born a male and succeeded, his mother would have been Empress Dowager and regent, displacing Tzu Hsi.

Prince Ch'un, a baby whose father was subservient to herself. The young emperor received the title Kuang Hsü. Hundreds of protesting memorials were written,³ but Tzu Hsi disregarded them. By nominating a second emperor, she could look forward to fourteen years' more tenure of power. Her regency was shared, it is true, for a few more years; Tzu An, though of a yielding nature, occasionally opposed her, but her death in 1881 left no rival to the Empress Dowager.

Domestic Policy

After the great rebellion, the main administrative advance was a policy, encouraged by Prince K'ung, of staffing the upper bureaucracy with increasing numbers of native Chinese. The Confucianist literati and Manchu clansmen remained obdurately conservative. The commercial classes were far less hostile to Western ideas; nevertheless, they preferred to invest their capital, as before, in short-term enterprise⁴ or in land; in every village, the landlord and moneylender, those Asiatic tyrants, strengthened their grip upon the impoverished farmers.

As the T'ai'ping armies disintegrated, their more restless elements joined the Black Flag guerrillas operating in the southwest provinces. The majority returned to their southern homes, where they kept alive the memory of the lost cause and dedicated a newer generation, including the village lad Sun Yat-sen, to the struggle against the Manchu.

Some lesser wars followed the main upheaval: the Nien Fei, mounted banditti operating in the northeastern provinces, were dispersed by Li Hung-chang in 1868. In Yunnan Province, exploited Moslem miners fought under their "Sultan" Solomon for nearly twenty years before their defeat in 1873; the same year completed the suppression of their coreligionists in Kansu. Within

³ One of these, written by the Censor Wu K'o-tu, became perhaps the most famous memorial of the century. After showing that the deceased emperor would suffer posthumous humiliation for want of a successor of his own line to perform the ancestral rites, Wu hanged himself—thus accompanying his sovereign to the Land of Yellow Streams.—See p. 116 and the story of General Nogi, p. 267.

⁴ An approved investment consisted in advancing funds to a successful examination candidate to buy his office; the financial broker obtained not only influence at the yamen but a cut in official squeeze.

hardly more than a decade, war, drought, and locust plagues cost the empire an estimated seventeen million lives.

International Customs Control

The government could no longer, after 1860, ignore the Western nations; within a few years treaties were concluded with eighteen of them. Before the rebellion, Chinese officers collected the Maritime Customs; however, when Shanghai was threatened by the rebels, they transferred their duties to foreign collectors, who saved the customs revenues for the imperialist treasury. In 1863 the Englishman, Robert Hart, began a career as Shanghai customs commissioner, which was to last nearly four decades and make him the most respected European in China. No scandal occurred in the service during Hart's long term of office.

Though the Ch'ings regularly protested against foreign collection of their customs, they were not displeased at receiving a revenue of up to twenty million dollars yearly, secure against local squeeze. Tariff had been fixed by treaty at 5 per cent; Chinese demands to increase the rate were refused—chiefly because the imposition of *likin*, or internal barrier tolls, begun as a temporary war measure, had become permanent.

Concessions and Extraterritoriality

The concession system, begun in Shanghai, was extended to three more Yangtze River ports, to Newchwang in Manchuria, and to Shameen Island in the Canton River. Concessions were under exclusive long-term lease to foreign nations, who chose their own governing councils, collected local taxes, and operated their own courts, police system, and municipal services. In these white man's enclaves, the Chinese were themselves outlanders.

Markedly different views have been expressed about these mixed communities; to most foreigners, they seemed to be havens of good order, Western law, and sound finance amid the anarchy of Asia. But a great contemporary Chinese has damned them tersely thus:

... The Concessions were not only the source of drugs, but were also havens for prostitutes, gamblers, thieves, and bandits. ... Thus,

during the past hundred years, beautiful and prosperous cities became hells of misery and chaos.⁹

Under the terms of extraterritoriality, foreigners were exempt everywhere from Chinese justice and responsible to their own consuls. Appeals from the consular courts could be reviewed in Hong Kong and Vladivostok. American appeals went to the Federal District Court in San Francisco. In 1864, the first mixed court for the trial of causes between Chinese and foreigners was established in Shanghai.

The Burlingame Mission

On Robert Hart's recommendation, the retiring American minister to Peking, Anson Burlingame, was invited to serve as representative of the Chinese government to the Western nations. With a party of thirty-two Chinese, he crossed the Pacific to "sell China to the Christian World." After a triumphant reception in San Francisco, he traveled over the unfinished Transcontinental Railway, with numerous stopovers, to Washington. Here a treaty was signed with President Johnson in July, 1868; it provided for the exchange of consuls, with reciprocal rights of immigration, travel, and residence for Chinese and American nationals. Mr. Burlingame was received during the autumn by Queen Victoria and Emperor Napoleon. He proceeded to Saint Petersburg where, shortly after an audience with the czar, he was stricken with a fatal illness.

Burlingame held the most optimistic possible views regarding an early understanding between the Orient and the West. His Confucianist sponsors became alarmed at his predictions that Christianity would "plant its Cross in every valley" of the Middle Kingdom, and no less at the prospect of unrestricted American travel throughout China.

The Opening of Foreign Relations

British Foreign Office spokesmen reminded Burlingame that no ruler of China had received a European since the Macartney Mission in 1794; obviously, the Peking government must return the courtesies granted to its ambassador. Therefore, in June of 1873

⁹ Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek, *China's Destiny* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1947), p. 92.

the ministers of six foreign powers were presented to the newly installed emperor, T'ung Chih; but even then the Chinese clung to a form of condescension by using a reception hall which had been reserved for tribute-bearing vassals.

Chinese ambassadors were sent abroad in 1877, but the Foreign Office, or Tsung-li Yamen, promised by the Treaty of Peking, gained little prestige. Only low-ranking officials attended its meetings; members gossiped lengthily but feared to make decisions, realizing that any mistakes charged against them would be seriously punished.⁶ The conduct of foreign affairs passed in large measure to an individual, Li Hung-chang, who, for his services in the T'ai-p'ing War, became viceroy of the metropolitan province of Chihli. During thirty years that he held this post, most important diplomatic conferences were held in the whitewashed outer office of his Tientsin yamen. He had negotiated with white men even since the days of General Gordon and the Ever-Victorious Army, and he enjoyed the confidence of Tzu Hsi, though the whimsical dowager would not appoint him to the Grand Council on the ground that she did not like his southern provincial accent.

Li was a Han Lin scholar, whose memorials to the throne were reprinted as literary models, but unlike other scholars, he was no lotus-eating philosopher. He saw that westernization must come, and believed in the opening of mines and factories, thriftily investing in them and becoming one of the richest men of the age, the genius of a system of interlocking enterprises. As a moralizer, he denounced the foreign importers of opium; as a practical man, he owned profitable poppy farms himself. His devotion to the dynasty matched his own self-interest; behind this man, the Ch'ings moved steadily into the twilight.

The Chinese Migrate Overseas

THE COOLIE TRAFFIC

After suppression of the African slave trade in the 1830's, there grew up a demand for tough laborers to work in the plantations of the New World and Australia, or dig the guano fertilizer in the Chincha Islands. Eight hundred Chinese coolies reached Cuba in 1847.

⁶ Note the unfortunate careers of commissioners Lin and Kiyang, p. 147 n.

Though emigration from China was legally forbidden, a discreditable traffic grew up in coolies recruited in Amoy and Canton, staged at Macao, and shipped out at a profit of two hundred dollars a head. Terrible conditions prevailed aboard the coolie ships, and nearly eight thousand lives were lost aboard them within twelve years. The United States outlawed the traffic in 1862, setting an example followed by other nations. In 1874 the Chinese government legalized emigration; eventually nearly seven million Chinese found homes abroad, nine tenths of them in Asian countries.

CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES

Free emigration to California began with the 1849 Gold Rush and developed so rapidly that in 1852 there were eighteen thousand Chinese in San Francisco—one third of the total population. The influx averaged over ten thousand per year for the next thirty years, though numbers returned, obeying the Confucian mandate to serve their parents and be buried with their ancestors; one hundred thousand remained on the Pacific Coast in 1882. Competition of the Chinese was resented in the mining districts, but their popularity rose during the building of the Central Pacific Railway, when they proved to be docile and very industrious, justifying Leland Stanford's conviction that a people who built the Great Wall were equal to any modern construction project! When the Transcontinental Line was finished in 1869, thousands of Chinese were laid off, new labor poured in from the Eastern states, and unemployment in California became critical. It was easy to blame the Chinese: idle mobs listened to attacks on their "heathen" beliefs, social clannishness, lack of assimilation, love of opium and gambling, and their sporadic tong wars, though the real objection to them was based on their depressed wage scale, far below that of even the Irish immigrants.

The first fatal anti-Chinese outbreaks took place in 1871, but attempts to change the terms of the Burlingame Treaty failed in Congress before 1879. The next year four hundred Chinese were mobbed in Denver, and five years later nineteen were killed in the Wyoming coal-mining town of Rock Springs.⁷ In 1880 a joint

⁷ The United States paid \$147,000 to the victims or their heirs. It has been calculated that almost every year overseas Chinese have suffered more

convention signed in Peking agreed that the United States could limit but not totally prevent the entrance of Chinese laborers.

The agreement proved short-lived, for an act of Congress in 1882 suspended Chinese immigration for ten years, with the exception of students, teachers, and merchants, all of whom were required to carry letters of identification from China with them. The Geary Act, ten years later, extended the prohibition, with a stringent clause requiring all Chinese residents of the United States to take out identification papers within twelve months. When its provisions were renewed in 1904, the Chinese government refused to ratify them. There was a boycott of American trade which cut the value of imports by more than a half in two years.

With the acquisition of Hawaii in 1898, many Chinese who had entered the islands during the previous two decades passed under American jurisdiction. Most of these were coolies, though a number had grown wealthy as merchants or sugar planters; they were far outnumbered by the Japanese immigrants, but they have multiplied and mixed their blood widely with that of the native Hawaiians, the whites, and other Orientals.

A galling form of discrimination was the law of 1875, denying the right of naturalization to all foreign-born Asians.⁸ All Chinese exclusion acts were repealed as a gesture of wartime friendship in December, 1943. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 established an immigration quota of two thousand Orientals and removed all barriers to their naturalization.

MIGRATION TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The first Chinese settlers reached western Canada not long after their arrival in California, and they were in Australia, following the gold diggers, in 1855. The growth of sugar plantations in Queensland attracted thousands of Melanesian and Chinese workers. Relations between white and colored pioneers followed the American pattern; but the British Imperial Council, fearing the effect upon opinion in India, discouraged any formal exclusion of Asians. The Dominions resorted to forms of subterfuge: Canada

violence than was committed against whites resident in China—but in almost no other case was compensation offered.

⁸ The law was based upon legal opinion that the original Constitution granted citizenship only to freeborn whites, and the Fourteenth Amendment to Negroes.

imposed prohibitively high entry taxes; New Zealand limited Oriental immigration to one person per five hundred tons of shipping.

A surge of racist feeling swept over Australia in the last decade of the century. Pointing to the disastrous effects of race amalgamation in Africa and the American South, successive labor governments followed the slogan: "Keep Australia White!" They achieved their purpose with a literacy test requiring prospective immigrants to read in any language chosen by the inspectors; it was applied so as to admit whites but shut out every person of color. Factories and plantations which depended upon cheap labor were obliged to close down. There were still, in 1907, over forty thousand Chinese in Australia, a disappearing stock since only one thousand of them were females.

MIGRATION TO SOUTHEAST ASIA

From the earliest times, Chinese emigrants from Kwangtung and Fukien provinces had established themselves throughout the southern regions. Their thriftiness and clannishness often aroused hostility; they were often persecuted, sometimes massacred (notably in Manila around 1600 and Batavia in 1740). In time they became indispensable to both native rulers and colonial administrators; always they outworked the easygoing native races, enduring heavy labor in the tropical heat; they came to control rice milling, fishing, local carrying trade, marketing, tin mining in the placers of Malaya, most retail merchandising, and much of the banking. In some years almost as much of the wealth of Java was exported to China as to Holland, the European mother state.

Three fourths of the immigrants were males and most returned to China with their savings; but—as seldom happened in the white men's lands—they intermarried freely in almost all Asian communities except Muslim Malaya; their children were likely to attend Chinese schools and retain the ancestral customs, though discarding the Manchu pigtail. Few reliable estimates have been made of their numbers. In 1850, Chinese formed perhaps one fifth of the population of Penang and Malacca, one fourth of the six million residents of Siam.

Migrating in defiance of Chinese law, unprotected by consuls or warships, the Chinese were true adventurers. They defended and largely governed themselves through powerful secret societies whose

rivalry sometimes exploded into *Kong-si*, or tong riots, that baffled the police. A strike of Chinese junkmen could close a southern port almost as effectively as a naval blockade. Descended from peasant or coolie stock, the overseas Chinese were strongly anti-Manchu, and their remittances helped to further revolutionary movements in the homeland.

An ethnic map in 1900 would show dense Chinese populations in the Menam Valley, the Mekong Delta, western Luzon, the Straits Settlements, and the Tin Islands between Sumatra and Borneo; and large communities in the trading ports of Java, Sumatra, North Borneo, and Tongking. They totaled perhaps five million—90 per cent of all Chinese emigrants; several times as many had come and returned, bringing back wealth, and knowledge of lands and customs far removed from the Middle Kingdom.

International Incidents

THE TIENTSIN RIOTS

Early treaty makers felt misgivings about possible friction between treaty port foreigners and local residents. Feelings ran strongest in Tientsin, the port of Peking, where the French had erected the Cathedral of Our Lady of Victory on the site of a former imperial temple. The Chinese were inflamed further by rumors that patients in the mission hospital were being done to death and their bodies used in macabre rites.⁶

A riot broke out in which the Catholic compound was destroyed, twenty French citizens were killed, and a wave of antiforeignism passed over the empire. The outbreak of war with Prussia, which followed almost immediately, prevented reprisals, though the powers joined France in demanding payment of an indemnity, and a Manchu envoy carried his government's apologies to Paris.

THE MARGARY CASE

In August, 1875, a British consular interpreter, Augustus Margary, was sent from Peking to assist a survey party in Upper Burma.

⁶ Catholic nurses welcomed hospital patients who were beyond hope of cure, but eligible for baptism before death. Subsequently they were buried in consecrated ground. Their death and disappearance were clothed by Chinese literati with sinister intent.

On his return to China he was killed by "border ruffians" independent of the viceroy's control. Eighteen months afterwards, Li Hung-chang consented to meet Sir Thomas Wade, Her Majesty's plenipotentiary, at the northern watering place of Chefoo. The Chinese agreed to pay compensation for Mr. Margary's death; they also reaffirmed the right of all foreign representatives to official protection, and recognized the newly established mixed court system. Ten more cities were opened to foreign contact—six of them on the Yangtze as ports of call, while Wenchow, Pakhoi, Wuhu, and Ichang became regular treaty ports.

THE RYUKYU DISPUTE

The Loo-Choo Islands, known by the Japanese as the Ryukyus, had paid tribute to China for five centuries and to Japan for three, though the princes of Okinawa received investiture from Chinese envoys, their island had been a fief of the Satsuma since 1609. In 1871 a party of Ryukyu fishermen, among the greatest wanderers in Asia, were swept on to a Formosa reef and murdered by island savages. Japan three years later sent military forces to punish the Formosans, though they were subjects of China. The Tsung-li Yamen tried ineffectively to stop the expedition, then at last closed the incident with a payment to Tokyo of \$750,000.

The Chinese action acknowledged Japan as protector of the Ryukyu people, and it proved that China would rather pay than fight. The status of the islands was submitted for arbitration by ex-President Grant when he visited the Emperor Meiji in 1880. Grant assigned the southern part of the Ryukyus, near Formosa, to China; but his plan was never ratified, and in 1881 Japan possessed herself of the entire chain.

THE CESSION OF MACAO

A cession that rankled keenly in Li Hung-chang's mind was the final grant of Macao to Portugal. For over three centuries the Portuguese had been regarded as tenants at will; by treaty in 1887, China made their rights perpetual, but retained the right to co-operate in the collecting of opium revenue and customs duties.¹⁰

¹⁰ Sir Robert Hart forfeited his high place in Chinese regard by backing the Portuguese in this settlement.

Russia Threatens Central Asia (map, p. 237)

The western frontier marches of China had been named Sinkiang, or "The New Dominion," at their conquest in Han times; they include the closed basin of the Tarim River south of the Kuen Lun Range and, to the north, the Plain of Zungaria and the upper course of the Ili River, which drains into Lake Balkash. Here the Moslem inhabitants had rebelled in 1760 and 1825; a concerted uprising under a native leader, Yakub Beg, followed the T'ai-p'ing Revolt in 1864.

For thirteen years Yakub assumed the title of Emir of Djety-shan; his state was briefly recognized by England. The czar's agents were pressing southward through Central Asia. Their political objective was to check Britain, and they sought among the deserts irrigated valleys where cotton could be grown, reducing their dependence on the United States. Already Russian troops had occupied the nearby Balkash steppe; but they gave no encouragement to Yakub, fearing that he might add Russian lands to his Moslem federation; on the contrary, they moved in to "protect" the entire Ili Valley.

From Peking the ablest Ch'ing commander, Tso Tsung-t'ang,¹¹ who had already suppressed the Kansu Moslems, set out in 1874 with the intention of destroying the rebels "root and branch." Tso's European siege guns reduced city walls to rubble, and he achieved miracles of logistics in supplying his army. (Tso is said to have planted crops at oases on the route to feed his troops; actually most of his rations for one hundred thousand men were caravanned from China, across one hundred miles of desert.)

A Manchu courtier, Chung How, was sent to effect a Central Asian settlement with the Russians. At the Treaty of Livadia¹² in 1878, Chung not only confirmed Russia in possession of Ili but

¹¹ Tso was the toughest figure, perhaps, in the imperial court, whose military leadership gave strength to the empire during the T'ai-p'ing and Sinkiang campaigns. He was Oriental in his aestheticism, delighting to conduct parties among his flowers and fruit trees, yet always accompanied by his private executioner. A blunt man, he reported his rare defeats more fully than his victories, and was hated at court for his contempt of, and his bold bearing before, the Empress Dowager. He was immune to bribery, and dedicated himself to comparative poverty rather than use his power for self-enrichment.

¹² This was an earlier Yalta conference, held in the same Crimea palace as that of 1945.

conceded new trade rights and promised an indemnity of about five million dollars. Tso demanded Chung Ho's death for betraying his government,¹² then defied Russia to wage war, boasting that his veterans were a match for any of the czar's armies. General Gordon, recalled as military adviser, believed also that China could win a war of attrition by withdrawing from her northern frontiers; in this militant atmosphere, a new treaty was drawn up which retroceded the Ili Valley to China.

France Occupies the Indo-China Countries

The territories south of China consisted a century ago, as today, of the elongated coastal state of Annam forming the "balcony" of Indo-China: at its north end, Tongking, the valley of the Red River; at the south, Cochin-China, the delta and lower valley of the great Mekong; northwest and landlocked, between Annam and the upper Mekong, the tribal cantons known as Laos; southwest on the Gulf of Siam, the tottering kingdom of Cambodia. All owed some form of allegiance to the king of Annam, who ruled from Hué, near the center of the coastal plain.

Not since 1427 had Annam been an integral part of China, though a cobweb of Manchu authority remained. Laos and Cambodia sent tribute both to Hué and to Bangkok, though in fact Siamese armies had occupied the Laotian states since 1827. King Tuduc was destined during his long reign (1848-83) to preside over the dissolution of the Annamite empire; a devout Confucian, the monarch began to repress during the early years of his reign the Christian communities founded by French and Spanish priests. Undoubtedly he took courage from the Manchu Commissioner Yeh, who in Canton was defying the Western powers.

After the defeat of Yeh and the Chinese capitulation at Tientsin in 1857,¹³ French armies moved south to punish Tuduc, following his execution of two missionary fathers. A direct attack on Hué proved indecisive, but the French easily occupied three provinces of Cochin China. Diverted for a year to assist in the capture of Peking, the French returned in much greater force, seizing between

¹² Sentence was passed on him, and might have been carried out had not Queen Victoria petitioned for clemency.

¹³ See p. 148.

1861 and 1863 the rest of Cochin China and placing Cambodia under French protection. The southern regions of Annam were thus lost; and for some years French imperialism seemed satisfied, hoping to develop the Mekong River as an inland water route to the riches of western China. However, explorers discovered impassable rapids in the middle third of its course. By the time this "Mekong madness" was over, the Franco-Prussian War temporarily checked French expansion.

Following the war, French pressure was applied to the northern province of Tongking. In 1874 Tuduc conceded freedom of navigation on the Red River, also sanctioning Catholic missions and granting extraterritoriality to the French. But he offset French encroachment by permitting the infiltration of guerrillas known as the Black Flag bands from China, then renewing his tribute to Peking and inviting Chinese regular troops to suppress the bandits. While local French forces were besieged in Hanoi by the Black Flags, the Jules Ferry government voted credits for extensive military operations in the Far East. Ignoring the protests of China, which still claimed suzerain rights, the French negotiated at Hué in 1884, the year after Tuduc's death, a treaty whereby Annam became a protectorate and Tongking passed under direct French administration.

On behalf of China, Li Hung-chang signed two months later a convention with Commandant Fournier of the French Navy, which ratified the Hué Treaty and provided for the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Tongking.

The Franco-Chinese War

Because of a misunderstanding of orders, a clash occurred in August, 1884, in which advance units of French infantry were defeated at Langson, close to the border, by the retreating Chinese. The French government demanded an indemnity of 250 million francs; when it was refused an undeclared war followed. Naval forces under Admiral Courbet attacked the Keelung forts in northern Formosa; failing to reduce them, Courbet crossed the straits to the naval base at Foochow. Here he lay at anchor for a month before ordering a sudden attack, which destroyed the entire Chinese southern flotilla of eleven warships.

Nation-wide fury swept over China; for the first time, it affected even coolies, who declined to touch French cargoes. Li Hung-chang declared that, rather than pay ransom, "the Eighteen Provinces would sink beneath the sea." Courbet occupied the Pescadores Islands, but an attempted blockade of Formosa merely incensed the British, who resented any threat to their Shanghai-Hong Kong life line. On March 28, 1885, the French Army suffered a second defeat in the Langson area, so disastrous that, only three days later, the Ferry ministry fell. Its successor lost little time in concluding the war; the treaty, signed in Tientsin, ratified the earlier Li-Fournier Convention. The indemnity was waived, and the Pescadores returned to China. Since the least compromise by a European power counted as a victory, the Chinese appeared to have won, within a few years, successes against both Russia and France.

The Opening of Korea

Nowhere had the repercussions of the fall of Peking been more severe than in Korea: the Tai Kuk ("Great Land") had appeared invincible to its weak neighbor. More alarming still was China's cession of the Maritime Province, placing imperial Russia on the north bank of the Tumen.¹⁵ The Korean government abandoned a wide area south of the river, demolishing villages and resettling the people—then retired into fifteen years' further seclusion. Japan forced Korea, still unwilling, to open her chief ports in 1876; shortly afterward, Li Hung-chang offered concessions in the peninsula to France, hoping both to check the Japanese and divert French attention from Tongking. The offer was refused, but less than a decade later, after some wrangling between the two nations, Count Ito proposed that both China and Japan withdraw their armed forces from the peninsula. The apparent fairness of the suggestion could not disguise the fact that a vassal of the Ch'ings for two and one-half centuries was now independent. The "satellite ring"—Annam, Burma, and Korea—had been broken. Foreign navies dominated the China seas; the rising weight of Russia was pressing against land frontiers from Vladivostok to Lake Baikal.

¹⁵ See p. 150.

New Trends in Commerce

Trade with the British Empire accounted for 80 per cent of all China's foreign commerce in 1864; three fourths of the business houses in Shanghai, nearly all the foreign banks, and about half of the tonnage clearing the Whangpu River were British. Yankee entrepreneurs handled only one fifth of the British volume, but they were no less hopeful of the vast China market. It was predicted that the Union Pacific would amortize its cost within ten years from traffic originating in the Far East.¹⁶ As tariffs rose higher in the Atlantic communities, China appeared to be the free-traders' best hope. Proverbially, "an inch added to the Chinaman's shirt-tail would keep busy all the mills of Lancashire."

Tea remained for some decades the most active commodity, but China teas fluctuated in quality and were carelessly graded. China no longer enjoyed a monopoly; the tea grown in Japan, and on British plantations in Assam and Ceylon, was far more uniform. By 1905, tea accounted for only a tenth of China's overseas trade, and included mainly poor-quality leaf compressed into bricks for the Russian market.

Silk followed a similar trend, though the fiber still formed in 1900 one third of all national exports. Japan was far more successful in producing a strong thread suitable for machine looms. As they lost ground in the world's luxury marts, Shanghai and Tientsin traders turned to such specialties as firecrackers and hair nets,¹⁷ or coarse raw materials like the soy bean and its residue, bean-cake fertilizer, together with animal hides, eggs, matting, and hogs' bristles.

Opium remained the dominant import to the turn of the century, though there was domestic production in every province. The traffic was legalized at last in 1880 when opium became, like salt, a government monopoly. The demand for English wool was slightly stimulated as China ordered uniforms for the new army; it never approached the volume of raw cotton imports from India and America. Kerosene swept all other illuminants and fuel oils from

¹⁶ R. A. Billington et al., (ed.) *The Making of American Democracy* (New York: Rinehart, 1930), p. 49.

¹⁷ Great quantities reached the market with the cutting of pigtails in the Revolution of 1911. Later, hair was bought in Central Europe, woven in Shantung, and sold chiefly to American women in all natural shades.

the market, yet per capita purchase of petroleum products leveled off at three pints a year—one sixth the current daily consumption in the United States. The five-gallon kerosene containers became inland China's chief source of sheet metal.

Shipping volume, foreign and domestic, increased fourfold between 1870 and 1900, with Hong Kong clearing the highest tonnage in the world.¹⁸ Racing clippers gave way, after the building of the Suez Canal, to peninsular and Oriental steamers that made scheduled runs of six weeks from the Thames dockside to Shanghai. After 1877, when an American-owned coastwise line was sold to the Chinese, the Stars and Stripes was seen rarely in the treaty ports; Germany and Japan were hardly established in the carrying trade before 1900.

The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation opened its doors in 1865, followed by thirty British-owned banks with a total capital of over eighty million dollars. The currency of China, pegged to a silver standard, suffered steady inflation as torrents of the white metal flowed from the mines of Nevada, Montana, and Colorado. The Haikwan tael—standard unit of imperial currency—fell in gold value from \$1.65 in 1872 to 67 cents in 1903. Though there was a 40 per cent increase in the money value of foreign trade during the 1890's, its volume hardly changed. Copper remained more stable in price, so that copper coins exchanged at up to a third more than their face value; and, though gold prices held firm, the Chinese from long habit preferred to hoard their silver.

Bonanza or Mirage?

Even more injurious to trade than the silver inflation was likin, the internal tariff collected on every road and waterway.¹⁹ It was authorized during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion to meet the extraordinary charges of the war, and afterwards retained in place of land taxes no longer collectible in the devastated areas. Repeated levies of likin sometimes raised the cost of tea delivered in Shanghai to levels above the world price.

After the banner year of 1872, disillusionment increased among foreign traders; all business passed through the hands of Chinese

¹⁸ Twenty-two million tons in 1906 as against twenty million each for New York and London.

¹⁹ See p. 188.

compradors, shrewd dealers who retained to themselves all possible commissions. The Chinese "bonanza" hovered like a mirage, beyond reach: despite the lobbying in Parliament of the China Association, formed in 1889 on behalf of the treaty port merchants, British exports remained at an annual average of forty million gold dollars, never reaching fifty million; good years alternated with bad until it became apparent that tiny Belgium was a better customer than the vast Middle Kingdom.

China itself made progress toward modernization. In 1884, a telegraph system was established.²⁰ During the 70's, coal mines close to the Gulf of Chihli were producing a good grade of boiler fuel; the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, backed by Li Hung-chang, bought out American interests and competed aggressively with British coastwise traffic, even attempting to open services to Europe. Though it could not use a tariff, the government protected domestic industry to some extent by restricting the import of machinery to foreign firms; in 1891 a Chinese-owned cotton mill was set up in Shanghai, with wage rates of five cents a day.

The specter of coolie competition alarmed the West. However, the Manchus only halfheartedly approved of factories since these brought together numbers of potentially dissatisfied people. They distrusted mining ventures also, in part because the chronically rebellious southwestern Moslems were miners; and because mine pits were held to cause disturbing geomantic influences and antagonize the ancestral spirits. Similar objections were made to the early railways; the first, built northward from Shanghai in 1877, was torn up at the Empress Dowager's orders and moved to Formosa. Superstition served only as a pretext for resisting nineteenth-century progress; deeper reasons were fear of technological unemployment (which was already causing mass starvation among the weavers of India) and the fixed Manchu dread of new ideas.²¹

²⁰ Since Chinese writing lacks a phonetic alphabet, telegraphy involves unusual problems; these have not prevented its universal use.

²¹ See p. 116.

The Clash of Foreign Interests

GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain maintained by far the largest commercial interests and ablest consular services in China; having most to lose by war, England, especially during Liberal Party administrations, was generally committed to peaceful solutions in the Far East. From Shanghai, British influence extended through the Yangtze Valley; after the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885, there were brief hopes of constructing a rail link from Hankow through Southwest China to the Irrawaddy. However, few references to China policy occur in parliamentary debates before 1890; the fate of the ancient land was viewed with cold-blooded realism. If France became mired down in Indo-China, Britain could play a stronger hand in Egypt. Muscovite expansion was pure menace, to be contained everywhere: it threatened the Victorian empire at the Bosphorus, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Tibet, to reappear beyond the Korean straits. Inevitably, Britain moved toward common action with Japan to restrain the czar in China and turn his Pacific flank.

FRANCE

France, weakened by the loss of her Lorraine industries in 1871, had few commodities to offer the Far East trade, and routed even her silk imports through London. Though their entente was not signed until 1894, France at no time antagonized Russia, preferring to direct her ambitions toward Europe. The seizure of Indo-China was helpful to national morale, agreeable to von Bismarck and preferable in British eyes to an attack upon Siam.

GERMANY

The interests of Germany countered those of France. The young kaiser, William II (1888-1918), lacking an ironclad fleet, could not interfere before 1890 in Pacific affairs, but he feared, almost pathologically, the resurgence of the Asiatic "horde," or, to use his phrase, the "Yellow Peril"; thus he came to favor a concert of the European powers against Japan, the most dynamic Asian state. Von Bismarck, after halting Russia's European expansion at the Congress of Berlin, encouraged Slavic adventures in Asia,

where, it was hoped, both Russia and France would collide with the British Empire. During the Tongking and Ili crises, von Brandt, the German minister in Peking, was suspected of encouraging the Europeans to be firm, while arranging the dispatch of Krupp rifles from Hamburg to arm the Chinese.

RUSSIA

In Russia, the Foreign Office was directed by incompetent Romanoff grandees; but at lower levels there were daring and brilliant career officers. Russia alone faced China across a land frontier which had witnessed the passage of trade and diplomacy since the seventeenth century. Strong movements were likely to be initiated by local officers ambitious for promotion;²² such were the protoimperialist, Yermak Timodajeff, in the sixteenth century, and the Dane Bering who served Peter the Great; and, in the mid-nineteenth, Putiatin, Ignatieff, and Muraviëv, count of the Amur. The "protectors" of the Ili Basin and the pioneers of the Ussuri frontier, by their highhanded behavior during later decades, lost for Russia the favored position held at the Peking court in 1860.

THE UNITED STATES

The United States was trusted by the Oriental nations beyond any other foreign power. Her domestic exclusion policy was resented, but in Asia few gunboats flew the Stars and Stripes; America had been the first to outlaw the opium and coolie traffics, and had refunded more than half of her Tientsin Treaty indemnity. But America became decreasingly influential as her internal expansion overshadowed foreign interests; American consulates were few, lightly and not too competently staffed.²³

China's Modern Navy

China herself would have preferred during the 80's an alliance with Britain, exchanging her support in Central Asia for British naval assistance against Russia. The contemporary historian, Deme-

²² In a manner somewhat similar to the United States where policies were generally developed by the frontiersman and adopted later in Washington.

²³ Few American diplomats studied Oriental languages; none mastered them in the manner of Sir Stamford Raffles or Sir Thomas Wade, originator of the romanized spelling system in Chinese.

trius Boulger, hailed China as a "natural ally . . . stronger, wiser, and more united than she has been since the dawn of her existence"; but England sidestepped a commitment which might have aligned her against a confederacy of the continental powers with Japan.

Chinese security depended, in the last analysis, upon internal modernization and rearmament. As early as 1863, Mr. H. N. Lay purchased for the Manchus a steam fleet of eight vessels, which arrived under Captain Sherard Osborn. An impasse developed when Peking insisted that a Chinese admiral must take over-all command, whereas Sherard Osborn retorted that no British gentleman could serve under an "Asiatic barbarian." Shortly afterward the Lay flotilla was dispersed and resold. Contracts for dockyards and arsenals were subsequently let to French engineers and more gunboats ordered in England. The Chinese Navy was organized in three independent squadrons, the Northern (Peiyang), Southern (Nanyang), and the Kwangtung. It was the Southern Squadron, composed of light units averaging only seven hundred tons, which Courbet trapped and sank in Foochow.

Li Hung-chang established in 1885 an admiralty added to the six boards of state, but the time was inopportune: the emperor was still a child; old Tso Tsung-t'ang, who had forced through the earlier construction program, was dead; the able Prince K'ung had been degraded from office. Authority became the spoil of palace cliques. The Board of Admiralty was headed by Prince Ch'un; associated with Li, its executive director, were his own brother, his son-in-law, and Li Lien-ying, the sinister chief eunuch of the Forbidden City. The clique was responsible only to the Empress Dowager. None had any knowledge of naval affairs, and the eunuch's chief interest lay in diverting naval funds to rebuild and landscape the Summer Palace. Ting Chu-ch'en, commissioned admiral, possessed powers of leadership, but even he owed his appointment to family ties with the Li clan in Anhwei Province.

The Peiyang Squadron included the two German-built ironclads, *Chen-yuen* and *Ting-yuen*, supported by six cruisers and a torpedo-boat squadron. It was based on Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei, on opposite shores of the Gulf of Chihli; at Tientsin it maintained a training academy. Li could not resist the satisfaction of demonstrating his battleships before the Japanese; during a courtesy visit to

Nagasaki, the ship crews rioted and terrorized the waterfront. Japan did not forget this insolence.

Western governments offered to loan their experts: Commodore Shufeldt for some time expected a high appointment in the Chinese Navy, and Captain Long, with a small Royal Navy staff, actually served with it for a few years. But Li could not permit the navy, with its enormous budget, to pass, like the International Maritime Customs, under foreign control; European armament firms were paying large bribes for their contracts. Tzu Hsi and her eunuch, in a mood of irony, added an ornamental "ocean" to the palace gardens, equipped with a marble tea pavilion shaped like a grounded ship. This waste of naval funds led to cancellation of an order of ten-inch shells for the fleet's main batteries. Money enough remained to provide smart uniforms and sufficient bunting to display the new Imperial ensign: a blue dragon on a field of yellow. The crews could "dress ship" on parade, but there was little fleet maneuver or expensive gunnery practice.

Nor could the Manchus develop an efficient army: the banners had become mere pensioners, living on the Manchu dole; after the T'ai-p'ing butchery, scholar-bureaucrats turned to pacifism more cordially than ever. Command could not be centralized, since each governor required his "cut" from supply and wage payments, and the court, fearful always of separatist movements, connived at the sabotage of the provincial armies. No standard service rifle was developed and, as in the navy, artillerymen remained unfamiliar with their weapons. Li placed reliance in a special Peking field force, whose commandant drew pay for twenty thousand men, but many of these were coolies, mustered into uniform only at inspection parade. The advertised manpower of the Chinese armies was three hundred thousand; but how little this figure meant none was better aware than Japanese Military Intelligence.

The Impact of War

The disaster of 1894 exposed the rotten fabric of Manchu administration; against fanatically devoted and well-appointed Japanese armies, Chinese conscripts fought with spears and bows. Shells for the fortress or naval guns were often entirely lacking or filled with sand. Defeat ruined the Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday

celebration, planned as the æsthetic climax of her reign; only his courage and skill during the Shimonoseki peace negotiations probably saved the viceroy, Li Hung-chang, from execution.

The "sleeping giant," China, was perceived to be paralyzed. Dismemberment was discussed in discreet tones among the chancelleries. The internal prestige of the government was so low that invading Japanese posed as "saviors" of the people from Manchu tyranny. Mandarin finance had sacrificed the national safety to please palace voluptuaries, and mandarin war leadership had proved ludicrous. China never aspired to further naval power and allowed the dragon standard almost to disappear from the sea. Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei soon became foreign soil; metropolitan defenses amounted to little more than the obsolete Taku forts and some ramparts above the eastern cliffs at Chefoo.

Nineteenth-Century Imperialism among the Lesser States

Take up the white man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile
To help your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

Rudyard Kipling

* Before the European War all the European nations had been poisoned by imperialism. What is imperialism? It is the policy of aggression upon other countries by means of political force or, in the Chinese phrase, "long-range aggression."

Sun Yat-sen

Gunboat Diplomacy

IN 1815 European flags flew over half a score of residencies in eastern Asia. By 1900, within a single protracted lifetime, the subcontinent had been appropriated into colonial empires or spheres of influence, save for Japan, which had itself become imperialist. The change was effected chiefly through use of sea power; not by the use of the main battle fleets of Europe, but that smallest faction of naval power, the gunboat—of low freeboard and shallow draft, which could operate throughout labyrinths

of inland waterways, yet was powerful enough to make headway against strong currents, and sufficiently armed to sink pirate junks or silence native forts.

The gunboat patrol became, for two generations, a part of the Asian riverine landscape, with deck watch standing to its well-oiled Maxims and five-pounders under the white awning. It symbolized the white man's system, along with the Consulate, the Bank, and the Club; welcomed by the trader—and often, too, by the native ruler—it often proved embarrassing to the missionary, whose Asian critics cited discrepancies between gunboat diplomacy and the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth.

Geographically, the advance of imperialism may be subdivided into three theaters. In the southeast, Great Britain, extending her influence from established bases in India, throughout Burma and Malaya, came into conflict with France, advancing westward from Indo-China. Their contest became centered in Siam. Peripherally, in the islands, Holland strengthened her control of Indonesia, and the United States displaced Spain in the Philippines, occupying at the same time the Pacific steppingstones of Hawaii, Samoa, and Guam. The island theater was not immediately involved in the rivalries on the Asian continent, and the United States proposed to moderate these with the Open Door policy.

Simultaneously, to the far northeast, Russia advanced across the Eurasian heartland to the Amur Valley, attempting at last via rail rather than water highways to reach the Yellow Sea; Japan, rapidly mastering the armaments of the West, opposed the Russian advance, the struggle centering in Korea.

China steadily protested the march of imperialism; in the southeast she remained after 1885 little more than a bystander. To the Manchu court, the northeast was of paramount significance, since it included their homeland of Manchuria and all the land and sea approaches to Peking; here China acted with greater decision, though without changing the timetable of foreign aggression.

Imperialism in the Southeast: the Annexation of Burma

After the Treaty of Yandabo,¹ Burma contained little territory outside of the Irrawaddy Valley. But friction with British interests

¹ See p. 127.

continued until, in 1840, the government of India severed relations with the Burmese court at Ava. When Emperor Pagan Min arrested two English skippers on trumped-up charges, the "Combustible Commodore" Lambert of the East India Company's navy blockaded Rangoon and destroyed the Burmese war fleet (1851). Subsequently, Indian land forces occupied the delta province of Pegu together with the Prome and Toungoo districts; Pagan was deposed by his half-brother, Mindon, who made peace, though he never recognized the seizure of Lower Burma. Mindon Min managed for twenty-five years after 1853 to arrest the British advance. He was sovereign of a landlocked kingdom which he ruled from the newly established royal city of Mandalay, six hundred miles upriver from the gulf.

Thibaw, his successor, dominated by the ruthless queen, Supayawlat, opened his reign with a massacre of his kin in the Konbaung royal line; it was feared that the foreign colony would suffer next. Britain, already facing military crises in South Africa and Afghanistan, withdrew her resident and his staff from Mandalay.

But the interest of the British in Upper Burma was intense; already in control of the mouths of the Burmese rivers, they were tantalized by the five-hundred-mile gap between navigable water in the Yangtze and the Irrawaddy; a rail link here would shorten by twenty-five hundred miles the haul from Shanghai to Calcutta. France, securely established in the Mekong Delta and gaining ground in Tongking, was equally anxious to tap the resources of China. The two powers agreed in 1883 that English influence should predominate in northern Burma. Thibaw was forbidden to make foreign alliances; however, a commission he dispatched to Paris was suspected of negotiating for a French-built railway between Mandalay and Lower Burma; and papers seized in 1885 indicated that the Ferry government had promised arms to Thibaw as soon as the conquest of Indo-China was complete. The king then invited disaster by levying a one-million-dollar fine against the British-owned Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, on pain of confiscating the company's vast teak holdings.

The judgment was entered in August. Britain's demand for arbitration was rejected two months later. An ultimatum followed, ordering Thibaw to place his foreign relations under control of the government of India. When this was ignored, a small British ex-

peditionary force moved up the river. When Mandalay fell in December, General Prendergast, watch in hand, granted Thibaw five minutes to load his effects into an ox wagon and leave the palace for a life of exile. In January, a brief announcement extinguished the Burmese monarchy, and in February, 1886, the nine-century-old empire became a province of British India. The conquest was not completed for five years, as local chieftains fought hard against the white invaders and, even after defeat, formed dacoit, or brigand, bands.

Burma under British Rule, 1886-1920

GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY

The new authority over Burma became the governor-general and his council in Calcutta. More autonomy was granted under the Minto-Morley Government of India Act of 1909, which established a lieutenant governor in Mandalay, advised by a council of thirty that included a majority of non-Europeans. This body could draft resolutions but not legislate; no provision was made for popular elections.

There were advantages to foreign rule; no longer could a despotic prince "devour" his province, nor did each reign end in bloody succession wars. The British organized a bureaucracy of trained administrative officers, who introduced modern sanitation, established agriculture and forestry on a scientific basis, and founded credit cooperatives for the peasants. Royal monopolies and forced labor were abolished together with inequitable taxes. Britain provided vernacular primary education and helped to support a number of mission schools, notably those of the American Baptists among the Karen tribes. Higher education in English began when Rangoon Government College and Baptist College merged after two decades, in 1920, into the University of Rangoon. Large numbers of Burmese attended the University of Calcutta; coming from a far less competitive society, these proved less grimly intent than the Indians upon earning a degree.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Every Burmese benefited by inclusion of his state in the imperial free-trade zone, and the colony provided a bonanza for British

big business. No rice was exported from Lower Burma before 1850. But the disorders of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, the destruction of the Carolina export trade during the American Civil War, and the opening of the Suez Canal built up a demand for all the rice that Burma could produce. The acreage planted to paddy, chiefly in the Irrawaddy Delta, tripled by 1861, and in 1920 had increased thirtyfold to about ten million acres, with about half the crop available for export, chiefly to India.

Up to half a million tons of teak, the world's most valuable hardwood, were cut annually in the monsoon forests, dragged by trained elephants to the dry river courses, and rafted downstream during the flood season to Rangoon sawmills. Petroleum, extracted by crude methods under the Konbaung kings, yielded enormous wealth to the Burmah Oil Company; a pipe line 275 miles in length carried the crude oil of Yenaungyang to refineries in the Delta which supplied gasoline for the entire Indian market. The Irrawaddy Flotilla operated the largest river steamers in the world from tidewater on the gulf to the China border. Rangoon's ocean passenger traffic—chiefly migratory Indian field workers—rivalled that of New York.

It was said thus that Burma seldom caused an hour's anxiety to the governor-general. An Arcadian country, it became the trader or garrison trooper's favorite berth in the tropics, the "cleaner, greener land" he never forgot.

ADMINISTRATIVE BLUNDERS

Of mistakes made by the British raj, the greatest was to unite Burma with India: their language and writing are mutually unintelligible; temperamentally, the intense and mystical Hindu differs radically from the lighthearted Burman; the latter totally rejects caste, while India has the most rigid social distinctions on earth—though, since a Hindu "loses caste" by crossing the ocean, these survived in diminished form in Rangoon. The tide of Indian immigrants, reaching a crest of over a quarter million per year, caused near disaster to the native races; efficient and determined, the immigrants took over the majority of the commercial and industrial jobs in the cities of Lower Burma. Their chettyars or moneylenders, foreclosed upon vast acreages of rice land and came to control one third of the foreign investment in Burma. As middle-

men and brokers, Hindus were charged with exploiting the national economy.

Undoubtedly, Britain erred in disestablishing the Buddhist Church. It had been, admittedly, integral with the discredited royal state, but it had performed valuable services: no village was without its temple school; the shrines, dressed with flowers, were community social centers. The Law of Gautama, which emphasizes mild austerity, corrected the natural excesses of the people and encouraged pageantry and harmless sport—elephant races or steamer regattas—rather than the brutal spectacles of other Asian societies. Deprived of their state revenues, the priesthood became ignorant and, in time, inclined toward sedition and revolt.

French Organization of Indo-China

The Treaty of Tientsin in 1885, by which China renounced her suzerainty over Vietnam, ended any hope of defeating French occupation. By a decree of 1887, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Annam, and Tongking were protectorates, retaining their puppet emperor, but answering to the decrees of the Ministry of Marine and Colonies in Paris. Cambodia, threatened with partition between Annam and Siam, survived the long rule of King Norodom (1860–1904) with few outward changes in the structure of the state. Before four years of his reign had passed, the young king renounced Siamese domination and ceremonially accepted his crown from France. There was a brief rebellion in 1885–86 when white residents were appointed to all the provinces of the kingdom, though local mandarins kept their ornamental offices. Cambodian pride was flattered by the researches of French archeologists into the buried splendors of Angkor and the Khmer civilization;² and when, three years after Norodom's death, the "lost provinces" of Siemreap and Battambang were surrendered by Siam to the protectorate, Cambodia became as friendly as any state in Asia to her European overlords and nationalist movements made little headway.

The Siamese made stubborn efforts to retain Laos, a group of landlocked cantons on both banks of the middle Mekong. They had occupied an earlier Laos kingdom by 1836; much of it was

² See pp. 53–54.

overrun during the 70's and 80's by Red and Black Flags retreating before the conquest of Tongking. French columns followed them, subduing both the guerrillas and Siamese garrisons; in 1888 the twelve northern cantons of Luang Prabang were added to the Indo-China Union. Shortly afterward a French expedition was "exploring" the adjacent Laos kingdom of Vientiane.

International Conflict

The minimum territorial demand of France included the entire left bank of the Mekong. This was disputed by Siam; but following some carefully staged "incidents," French troops moved into the disputed areas. In the hope of quickly coercing the court at Bangkok, three gunboats flying the Tricolor entered the Menam in July, 1893. Fired on by the Siamese forts, they demolished the defenses of Bangkok and presented an ultimatum which King Chulalongkorn dared not refuse. It called for three million francs' indemnity for French losses in the river fighting, abandonment of Siam's trans-Mekong claims, and neutralization of twenty-five kilometers west of the river.

Though intensely annoyed at French chauvinism, Britain made no move to aid Siam. But in an ensuing crisis, conflict between the powers became unavoidable. The Mekong, where it passes the border of Yunnan, is hardly 150 miles from the Salween, Britain's eastern water route between China and the Indian Ocean. The intervening territory, known as Kengtung, was claimed neither by Siam nor China; hence, French and British imperial ambitions collided here, as in contemporary Africa. King Thibaw had, in fact, surrendered vague claims to the canton of Muong Sing twenty miles east of the Mekong, and here in 1895 a British expedition hauled down the French flag.

The action was an invitation to war. Three years before, at Fashoda in the Sudan, France had withdrawn in favor of Britain's interest in the Nile Valley. In the Kengtung incident, it was England's turn to concede to the Third Republic—on condition that both guarantee Siamese control of the entire Menam Valley. France won the contest for a southern gateway to China; her route via the Red River had been found the only one geographically feasible,

and in 1901 the Tongking-Yunnanfu Railway began to follow it. Britain abandoned further surveys across the bottomless canyons that separate Burma from western China.

Neither government was willing to force an issue to extremes. England was beginning to share French apprehensions regarding the rise of Germany, and war was threatening her in South Africa. France had to rely upon Britain or Spanish Manila for naval shore facilities east of Toulon. With the signing of the Entente Cordiale in 1904, rivalry between the two empires virtually ceased throughout the world.

The Indo-China Union

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Following China's practice, the Annamese kings had embargoed rice exports. France repealed these laws and opened for rice culture vast acreages in the Mekong Delta which produced over a million tons of the staple, making them available for overseas export, half to Europe, the balance to China and Java. Indo-China became also the only Asian exporter of corn. Spices and plantation production did not prove sufficient for the French import market. Indo-China sugar and tobacco could not compete with the products of the Dutch Indies; some tea was grown and, by 1910, a fair volume of rubber. Labor procurement became a major problem after Holland restricted emigration from Indonesia; Chinese coolies would not remain in the remote new concession lands, and Annamese were unpopular in the other provinces of the union.

Outside investment was effectively discouraged, and capital from France avoided the risks of new development. The Colonial Office demanded that Indo-China cease to drain the French Treasury—an objective attained in 1895. Fiscal administrators retained such dubious monopolies as alcohol, opium, and salt, furnishing nationalists with the charge that France was debauching the people to gain revenue.

Gold mines returned some profit, and the coal beds of Tongking are well situated, close to ocean transport. Most of the mines had been exploited by Chinese operators before the arrival of the French.

ADMINISTRATION

After establishment of the Union of Indo-China in 1887, a French chief executive and council headed a government-general of five departments—military, naval, legal, financial, and political. There was a governor in Cochin China and residents in the four protectorates, with their local councils. Native princes maintained their courts and mandarins served on at the lower levels. French bureaucrats were conscientious, but too poorly paid to rise above shady practices; and they were at the mercy of native interpreters, since few of them mastered the many-toned native dialects. They competed for authority, furthermore, with the military forces, until the latter were restricted to four "circles" near the frontiers—a training ground for the French Army.

The governors-general, appointed in Paris, succeeded each other almost as frequently as governments rose and fell in the Third Republic. The earlier trend in policy was toward assimilation, but this doctrine came into conflict with deeply rooted native beliefs, and was discarded in favor of association with France—the weakening of all but political ties. Catholic missionary priests, by far the best linguists and scholars in the foreign community, made but small impression upon Annamite Confucianism. There was little mingling between the races; France granted citizenship to a few selected Indo-Chinese and to all Eurasians who applied for it. Her new Far Eastern conquests were notable as an adventure of honor, restoring the prestige of metropolitan France after the disaster of 1870; they added less to the tangible assets of the French Empire.

Malaya

ORGANIZATION

Malacca, Penang, and Singapore Island, the East India Company's three peninsular bases, were collectively named the Straits Settlements. They have a combined area approximating that of an American county, and in 1867 were organized as a single crown colony. Malaya, the extremity of the peninsula, has the area and somewhat the shape of Illinois; it consisted in 1850 of nine autonomous sultanates. As British trade increased along the coast, His Majesty's Navy was charged with the suppression of piracy—an

avocation of many seafaring Malays; political contacts followed inevitably. Residents from London began to advise the sultans of Perak and Selangor in 1874, those of Pahang and Negri Sembilan in 1887. In 1896, these four states were federated and administered from Kuala Lumpur, former capital of Selangor, by a British high commissioner.

Johore State in the far south accepted British controls in 1885; the four northern states—Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis, and Kedah—maintained a tenuous connection with Siam until 1909. All five were designated as Unfederated Malay States, administered by their own sultans, advised by British residents.

RESOURCES

Tin has been washed since the early Bronze Age from the streambeds of the Malay Peninsula.⁸ It was carried on by Chinese using primitive techniques until the British introduced power dredges and erected at Singapore the largest tin smelter in the world. Valued originally only as an alloy in the making of brass, tin came into enormous demand by the food-canning industry; a third of the world's refined output was shipped from Malaya, a maximum of nearly one hundred thousand tons annually.

A greater triumph occurred after "Mad Ridley," of the Singapore Botanical Gardens, persuaded coffee planters to experiment with seedlings of *Hevea*, the Brazilian rubber tree. Hardly ten thousand tons of rubber were shipped from Singapore in 1909, but, with the prodigious growth of the automobile tire industry, plantation output of the Far East increased one-hundred-fold within twenty-five years. With uncontrolled immigration of labor—Chinese for the mines and Hindus for the rubber gardens—a million foreign workers were added to the population. Malaya required large rice imports from Siam and Burma; and Singapore became the emporium of the South Seas, served by over seventy steamship lines, processing cargoes worth three hundred million dollars a year.

British Borneo

Sarawak, a jungle domain extending for four hundred miles along the northern coast of Borneo, became in 1841 the personal

⁸ The author was informed in Kuala Lumpur that homes in the Millionaire Row could be profitably wrecked for the tin beneath their foundations.

fief of Sir James Brooke, granted him by the sultan of Brunei. A Brooke dynasty of "white rajahs" lasted for exactly a century. A neighboring tract was acquired in 1881 by the merchants of the British North Borneo Company. These domains, added to Labuan Island, have a total area larger than New England, populated by only five hundred Europeans, perhaps thirty thousand Chinese, and half a million Dyaks, or coastal Malays. The economy has remained primitive except for the development of large oil fields, the only petroleum resources, aside from those of Central Burma, under British control in the Far East. All imperial interests in Borneo have been administered by the Commissioner-General for South-East Asia.

Siam

Chakkri kings of the Rama line have ruled unbrokenly since 1782. The first two widely extended Siamese boundaries to the east, west, and south. Rama the Third conceded Tenasserim, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, to Britain's new colony of Lower Burma. He also reopened informal trade relations with the West, which had virtually lapsed since 1688. Mongkut, fourth of the Chakkris, took office in 1851 after twenty-six years in religious orders; as a mendicant monk, he had traveled throughout his land; in his cell he had studied history, science, and European languages. During his seventeen-year reign, he was surely the most able and respected of Asian rulers. His Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Sir John Bowring in 1855 admitted British imports under duties of 3 per cent. It legalized foreign purchase of land and granted extraterritoriality to Her Majesty's subjects—placing them under authority of their consul in Bangkok. Eleven other treaties followed, giving foreigners the privileges they enjoyed in China and Japan.

Mongkut's reforms were furthered by his son Rama V, or Chulalongkorn (1868–1910), an almost exact contemporary of the Meiji emperor. He ended slavery and forced labor; the Siamese government was redesigned after Western models, with ten departments; trained bureaucrats replaced hereditary chieftains, and a ministry of justice adopted many principles of Anglo-Saxon law. A scientific tax system, drafted in 1901, ended squeeze and miscellaneous exactions. It was followed by the organization of a small

trained army, recruited by national conscription.⁴ His reforms kept pace with those in the states around him, heading off any pretext for including his realm in the White Man's Burden.

The wise king realized, too, that a corps of foreign advisers could not only supply Siam with technical skills, but forestall incidents with their home governments. He chose them from many nations, but English became the language of diplomacy and commerce; many of the royal princes were trained in Britain, and three British-type schools helped to educate the gentry at home. Yet there were never as many as two thousand white residents in the country at one time.

Siam's path of survival lay, for half a century, along the route of graceful surrender. Mongkut and Chulalongkorn allowed Britain a free hand in drafting the eastern boundaries of Burma. Rama V in his earliest years of rule abandoned all authority over Cambodia; with gunboat batteries trained on his palace, he granted the Laos states to France in 1893; during the last three years of his reign he conceded Battambang and Siemreap to the Indo-China Union and waived all claim to his four southernmost peninsular provinces—which Britain added to Malaya. Even so, the old king moved with finesse; his control over the lost territories had been largely fictional, and he exchanged it for modification of England's extra-territorial privilege, and loans of twenty million dollars to construct the Bangkok-Singapore Railway. He had, before accepting these railway loans, avoided the pitfall of foreign indebtedness, balancing his budget even at the cost of cutting essential state services and despite the price of inflation of the 1890's that accompanied the falling value of his silver currency.⁵

Chulalongkorn's office was strengthened by his place at the top of the hierarchy; the Buddhist law of life was well observed, restraining him from rash wars and unnecessary domestic blood-letting. The Church helped to unify society through times of difficult reorganization. His passion for westernization did not apply to his personal life, for he was lord of a large harem and father of seventy-three children. Though Siamese nobility is demoted, according to an intelligent court custom, one degree each generation,

⁴ Service in the old feudal army had been a form of penalty inflicted upon minority peoples—Malays, Shans, or Cambodians—who rarely proved to be enthusiastic fighters.

⁵ See p. 201.

the superfluity of princes,⁶ their rivalries and special privileges, have plagued national politics until the present day.

Imperialism in the Island Areas

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSULINDE

The European balance of power, as reconstructed at the Congress of Vienna, called for the restoration of a strong kingdom of the Netherlands: Belgium was added to Holland in Europe, and Dutch possessions in the Far East were, with the exception of Ceylon, returned under guarantee of the British Navy. By the Treaty of London in 1824, the English abandoned all trading posts in the Indonesian Islands outside of Borneo, and the Dutch resigned all interest in the Asian mainland, re-establishing the island bases they had held before 1798, with Batavia as a headquarters. Two hundred and fifty native rulers drafted new treaties and accepted residents at their courts.

Commerce developed rapidly in the coastal plantation zones, though many hinterland tribes in Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and New Guinea (where the Dutch made their first landings in 1828) remained at a neolithic level. The Royal Netherlands government no longer forced deliveries of spices, but it weakened the authority of local sultans and restricted their rights of *corvée*, or forced labor. These reforms caused uprisings which did not end until 1830. In that year Belgium seceded from the kingdom and Holland, almost bankrupt, could afford no more developmental outlays in the archipelago.

THE CULTURE SYSTEM

Governor Van den Bosch was accordingly sent to Insulinde—as the Dutch named their East Indian colonies—with the frank duty of creating profits. His method was the "culture system": peasants were encouraged, in lieu of paying land rent, to plant one fifth of their fields to export crops, chiefly sugar, indigo, and coffee. By paring all public services and exploiting plantations and tin mines, the government remitted over eight hundred million guilders to Europe in forty-five years. In addition to a huge volume of the earlier staples, sugar, indigo, and coffee, nearly a fifth of all tea

⁶ It would thus require six generations, until about A.D. 2000, for Chulalongkorn's descendants to be merged into the common stock.

exports originated by 1900 from Dutch-owned gardens: Sumatra was marketing high-quality leaf tobacco; there was a large trade in palm oil and kapok fiber, and Java held a near monopoly of quinine production. In later years Insulinde produced nearly a third of the world's raw rubber.

But the culture system worked hardship on the Indonesian peasant, not only restricting his freedom of choice but obliging him to travel long distances to tend and transport the culture crops. A new constitutional regulation of 1854—reflecting the liberal philosophy then sweeping Europe—reduced the authority of metropolitan Holland over the council in Batavia, and provided for the abolition, crop by crop, of the culture system. Indigenous rights were further guaranteed when, in 1870, the Agrarian Law prohibited the sale of native lands to the whites.

ECONOMIC GAINS AND LOSSES

The building of the Suez Canal, which cut in half the ocean haul between the plantations and Europe, greatly stimulated prosperity. Thousands of ambitious young Hollanders sailed east to find their fortunes. Petroleum wealth was added: the Royal Dutch Oil Company, incorporated in 1890, introduced scientific well drilling and established refineries in western Java, eastern Sumatra, and the Borneo shore of Makassar Strait. Production reached over three hundred thousand tons, a short ocean haul from the China and Japan markets. In consolidation with British Shell interests, Royal Dutch was to become one of the leading operators in the world.

But Insulinde did not remain a Golconda for investors. So much wealth was poured into public works and welfare that remittances to Europe fell away sharply, and colonial government deficits had to be made good by the mother country. Resources were strained most of all by the Aceh War, which began in 1873; seeking to suppress piracy in the straits and along the coast of western Sumatra, the Dutch were obliged to fight for thirty-five years, reducing stockades and clearing bayous one by one.

CULTURAL CONTROLS

Like its predecessor, the East India Company, the Dutch government made as few cultural changes as possible. In 1903, hardly

1 per cent of the population was enrolled in public schools. The Reformed Church interfered little with Moslem practices; mullahs sounded the call to prayer at matins and vespers in every village. As many as fifty thousand pilgrims in a year sought the green turban of the hadji by visiting Mecca. The Dutch believed that contacts with desert Arabia would make Indonesians more appreciative of their homeland, but they reckoned without the corrosive effect of Pan-Islamism upon Western imperialism.

The Philippines

SPANISH DECADENCE

After Latin America achieved its independence, the Philippine Islands passed from the *audiencia* of Mexico under the immediate authority of Madrid. Spanish secular rule was limited to parts of Luzon and the Visayan Archipelago. There were welfare programs for the people and little exploitation of their labor; urban Filipinos used the Spanish language, but the villagers retained their tribal ways and met few white men. The islands were opened in 1837 to world trade. Liberal ideas entered with the flood of contacts that followed the opening of the Suez Canal; especial criticism was directed against the friars—often worldly men sent to the islands for discipline, whose orders owned immense estates. When reactionary forces came to dominate Spain in 1871, nationalism raised its protest in the colonies.

José Rizal, a Manila oculist of part-Chinese blood, became its greatest exponent. Like many island intellectuals, he had traveled and studied in Europe. Rizal's books, especially the moving novel titled in Latin, *Noli Me Tangere*, but published in English as *The Reign of Greed*, portrayed the hard fate of the laboring masses. He did not advocate rebellion, and the Philippine League, which he founded, was a mere reform society; however, he was executed by the Spanish authorities in 1896. His death was followed by a militant independence movement, and the Katipunan[†] Society, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, made armed insurrection against Spain. After a year of fighting, the royal governor bought off the revolution with promises of representation in the Madrid Cortes, domestic reforms, and a grant of three million pesos.

[†] Its banners displayed the symbol KKK, and its affectation of the K in slogans deliberately followed the American Ku Klux Klan.

UNITED STATES INTERVENTION

This settlement might have saved Spanish rule had not the United States declared war upon Spain, April 21, 1898. Admiral George Dewey, who had been ordered with five battleships to Hong Kong at the beginning of the year, promptly sailed to Manila Bay where, on May 1, he destroyed the Spanish Pacific fleet. Dewey had no orders to operate on shore and no landing forces. While his ships were patrolling the bay, a superior German squadron anchored close to the old walled city and was suspected of fraternizing with the Spanish garrison. The arrival of a British fleet obliged the Germans to withdraw.*

On shore Filipino insurgents laid siege to Manila in May; two months later they were joined by eleven thousand American troops under General Wesley Merritt, and on August 13 the city surrendered, one day after an armistice had ended the war. Merritt, afraid that looting would follow, forbade the insurgents to enter Manila. Aguinaldo accepted the order as a personal slight; it seemed, furthermore, to violate an alleged American promise made to him of immediate Philippine independence. Though the Katipunan held only paper control of Luzon, it asserted that the American Army was depriving the Filipinos of a liberty already won.

The Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, annexed the Philippines to the United States and a Senate resolution two months later promised only to "establish a government suitable for such islands . . . and prepare them for self-government."

On February 4, 1899, open warfare broke out between the insurgent and American armies. The struggle which followed was far more destructive than the brief contest with Spain: nearly one hundred thousand Americans saw action and guerrilla resistance ended only with the capture of Aguinaldo in March, 1901.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

American rule was vested temporarily in a five-man commission headed by President Roosevelt's close friend, William Howard

*The Germans' intentions are obscure, though their admiral declared that the control of Manila must determine the balance of sea power in the Far East. After seizing Kiaochow Bay in 1897, the Germans were seeking further bases. Since, only six days after the Treaty of Paris, Spain disposed of the Mariana Islands, the Palau, and the Carolinas to Germany, secret negotiations were probably in progress between the two powers during the war.

Taft, to which ultimately were added three Filipino members. Despite almost total lack of support by the military forces under General Arthur MacArthur, the commission gained the confidence of the people, and passed and enforced during its seven-year authority nearly seventeen hundred decrees.

Meanwhile, the American electorate debated the permanent status of the islanders. The Republican victory in 1900 settled that the United States would not withdraw from the western Pacific. It remained for the Congress and Supreme Court to decide that the Constitution, especially that part defining citizenship and forbidding internal tariffs, did not "follow the Flag." Filipinos were not Americans. But they steadily acquired new rights. In 1907 an elected assembly joined the commission in drafting legislation; a supreme court was added, completing the pattern of a three-power government. In 1916, the Jones Act created a bicameral legislature with extensive powers subject to the veto of the American governor-general.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

Philippine foreign trade hardly existed under Spain, and in the early years of American rule nearly all export products—abaca hemp and copra—were noncompetitive. Free trade with the United States was strongly opposed by agricultural interests who wished to shut out coolie-grown sugar and tobacco. However, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909 lowered rates so far that sugar importation increased tenfold.

American rule was, on the whole, financially generous to the Filipinos. A measure of land reform was carried out soon after the occupation began, when the United States purchased from the Vatican for seven million dollars the vast estates of the Catholic orders and made them available for division among the peasants. Their tax rate became almost the lowest on earth, and all revenues were spent in the islands. The civil service never, after 1905, employed more than three thousand whites, half of them teachers; a somewhat larger number were engaged in private business. The Americans found few public works in the Philippines; they provided roads, water systems, power installations—and built Manila into the most modern city in the Orient. Expenditures for popular education increased tenfold, and in 1909 a university of eleven

branches was established, nine tenths of whose faculty were Filipinos.

Imperialism in the Northeastern Theater

MANCHURIA

Most of the habitable unappropriated lands in north Asia lay in Manchuria, lying between the latitudes of Virginia and Labrador—a territory twice the size of Texas or one third that of China proper. In 1850 a tenth of Manchuria was densely settled: the Liao Valley and Liaotung Peninsula bordering the Gulf of Chihli. Beyond the Willow Palisade the vast lands drained by the Sungari—the provinces of Kirin and Heilungkiang—belonged to Mongolian nomads and forest Tartars.

On the strategic plains of Liaotung, a few days' march from Peking, the Ch'ings established Chinese bannermen as tenants on the Manchu estates and beyond these, a screen of friendly Mongols. After the laws forbidding emigration beyond the Great Wall were repealed, Manchuria attracted numbers of Chihli and Shantung peasants; Liaotung produced enormous yields of soybeans, millet, sorghum, and tall kaoliang. The plains of the Sungari, with a climate like that of the Dakotas, furnished hard-staple wheat. Field work was concentrated into a few summer months, and thus Shantung laborers, averse to forsaking the homes of their ancestors, could return each winter to their villages.

THE RUSSIANS ENTER

The Russians who first reached the Amur were Cossack nomads, too few in numbers to form an invading horde. The river in its middle course loops three hundred miles to the north; the salient thus formed, a forested wilderness, attracted sable hunters as the fur grounds of the Lena River became exhausted. In time they drifted to the Sungari, enjoying frontier life in the woods as much as the Chinese were repelled by it. And after 1860 settlers in the valley found that their grain and timber could be shipped economically only down the river into Russian territory. In the 1880's, following Japan's policy in Hokkaido, the Peking government attempted to plant buffer colonies in Heilungkiang and Kirin, but

most of them disappeared. And Japan's seizure of the Liaotung Peninsula, though repudiated by a Western alliance, seemed to establish the principle that Manchuria belongs to the strongest claimant.

RAILROAD STRATEGY

Russian grand strategy after 1891 was centered in the Trans-Siberian Railway, linking the Pacific to the Baltic Sea. Its shortest route, by no less than 250 miles, crosses northern Manchuria. By trading upon China's gratitude at the restoration of Liaotung in 1895, Russia received next year a concession to build the Chinese Eastern Railway from Chita to Vladivostok.⁹ The treaty included mining and commercial rights, together with police authority along the right of way. Harbin, where the rails crossed the Sungari, became the "boom" capital of a new empire. And Harbin was less than five hundred miles from the Yellow Sea.

In March, 1898, Russia received a twenty-five-year lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, surrendered three years previously by Japan, and in July the Chinese Eastern system began construction of a South Manchuria branch to Port Arthur. The objective of Peter the Great was realized: an outlet to the warm-water ocean. And for \$250, far less than the rate of the Peninsular and Oriental liners, travelers could book passage from Shanghai to London.

Decadence in Korea: Decline of a Dynasty

The direct line of the Yi dynasty came to an end in 1864, with the crown passed to a twelve-year-old collateral heir, Yi Hi. The boy was placed for some years under the regency of his own father, who assumed the title Taiwenkun ("Lord of the Great Court"). The regent, a sadistic despot, brought on a French naval demonstration by his massacre of native Christians. In the same year the American schooner *General Sherman*, attempting to trade, ran aground at the mouth of the Taedong. Admiral Rodgers' naval expedition failed, some years later, to discover any trace of ship or crew. Foreign opinion was strongly behind the Japanese when, in 1876, they forced the regent to open his country to foreign contacts.

All signs of decadence in Manchu China were apparent in its

⁹ Construction was actually entrusted to the Russo-Chinese Bank.

satellite. The ruler, addressed with divine titles, lived remote from his people behind the immense walls of his North Mountain palace, which he seldom left.¹⁰ The bureaucracy was recruited in the Chinese manner; but examinations proved farcical, and office and justice were bartered. The nobility affected such ennui that they seldom stood erect without the support of attendants. Taxes were farmed to the highest bidder; a show of prosperity might commit any man to prison until he had disgorged his wealth. There was a rabble army of a few thousand men, a navy with twenty-eight admirals but no fighting ships. Korean industry had retrograded since 1600, for the people no longer manufactured fine cottons, nails, satin, or porcelain. Yet there was food for all, conversation was esteemed a higher art than war or technical invention, and a lucky verse might win royal favor.

To pay for imports, largely court luxuries, export commodities were lacking; the king's recourse was to mortgage the national domain. Korea became the happy hunting ground of foreign mining, timber, fishing, or construction concessionaires. In a competition for naval bases, between 1885 and 1887, the Russians demanded Port Lazareff in the far northeast of Korea, causing Britain to occupy, but later evacuate, the southern island of Port Hamilton.

More serious was the rivalry between China and Japan, each supported by a corps of legation guards in Seoul. Peking favored the Conservative, or Anti-Foreign, Party at court, led by Queen Min, herself a blood descendant of the Ming emperors; Tokyo, the Liberal, or Party of Modernization. In 1884, at a royal banquet the Liberals massacred their opponents, to be themselves overthrown by public riots. The Japanese were forced from the capital, leaving real authority to the strong-willed Chinese resident, Yuan Shih-k'ai, and the Min clan. The Li-Ito Convention some months later neutralized Korea for ten years. Then, following the Tonghak Rebellion, came the Sino-Japanese War.

Koreans watched the island "schoolboys" win every engagement by land or sea. Chinese soldiers carried umbrellas and fans, but knew little about firearms and looted the cities they had come to protect. With China evicted, Korean independence was pro-

¹⁰ To spare him the discomfort of visiting Seoul, a model village was built in a ravine of the palace gardens where His Majesty might study the life of his subjects in a natural-environment "zoo."

claimed; but the Queen's party, still anti-Japanese, had begun to intrigue with Russia. Ignoring the weak king, the Japanese replaced the Taiwenkun in office; late in 1895, he succeeded with the help of samurai swordsmen in capturing the royal residence and assassinating Queen Min.¹¹

The king was placed in Japanese custody, but he escaped, after four months, to the Russian legation, with its eight hundred military guards, and signed over in gratitude a number of concessions: mines, timber on the Yalu and Tumen rivers, later on, a whaling station on the Sea of Japan, and for a time a harbor-front site in Masampo, on the Straits of Korea, midway between Port Arthur and Vladivostok. To make their position in Manchuria secure, it was apparent that the Russians wished to become paramount in the waters off the Korean Peninsula.

Japan's ambitions were no less pressing. In 1895—with no battleships—she had been forced by the Three Powers off the Asian mainland. But the victory over China had whetted her pride; and Korea, close by, possessed not only strategic harbors but minerals and cropland—*Lebensraum* for her rapidly increasing population. Some accommodation with the Russians was required; accordingly, Japan sponsored the Yamagata-Lobanov Agreement of 1896, which denied to both nations control of the Korean army or police. It was followed by the Nishi-Rosen treaty, which confirmed Korean independence and forbade Russian or Japanese state loans.

Neither engagement interfered with Japan's commercial hegemony in the peninsula. She constructed the Pusan-Seoul telegraph in 1888 (stationing troops to protect the line); and eleven years later she began to lay rails along the same route. Japanese holdings included not only mining districts and port facilities; they included so much land in Seoul that the king could not purchase a suitable tract for enlarging his palace. Forty thousand Nipponese lived in Korea by 1904; almost as many manned the fishing fleets off the coast, and 78 per cent of all tonnage clearing the harbors flew the sun-circle ensign.

¹¹ This was perhaps the most spectacular crime in Korean history. The queen herself was posthumously degraded in rank by her father-in-law; her character was not amiable; she was accused of doing away with hundreds of rivals and personal enemies. But her courageous resistance to the Japanese made her the national heroine. Over a single bone recovered from her body there was erected a fifty-foot memorial mound set in a thousand-acre park.

Nineteenth-Century Imperialism: the Balance Sheet

ITS SUCCESS

The reputation of imperialism has altered since Rudyard Kipling glorified it; it was high in 1900, and its edifice seemed strong enough to outlast the century. Generalization will not cover the entire process; France and Russia seem to have followed a blueprint in Asia, yet Victorian England moved almost aimlessly, chiefly to protect her commercial interests. Western penetration was simplified by the weakness of native authority; old dynasties had become decadent (though hardly more so than Spanish imperial power in the Philippines) and misgovernment invited outside intervention. But if rulers and their armies offered weak opposition, there was spirited resistance by such irregular societies as the Black Flags, Tonghaks, or Boxers. Indeed, not alone in Manchu China but in Korea and Burma as well, it was a woman who rose above her despised station to lead the final struggle against the foreigners. For years after their leaders had come to terms, Asian patriots fought back from forests or hinterland villages, defying the superior discipline and armaments of the white man.

Conquest was followed, in almost every case, by a contest between civil and military authority. When established, the colonial bureaucracy produced first-class administrators capable of carrying civilization, alone, into the haunts of cannibals and dacoits. It attracted also misfits and camp followers; Governor Taft spoke scathingly of them in Manila; his remarks would have sounded equally appropriate in Saigon, Seoul, or Batavia.¹²

ITS BENEFITS

The professed objectives of imperialism were always high: to bring a superior culture, to end savagery, or, as President McKinley said of the Filipinos, "to uplift, civilize, and Christianize them all and . . . do the very best we can for them as our fellow men, for whom Christ also died."¹³ Its benefits are written large

¹² Bitter emphasis has been laid upon the white man's social exclusiveness. In fairness he it added that to accept native food when offered exposed his family to risks of dysentery and cholera; to refuse was a grave discourtesy. However sympathetic with them, he was thus forced in most cases to avoid exchange of hospitality with his Asian neighbors.

¹³ Quoted in J. D. Hicks, *The American Nation* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1955), p. 288.

in eastern Asia. Precise law, derived from the Magna Carta or the Code Napoléon, replaced the passing whims of the Brother of the Moon. By 1900, chattel slavery was growing extinct and piracy was rare. There was incentive to produce, buy, and sell where there had been a web of monopolies; the tax farmer no longer discouraged thrift. Every white authority took measures to reduce the scourge of usury—though credit cooperatives and land banks never broke the power of the chettyar and the Chinese loan shark. In all the colonial societies, plague outbreaks were disappearing; cholera became rare in cities where filtered water reached every street. Lepers were segregated; beriberi, smallpox, and tropical fevers yielded to preventative treatment. The death rate of Hindu laborers in British rubber gardens fell in ten years from sixty-three to nineteen per thousand.

The charge of profiteering exploitation is especially untrue of American rule in the Philippines (where many dollars were spent for each peso returned); elsewhere, the record is mixed. Asian nationalists quote the foreigner's occasional high dividends, ignoring the risks taken, the large developmental costs, and the losses in bad years. If he exploited Asian resources, the white man was also the first to conserve them; trained foresters protected the teak and mahogany groves from wanton burning by the nomadic tribes. Within a decade after the German seizure of Kiaochow, young pine woods covered the hills that had been barren since the time of Confucius.

Some minority peoples owe especial gratitude to the European: the Karens and Shans in Burma, the Igorots of the Philippines, the Moluccans of eastern Indonesia, as well as the Cambodians, had been mercilessly maltreated by their Asian neighbors. The white man appeared as a deliverer; they became his loyal friends and many accepted his most disinterested gift to Asia—the Christian faith.

ITS DANGERS

Along with these well-advertised advantages, imperialism had its obverse aspect. The fine handicraft skills of the East—carving, textiles, weaving,¹⁴ jewelry making—decayed; native communities

¹⁴ Millions of native spinning wheels had been used in Mogul India. After 1920 Mahatma Gandhi searched for many months to find a single one as the symbol of his civil disobedience program.

instead produced raw materials—lumber and fiber, copra and sacked rice—or the people accepted jobs in factories and mills to pay for their Lancashire cloth and Sheffield ironware, or brass gods cast in Birmingham. Every steamship and locomotive displaced numberless native carriers. Morale often disappeared with the loss of hereditary occupation; like the reservation Indians in the New World, millions of Asians became spiritual derelicts.

The new overlords often paid scant regard to courtesy, ritual, and hallowed custom; many did not distinguish in native societies between court aristocrat and neolithic savage, lumping all into the single category of "Wogs." Justice and modern sanitation did not entirely compensate for the pomp of an older order—its processions and golden palanquins. Thibaw's spectacles in Mandalay were remembered after his cruelties had been forgotten. Historical affinities were sometimes violated by the new frontiers; the Mons of Burma were separated from Siam, the Sumatrans from the Malaysans, the Moros of Mindanao from their coreligionists in Borneo.

Eurasian children of native women soon came to outnumber the whites; Holland and France recognized them as "assimilated" citizens; the Anglo-Saxons were less generous to them. A second unfortunate class included the educated and foreign-speaking natives; too numerous to find "white collar" employment, yet unwilling to return to native ways; all blamed their hard lot upon the ruling race and took the lead in nationalist movements. A surfeit of human population tended to follow Western control; much of it was natural increase, the result of well-intentioned public health measures. There were five million Javanese during Stamford Raffles' administration; a century later there were nearly forty million—half of them by-products of plantation colonialism. Where native stock was unsuitable or insufficient, immigrant populations were brought into Southeast Asia, causing bitter racial discord. Far more unpopular than the sahib himself were his henchmen: the tireless, crafty Hindus and Chinese brought in to work the land but remaining to own it; or the Sikhs from the Punjab, powerful, bearded—and contemptuous of the Chinese whom they policed in Hong Kong and the British concessions.

THE IMPERIALIST ETHICS

In the south and in the islands, imperialism recognized, if blindly, a sense of civilizing mission. England, France, Holland, and the United States, acknowledging a common Christian ideal, composed their differences with mutual respect and were not indifferent to the welfare of the native races. The struggle between Russia, Japan, and China in the north was more elemental. The stakes were higher: Japan felt the issue to be stark survival. No common ethical principle was acknowledged; Korea, prize and victim of the contest, has become the most unfortunate state in the twentieth-century world.

Western Imperialism: Subjection of the Manchu Empire

☸ The [foreigners] have since the Hsien-Feng Period (1851-61) caused China trouble, wasted our national revenue, broken up our monasteries, destroyed our images, and seized our graveyards. . . . This has affected people's crops so as to make them suffer from . . . locusts and droughts almost every year. Our nation is deprived of peace and our people of security. . . . This has angered Heaven.

Proclamation of the Boxers, 1900

China Divided

DEFEAT IN 1895 deepened the rift between Peking court factions. The progressives were led by southern *bourgeoisie*; among their leaders was the grand councilor and tutor to the emperor. The emperor himself inclined toward progressivism, together with Prince Ling and the aging Prince K'ung. The conservative faction included Manchu aristocracy together with the Chinese bannermen headed by the tight coterie about the Empress Dowager; as in Korean politics, they were aligned with Russia, while the progressives looked toward Japan. The cleavage was profound inside the imperial family. Tzu Hsi, in virtual retirement since Kuang Hsü came of age in 1889, bitterly blamed the young emperor for the military disaster. A war of pamphlets and memorials raged about the royal household. Southern intellectuals, drawing upon their new-found stock of Western lore, found Tzu

Hsi comparable to Messalina or the bloody Catherine de' Medici. To court apologists in Peking, she was an Oriental Queen Bess, diffusing charm and elegance from her summer palace beyond the city walls—while the emperor was a "Chinese traitor." Feeling ran so high that in 1889 a Southern examination winner was refused his honors.

China had in fact been divided many times before; the South, almost unaided, fought the Opium War, and in 1885 sacrificed its Nanyang navy resisting the French. The North bore the brunt of the war of 1860, and suffered nearly all the losses by land or sea in the war with Japan. Its control was seriously shaken: there were no funds in the bankrupt treasury to rebuild national defenses; riots occurred in every province. By 1895, the feeble dynasty had learned nothing, and defeatism was rampant in the capital. Nevertheless, a Kwangtung scholar, K'ang Yu-wei, persuaded the thirteen hundred contestants in the Han Lin examinations to sign a memorial for continuing the struggle. "Every young mandarin" joined the clamor for reform. A medical graduate, Sun Yat-sen, two years out of Hong Kong University, organized a revolutionary raid on Canton. When it failed, he set forth like Ito to study the secrets of Western power—but with a price of ten thousand dollars on his head.

The Court Turns toward Russia

In international affairs, China turned from the commercial powers, led by England, toward the military group—Russia, Germany, France—which had saved Manchuria from the Japanese. Russia in July, 1895, advanced a loan of four hundred million gold francs at 4 per cent secured by Chinese customs receipts, to be applied against the war indemnity. Eleven months later Li Hung-chang visited St. Petersburg as delegate to the coronation of the new czar, Nicholas II. He was commissioned also to thank the governments in Berlin and Paris for their timely assistance, and to sound out Britain and the United States upon a proposal to place the tariff on a gold basis, thus increasing the value of collections by two thirds. Li had no success in tariff revision, but in Russia he was well received and offered a virtual treaty of alliance by Foreign Minister Lobanov.

THE LI-LOBANOV CONVENTION

The Li-Lobanov Convention was drafted to resist further expansion by Japan. It provided that China and Russia should meet any Asian threat to either by pooling their armed forces, the Russian Navy making use of Chinese harbors. To provide rapid access for Russian armies to the Far East, the Trans-Siberian Railway, under construction since 1891, received a shortcut right of way across northern Manchuria from Chita to Vladivostok. The line, crossing Manchu territory, would be known as the Chinese Eastern Railway and controlled by the Russo-Chinese Bank, in which Peking held a one-fourth stock interest.

Germany's "Place in the Sun"

The young kaiser, Wilhelm II, seeking a "place in the sun" and counseled by the expansionist Admiral von Tirpitz, was to become the most active European agent in Far Eastern affairs. Three years before the Sino-Japanese War, he had asserted the right to protect Catholic missionaries¹ of German birth. The military rise of a new Yellow Peril alarmed him; his minister in Peking suggested German annexation of Formosa before the island fell to Japan. In the month of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the kaiser proposed to the Reichstag a significant further strengthening of the Imperial Navy, which had recently launched twenty-eight new vessels, including four of the strongest battleships afloat.

During the autumn of 1895, a German naval patrol selected the broad harbor of Kiaochow, on the south coast of the Shantung Peninsula, as a possible coaling station; but China refused to make any grant. On November 1, 1897, two German priests were killed near by; within a fortnight, the German Asiatic Squadron—accompanied by the kaiser's brother, Prince Henry—occupied Kiaochow. Punishment of the assassins was called for, and, in addition, cession of the bay and two hundred adjoining square miles of land includ-

¹ France had hitherto done so; it was said that "in the East, the Roman Catholic Church and the French government are often indistinguishable." Not only did Wilhelm recognize a chance for imperialist penetration; he wished to gain good will with his Catholic subjects in Poland and South Germany.

ing the port of Tsingtau, with railway and mining rights throughout the province of Shantung. After vainly offering an offshore island as a substitute, China, on March 6, 1898, granted Germany a ninety-nine year lease of the entire Tsingtau area, a hundred miles from the tomb of Confucius.

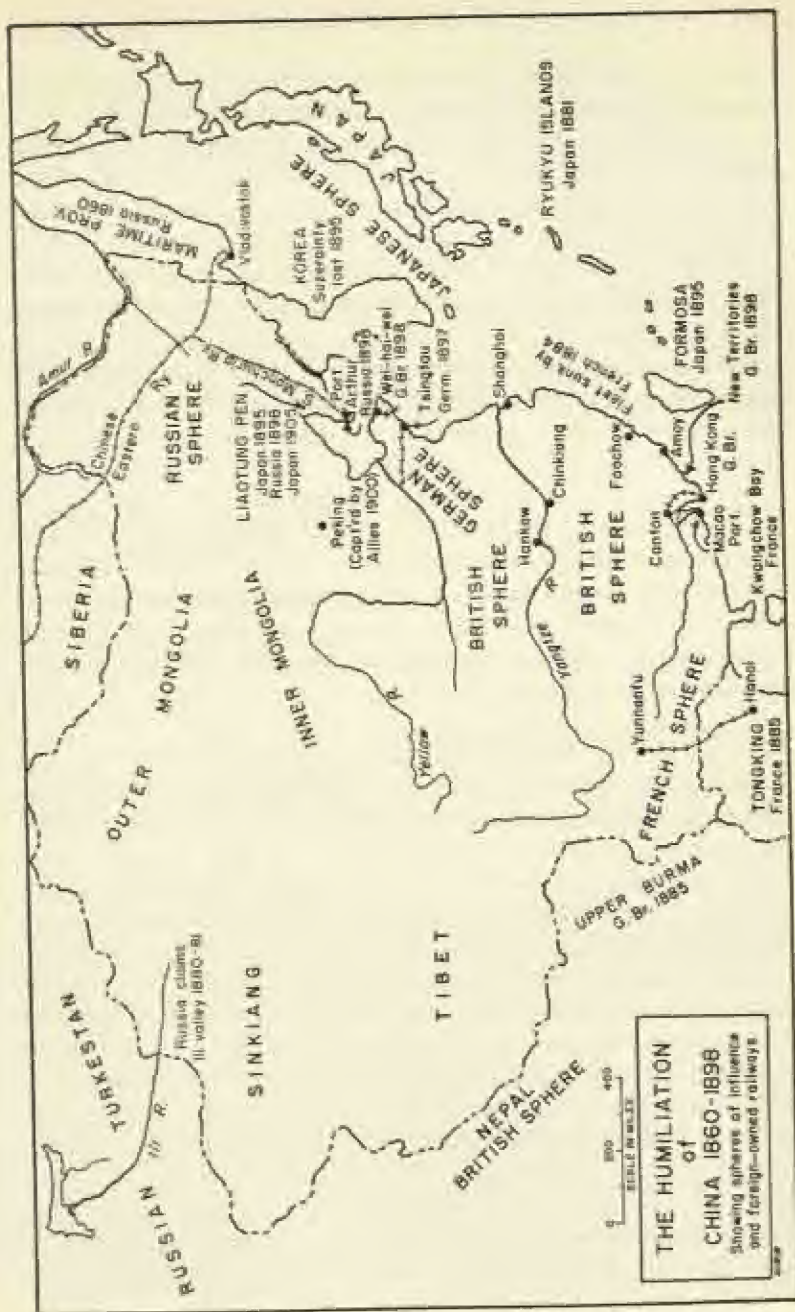
In February, 1899, Germany purchased from Spain the Caroline, Marshall, and Marianas Islands—atolls or volcanic reefs which control five million square miles of the southwest Pacific; during the same year, after a brief demonstration, she secured the greater part of the Samoan Archipelago. To protect this new Pacific empire, the kaiser announced his formidable 1900 naval construction program that led directly to the World War.

Manchu Humiliation

Throughout fifty years of defeat, the Manchus had held their mainland territories intact; the occupation of Kiaochow touched off a cycle of aggression. Within a week, Russian warships dropped anchor in Port Arthur. Muraviëv had persuaded the czar that he must forestall the British in the peninsula. On March 27, 1898, possession was formalized by a twenty-five year leasehold. The peninsula was invaluable as an ice-free maritime outlet for the Trans-Siberian system; in July, the Chinese Eastern received a franchise to build a subsidiary branch, the South Manchuria Railway to Port Arthur.

Germany was satisfied with the Russian moves and had, indeed, anticipated them. Bismarck pointed out that in Russia internal discontent must force an explosion. "It would be better for the peace of the world that the explosion take place in Asia and not in Europe." This policy of the Iron Chancellor was approved by the kaiser, behind whose affability to the czar and promises to secure "Nicky's" western frontier while he carried civilization eastward, lurked a design to involve Russia in conflict with Japan. Count Witte was to write seven years later, "Wilhelm II thwarted my policy of peaceful penetration and no annexation," and was thus "the author of the Russo-Japanese War."

Shortly after the Treaty of Shimonoseki, France had received a favorable boundary settlement and three ports of trade on the Tongking frontier. In April, 1898, she secured the cession of two



hundred square miles in the near-by Kwangchow Peninsula, together with railway rights between Tongking and Yunnanfu.

Great Britain had fallen into China's disfavor for declining to join the three interventionist powers; thus she was deprived of any share in the indemnity loan and of the Peking-Hankow Railway concessions, granted through Franco-Russian influence to the Belgians. London capital dominated, it is true, the Peking Syndicate, formed in 1898 to exploit the Shansi coal fields, the richest in the Far East.

Though threatened with war in South Africa,² England could not watch with indifference the march of Russia to the Yellow Sea. A month after the seizure of Port Arthur, British warships entered Wei-hai-wei, directly across the Gulf of Chihli.³ It was assigned to England for as long a period as Russia remained in South Manchuria. Simultaneously, Great Britain leased the New Territories—four hundred square miles of the mainland opposite Hong Kong—for ninety-nine years to balance the French possession of Kwangchow Bay. It could be said of China, when the land grab was over, that "no country as large ever suffered as much humiliation in six months."

THE NONALIENATION AGREEMENTS

Seizure of Chinese territory was checked by a series of non-alienation agreements: France obtained a promise that China would not cede Hainan Island to another power; Britain received similar assurances regarding grants in the Yangtze Valley; and Japan secured a nonalienation guarantee of Fukien Province opposite her colony of Formosa.

When Italy demanded Sanmen Bay on the southeast coast, Japan backed China's refusal and made it effective; and late in 1900 the United States was denied a naval station at Samsah Bay. There were also mutual adjustments between the successful powers: an 1898 convention recognized Britain's dominant place in the Yangtze Valley and Germany's in Shantung Province and the

² The Boer War actually commenced in October, 1899, and lasted until 1902.

³ The port had been evacuated by Japan on payment of the last installment of China's indemnity only two weeks previously. Japanese possession of this harbor had restrained Germany from annexing the whole eastern end of the Shantung Peninsula.

plain of the Yellow River; the subsequent Scott-Muraviëv Agreement provided that Russia would seek no railway concessions in the Yangtze Valley if Britain abandoned rail interests north of the Great Wall.

The Open Door

The Manchu empire had become by the close of the century a counterweight in the Western balance of power: every important European navy owned an establishment on the China seas. The United States did not join in the seizures; but it is significant that Admiral Dewey's squadron reached Hong Kong early in 1898, four months before the Cuban crisis led to war with Spain. Hawaii was annexed in the summer of this fateful year, and in December, by the Treaty of Paris, Spain surrendered the Philippines and Guam.

American activity in China had diminished since 1851; her trade was only 2 per cent of the total, and her main interest lay in Protestant missions. The excluding of Chinese immigration, and extension of the ban to Hawaii and the Philippines without negotiation, reduced American popularity. But America faced the alternatives, after the Filipino nationalists had been defeated, of withdrawal to the New World or fuller participation in Far Eastern diplomacy. The vigorous Republican secretary of state, John Hay, did not hesitate in making a choice. His policy, initiated on September 6, 1899, is referred to as the Open Door. Like the Monroe Doctrine, it was perhaps first outlined in the British Foreign Office—eighteen months earlier. Hay drafted identical letters to the six imperialistic powers, with three recommendations: first, that, in every sphere of interest, the treaty ports and vested interests of other nations should be respected; second, that customs duties should be collected impartially on all foreign merchandise; third, that no preferential harbor dues or railway charges be levied. The Open Door was acclaimed by the commercial powers, who saw in it a check to outright military aggression. Japan and Italy accepted the plan fully, Great Britain with reservations as to Kowloon. Germany was attracted by the chance of trading outside the Yellow River Valley. Russia dared not openly disapprove, but gave no firm promise of equal railway rates in Manchuria.

Hay preferred to treat the Open Door as an accepted fact; it gave a legal foundation for future American policy in the Far East and was cited regularly in Washington until 1941. The 1899 document tried only to establish equal rights in international trade, but, as reaffirmed a year later, clearly endorsed the integrity of China.

The Hundred Days of Reform

Four years of military defeat, financial disaster, and territorial losses had brought China close to collapse. Many patriots turned to the revolutionists or joined the radical Southern Society for the Study of National Rejuvenation. The most eloquent conservative voice was that of a provincial viceroy, Chang Chih-t'ung, whose powerful and widely read tract, *China's Only Hope*, called for borrowing foreign tools while strengthening Confucianism and the monarchy—alternatives to sinking into the status of India and Burma. In Peking, Weng, the imperial tutor, secured an imperial audience for K'ang Yu-wei, spokesman for the young mandarins and leader of the postwar reform movement.⁴ K'ang proposed drastic measures, even abolition of the six ancient boards of state and government by a new committee of twelve persons. Five months later on June 11, 1898, with European aggression rising to carnival pitch, the emperor issued a rescript demanding that China "bring in Western . . . sciences. . . ." He said: "The Westerners are our superiors and are wise; they acquire wealth, comfort, and longevity as a result of their system of government."⁵ There followed, between June 24 and September 9, a torrent of reform edicts, drafted by K'ang Yu-wei's clique but published under the imperial seal and posted on yellow paper in the hall of every magistrate's yamen.

Five of them were directed against the ancient system of learning; these abolished the essay examinations, encouraged the study of economics and natural science, and promised an imperial university. The army was to be westernized, superfluous temples converted to secular use. When they protested, officials of the Board of

⁴ Since K'ang was as yet only a minor official in the Board of Works, he was forbidden by protocol to address the emperor.

⁵ Compare this thoroughly Western system of values with those of Confucius and Lao-tzu, on pp. 27-29.

Rites, high priests of the Confucian cult, were removed from office. The September decrees were most far-reaching: two of them abolished sinecure ministries and governorships; another established a board of mining, railways, and commerce. Inaugurating the new era, the emperor promised himself to take a rail journey.

Kuang Hsü was emulating Japan at an accelerated pace—attempting in a hundred days what the Meiji emperor had accomplished in thirty years. The eunuchs and courtiers, the literati and the bureaucracy, were to liquidate themselves as the samurai had done. But their loyalty would not stand the test; the conservative classes, Chinese and Manchu alike, read the edicts with consternation; the masses never understood them. Even K'ang Yu-wei agreed that, when his code became effective, the ways of the barbarians would prevail and China no longer be Chinese.

The old leadership obstructed reform. It would be imperative to remove Jung Lu, commandant of the one hundred thousand men in the Peiyang army and the Empress Dowager's closest supporter. Yuan Shih-k'ai, who had declared full allegiance to the throne, was ordered to assassinate him in Tientsin; afterward, the Empress Dowager would be imprisoned on an island in the palace grounds. But instead of obeying, Yuan betrayed the plot and accompanied Jung Lu back to Peking. Tzu Hsi acted with the swift resolution that never failed her in critical times. At five-thirty in the morning of September 22, the emperor was seized at council meeting and placed under a palace arrest which continued throughout his life. Undoubtedly, he would soon have "ascended on high, dragon-borne," but the protests of foreign powers and mutterings of revolt in the southern provinces saved his life. To the end of his days, Kuang Hsü, though he forgave other enemies, regarded Yuan Shih-k'ai as the Judas of his court. In extenuation of his treachery, he it noted that Yuan commanded too small a force to challenge the Peiyang army and that he was a sworn blood brother of Jung Lu.

At Kuang Hsü's "request," the sixty-four-year-old Empress Dowager resumed her despotic power for the third time. First, it was necessary to extirpate the reformers; she failed to seize K'ang Yu-wei and "roast the Southern heretic alive"; he had slipped aboard a British cruiser and found asylum in Hong Kong. Sixteen of his associates were arrested and six of them executed for treason.

Weng, the imperial tutor, retired in disgrace to his native village. On September 26, the reform edicts were revoked.

The Eve of the Boxer Rebellion

Traditional belief had won back its authority at the Manchu court. There followed a wave of reaction in the provinces, directed particularly against the converts to the Christian faith. They were charged, not completely unjustly, with acting as vanguards of imperialism, and especially with claiming exemption from Chinese justice, or "convert extraterritoriality." Christian bishops were granted the rank of viceroys and missionaries that of magistrates—on condition that they cease to interfere with the courts.

TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Not alone in the newly annexed areas was Western technology destroying the native craft system; throughout the nation, villagers had supplemented their crop income with manual trades which could not survive the avalanche of machine-made imports. Economic imperialism marched outward from each colony base; banks were chartered, railways surveyed, mines and factories developed. Mobs of Chinese who found their livelihood threatened responded like the "machine-breakers" at the beginning of England's Industrial Age.

OMENS OF DISASTER

In January, 1898, an eclipse of the sun alarmed the court soothsayers. The year that followed brought famine to six provinces; the Yellow River overthrew its levees and flooded hundreds of villages; locust swarms devoured the millet and wheat crops. In all the affected regions starving peasants took to banditry. The foreign masters of Shantung were charged with treating Chinese scholars like the Papuan colonials in the Bismarck Archipelago. Riots which spread along the route of the Shantung Railway, were repressed bloodily by German troops, with the taking of hostages. In the treaty ports, new concession areas passed under outright European control. Delegates of the British Associated Chambers of Commerce touring the country in 1899 admitted that much was amiss: "We have taken advantage of [Chinese] impotence . . . China has become suspicious." But England was too fully absorbed

with South Africa to halt the debacle in China. As before 1850, discontent was strong enough to threaten Ch'ing rule; but now the court saw a means of diverting hatred toward the foreigners with the slogan: "Cherish the dynasty! Overthrow the sea-devils!"⁶

The Boxers

Secret societies, active in many dynastic revolutions, were outlawed by the Manchus in 1818, but enforcement of the law was lax. A cult known as the Eight Trigrams remained active since 1770. One of its probable offshoots, first noted in official memorials about 1896, was the *I Ho Ch'uan*—"Fists of Righteous Harmony," or Boxers. Their rituals, based on Taoist magic, impressed the common people: after orgies in which they drank potions or massaged themselves,⁷ they professed to become invulnerable to bullets. Using concealed matches, they also demonstrated that "fire would spring from the points of their swords."

Adopting a creed of antiforeign nationalism, the Boxers soon found advocates at court: Li, the chief eunuch, who won for them the sympathy of Tzu Hsi; Prince Ch'un, father of the child heir to the throne, who nursed a grudge against the foreign diplomats for an alleged insult to his official dignity; Prince Chuang, the most xenophobic of the imperial clan, later commander of the Boxer army in Peking. Some were patriots of high integrity—men such as Kang I, who reformed the tax structure, and Li Ping-heng, who could boast that, as a governor for twenty-five years, he had not misappropriated so much as a morsel of food nor recommended a relative.

Opposition to the Boxers was led by realists who saw that magic would not defeat the imperialist coalition. Jung Lu threw his influence, now stronger than ever, against them, as did the Shantung governor in 1899, Yuan Shih-k'ai.⁸ Almost all native Chinese

⁶ The term *Yang Kwel*, translatable as "sea devil," was the popular term of reproach applied to the foreigner.

⁷ Old China hands have informed the author that aconite was used, actually producing insensibility to pain. The process may be compared to that in the Indian ghost dances—designed to drive the whites from North America.

⁸ Yuan proceeded against the Shantung Boxers in a characteristic manner: taking the field against them, he also invited their leaders to a feast; when it was over he escorted them into a courtyard and invited a firing squad to test their claims of invulnerability.

leaders favored caution, and the South regarded the Boxer crisis as a struggle between two equally undesirable foreign groups: the Manchus and the Europeans.

In many northern and Manchurian communities, especially the metropolitan province of Chihli, Boxer groups assumed a quasi-official authority. The Empress Dowager issued a number of ambiguous decrees, praising such armed bands as were "drilling in defense of their villages" and ordering only the "bandits" suppressed. Magistrates accepted the hint and did nothing.

Violence was most often reported along the routes of the new internal steamship routes and rail surveys; among the earliest foreigners killed were engineers attacked south of Peking in May, 1900. In the same month there was a general persecution of Christian converts, and an army of fanatical Moslem troops from Kansu under General Tung Fu approached the capital. Early in June, four hundred white marines and infantrymen entered the capital to defend the diplomatic corps in the walled legation compounds three hundred yards from the Forbidden City. A week later, the Boxers seized control of the rest of Peking. Sporadic attacks were made upon European churches and business properties. On the eleventh they killed the Japanese legation chancellor, Sugiyama, and nine days later the German ambassador, Baron von Ketteler, was shot by a Chinese soldier.

The government took no action until warships had begun to bombard the Taku forts. On June 21, after a stormy session of the Grand Council, there came a declaration of war;⁹ this was ignored throughout the southern provinces on the ground that it had not received the emperor's sanction. Thus no naval activity took place south of the Gulf of Chihli, and there was little persecution of missionaries in the Yangtze Valley.

The Siege of the Legations

Formal warfare was practically limited to the siege of the legations and their relief by an Allied army. The siege lasted, with three truce intermissions, for eight weeks. At no time was it seriously pressed; Tzu Hsi was known to suspend operations while she

⁹ Prince Ch'un is said to have stampeded the council into action by showing a forged plan of domination by the powers.

picnicked, or finished a water-color painting. On July 16 she sent twelve cartloads of fresh provisions to the defenders. The attacking forces consisted of Boxer irregulars, identifiable only by their red arm bands, and the Kansu forces. There was artillery in the imperial arsenal which could have easily demolished the foreigners' defenses, but which Jung Lu refused to employ; the wise old general understood well that the fall of the legations might lead to the end of the empire.

On August 4 the Allies began their march from Tientsin with eighteen thousand troops; six nations were represented, though nearly half the force was Japanese. The German and Russian contingents had yet to arrive. Ten days later the first Allied flag, the Stars and Stripes, was planted on the walls of Peking, a few hours after Tzu Hsi, Kuang Hsü, and a small escort, disguised as country people and riding in carts, had taken the road westward. Forty years previously, as an unknown concubine, she had accompanied an emperor into banishment. Events had come full cycle.

The Empress Dowager was to rank her support of the Boxers as the "one mistake" of her life. More contemptible was her cruelty to those who did not share her folly. She executed five of her highest-ranking advisers, notably two grand secretaries who dared to change the term "slay" in her antforeign edict to "protect." Perhaps forty-thousand native Christians perished in her "outburst of midsummer madness"; and a head price, duly advertised by the government, was paid for the death of several hundred missionaries—178 in Shansi Province alone—and an equal number of foreign soldiers or legation guards.

The Allies divided Peking into occupation zones, like Berlin in 1945. German troops took the leading part in humiliating China. The kaiser had encouraged them at Bremerhaven to emulate the ancient Huns.¹⁰ Three fourths of the punitive expeditions sent out into the provinces were staffed by Germans exclusively; and at the council table Berlin diplomats, emphasizing the death of von Ketteler, held out for the highest indemnity and the harshest terms of peace.

The exiled court came to Sianfu, the old western capital of Ch'ang-an, haunted by legends of T'ang splendor. Here the Empress

¹⁰ A phrase turned to account by British propagandists in the First World War.

Dowager remained for a year, flattering the local gentry, drinking the milk of her rustic dairy herd, and gaining confidence and adherents as each post from Peking brought news of dissensions among the victorious Allies.

The Boxer Treaty

Again, the astute and experienced Li Hung-chang was called upon to treat with the West. He came unwillingly, reaching the capital late in September, three months after orders had reached him in Canton. The peace protocol was not signed for a year after the occupation began. By its terms, ninety-six war criminals were punished, but only a handful executed.¹¹ A brother of the emperor traveled to Potsdam and a lesser dignitary to Tokyo, bearing apologies for the deaths of von Ketteler and Sugiyama. Monuments were erected to the missionary martyrs, and forty-five centers of persecution lost for five years the right of holding official examinations.

Other provisions called for destruction of the Taku forts, forbade the importation of arms into China for three years, and permitted the powers to station up to four hundred guardsmen in each legation. The decrepit Foreign Office, or Tsungli Yamen, was elevated to highest court rank and antforeign societies were banned by law. Commercial clauses included a Chinese undertaking to dredge the river approaches to Shanghai and Peking.

The indemnity was fixed at four hundred fifty million taels,¹² twice as much as the Japanese demanded six years before. The two charges combined with interest absorbed more than ten years' imperial revenues; all forms of customs receipts, maritime and internal, together with the salt tax, were mortgaged in payment. Great Britain opposed any compensatory increase in duties, arguing that thus British trade would bear the costs of the Boxer outbreak. In 1924, the revolutionary government of China appointed

¹¹ Prince Chuang, the Boxer commander in chief, committed suicide; Prince Tuan was degraded in rank and his son was deprived of succession to the throne. The Chinese refused to punish General Tung Fu for attacking foreigners under official orders.

¹² Of this, half went to Russia and Germany. The United States was assigned twenty-five million dollars. All payments after 1908 were spent on education of the Chinese—the most generous and statesman-like gesture in a century of dealing between China and the West.

September 7, ratification date of the Boxer Treaty, to be a day of national humiliation.

Russia in Manchuria

Boxerism was active beyond the Great Wall; organized bands tore up the new rails to Port Arthur, and in Mukden twelve missionaries were killed. On July 13, a Russian convoy was warned against trespassing in Chinese waters on the Amur River, and a second convoy following its route next day was fired on. The Russians responded with massacres of Chinese at Harbin and Blagoveschensk, and poured sufficient troops into the three eastern provinces to make them for the time a military protectorate.

However, during the peace negotiations, Russia followed the traditional practice of siding with the Chinese. Li Hung-chang, her unfailing friend, received a Cossack escort and a reputed private gift of half a million taels. Russia proposed almost immediate withdrawal of the Allies from Peking, combatted the German demands for a Carthaginian settlement, and moved that the indemnity clauses be reviewed by the Hague tribunal. But a few months revealed that she harbored in fact more aggressive designs than any power in the Far East.

THE TSENG-ALEXEIEFF NEGOTIATIONS

General Tseng Ch'i, the Tartar commander in Manchuria, received authority after his defeat to come to terms with Admiral Alexeieff, the czar's representative. Alexeieff obliged Tseng to authorize, under protest, the disbanding of all Manchu troops beyond the Great Wall, the dismantling of forts and surrender of weapons, with permission for the Russians to "pacify" the railway zones. The terms, though secret, soon were published in the *London Times*; there followed an outburst of sympathy for China. The agreement was repudiated and Tseng ordered home for punishment.

However, before the end of the year, Count Sergei Witte handed a list of demands, only slightly modified, to the Chinese ambassador at St. Petersburg; these would have assigned the control of railways and customs to Russia, placed Russians on the staff of Manchu commanders, and excluded other nations from

Manchuria. This flagrant challenge to the Open Door was also rejected with Japan's encouragement. A final convention of twelve articles was submitted in February, 1902; it called for the removal of "unfriendly" Tartar generals, retention of Russian railway guards only until the Boxer indemnity was paid; it also assigned Russia mineral rights within five miles of the railway in Fengtien Province, and timber rights on the Yalu.

Li Hung-chang, for long the czar's best advocate in Peking, was dead. Japan united with Britain and Germany—a new triple intervention—to stiffen China's resistance. The two Western nations were drawing closer together; they had already in October, 1900, amicably divided their interests in China, and the kaiser was inviting Britain to join the Triple Alliance.¹⁰ By April, therefore, Russia decided to proceed no farther. Manchuria did not become another Bokhara in the czar's dominions; she had served for the second time as a testing ground in Russo-Japanese power politics. With China almost helpless, England had intervened to check the aggressor, and the United States was drifting unmistakably away from her nineteenth-century tradition of friendship with Russia. The sympathy of China, written into the Li-Lobanov Agreement, came to an end; and the stage was prepared for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Restoration of the Manchu Regime

In order to guarantee their indemnity and privileges, the Western powers found themselves obliged, as in 1860, to restore the decrepit Manchu regime. The Empress Dowager had begun in Sian to publish edicts, quoting Confucius, which abjured autocratic power and outlawed antiforeignism. Upon her return to the Forbidden City, the decrees of July and August, 1900, were repealed; even those who had suffered death under them received posthumous honors or promotion in rank! Further treaties provided for Chinese currency reform and redefined various terms in the Boxer Protocol.

¹⁰ The European alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, signed in 1882.

THE MANCHU REFORMS

On the domestic front, the Old Buddha¹⁴ promulgated many of the reforms which she had suppressed in 1898. She undermined Manchu privilege by permitting intermarriage with the Chinese. The literary examinations, used for five centuries to recruit the bureaucracy, were scheduled to end in 1907, and a new ministry of education offered Western-style curricula leading to graduate college study. The binding of women's feet was banned, as was torture in collecting legal evidence. Poppy cultivation and imports of opium were to be reduced annually and altogether abolished in ten years. To appease her enemies in the South, she promised a national constitution.

The West had brought China to her lowest stage of subjection. Business flourished in the treaty ports; students rushed to learn foreign ways, either abroad or in the thousands of missionary schools that multiplied throughout China. Christianity reaped a harvest of converts, whose loyalty may not have equaled that of the martyrs in the Boxer persecution. The white man, undefeated and unchecked, strode like a colossus above the Oriental world.

¹⁴ To Old China Hands, Old Buddha was Tzu Hsi's accepted nickname.

Clash of Imperialisms: The Russo-Japanese War

✽ Our work is this: to do battle for the right and uphold the good . . . so that none may ever have cause to regret that Japan has taken her rightful place among the nations of the world.

Prince Ito Hirobumi

Japan after the Treaty of Shimonoseki

ITO'S CABINET, after the Triple Intervention, faced strong criticism in the Diet, so that the premier was obliged to seek support from progressive and liberal leaders. Okuma, chief opponent of the *Sat-Cho* clansmen, was laying the foundations of a new party, the Kenseito. He held that public opinion should back Cabinet decisions, that full freedom of speech and assembly should prevail, and that the careers in the bureaucracy be opened to talent. These concepts challenged the emperor's absolute authority and were considered by conservatives to be *lèse majesté*.

Nevertheless, when Ito resigned, his successor, Matsukata, a Satsuma man, invited Okuma to become foreign minister. The new government established the gold standard, based upon Chinese indemnity payments, and repealed the press censorship law. When it went out of office, late in 1897, the Elder Statesmen took the unprecedented step of recommending a purely party government. Okuma and Itagaki jointly formed a cabinet, but this first oppor-

tunity of achieving responsible popular rule degenerated into a squabble for offices and the ministry resigned within three months.¹

Many former Kenseito liberals then joined the Yamagata faction, which ruled until October, 1900. The premier came from Choshu and was one of the surviving Elder Statesmen of the Meiji Restoration. After studying in Germany, Yamagata had returned to help in organizing the national army; he served as corps commander and chief of staff in the Korean campaign, and after the war as home minister. He despised political parties and all forms of popular government. To obtain funds for naval expansion, Yamagata attempted to increase the land tax from 3 per cent to 4; he encountered the bitter resistance of Okuma's Anti-Land-Tax Federation—a society patterned after the British Anti-Corn-Law League—and compromised the tax to 3½ per cent. As a sop to the liberals, Yamagata doubled the pay of Diet members, enacted the secret ballot, and enfranchised ten-yen taxpayers. Also by creating a number of city election districts, he so greatly increased the number of voters that officials who previously disdained to appeal to the mob now followed Okuma's example and "stumped" the country.

Yamagata behaved more strictly in character when he legislated to suppress public gatherings and ratified by Imperial ordinance the practice of assigning to a general and an admiral on active duty the War and Navy portfolios; he became Ito's opposite number in the struggle between military and civilian authority. Ito was forming his own party, the Society of Political Friends, or Seiyukai. It enjoyed a brief period of power after Yamagata's fall from office, but in turn collapsed as a result of the heavy budgetary deficit after the Boxer campaign.

Ito was succeeded by Katsura, a military nominee who shared Yamagata's contempt for politicians. When the election of August, 1902, returned a Seiyukai majority, he defied it by demanding an increase in the land tax to meet a special appropriation of a hundred million yen for naval construction. When this was refused, he dissolved the Diet. Its successor faced such a critical threat from Russia that the naval funds could no longer be withheld.

¹ The government fell on a peculiarly Japanese issue. The minister of education opened a speech with the supposition: "if Japan were a republic. . ." The words were denounced as an insult to the emperor and generated bitter hostility.

Foreign Intrigue

AMERICA IN THE PACIFIC

Acquisition of the Hawaiian Isles by the United States, after they had been colonized by twenty-five thousand Japanese, came close to precipitating a crisis. Japan's route of expansion south and southeast of Formosa was blocked, as Spain conceded the Philippines to the United States and her Pacific islands to Germany—a power which had humbled Japan less than four years before in Manchuria.

THE ENEMY, RUSSIA

But the paramount struggle was with Russia. A British envoy observed:

Whatever the ostensible reason for going to war with China may have been, there can be little doubt that the main object was to prevent Russia from gaining free access to the Pacific Ocean.²

The Li-Lobanov Treaty after China's defeat underwrote the completion of the railway and virtually allied the two continental nations. Korea became once more a theater of diplomatic warfare, Japan favoring the regent, or Taiwenkun, and conniving in the murder of Queen Min, who favored a Chinese-Russian orientation.

A month after his negotiations with the Chinese envoy, Foreign Minister Lobanov contracted with Marquis Yamagata for a mutual withdrawal of troops from Korea—precisely the arrangement made between China and Japan by the Li-Ito Agreement of 1885. Russia seemed to be gaining strength, as her rails were carried eastward across the Sungari Valley. Resentment and alarm swept over the Island Empire, when the Liaotung Peninsula, which her armies had captured and lost, became a Russian leasehold.

To ease mounting tension, the Nishi-Rosen Agreement was signed in Tokyo in April, 1898, calling for noninterference in Korean affairs, but acknowledging Japan's special interest in the peninsula. While Russia was preoccupied with constructing the railway line to Dalny and suppressing the powerful Boxer move-

² Quoted in David J. Dallin, *The Rise of Russia in Asia* (New Haven: Yale University, 1949), p. 36.

ment in Manchuria, Japan acquired new concessions in Korea and brought in a detachment of soldiers as telegraph guards.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

England, humiliated by early defeats in the Boer War and alarmed at the growth of von Tirpitz' navy, was ready to abandon her traditional "splendid isolation." Europe offered little sympathy; the United States was friendly—especially after British cruisers backed up Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay. But Japan alone fulfilled the requirements of a military ally. Her military bureaucrats were well disposed toward Britain. A tradition of friendship existed between the British Admiralty and the sea lords of Satsuma, numbers of whom had been trained at the Dartmouth or Greenwich naval academies. There was satisfaction among them when the British entered Wei-hai-wei almost as soon as Japan had withdrawn.

Ito still favored an understanding with Russia. After his visit to America in 1901 to receive an honorary degree at Yale University, he proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he proposed to the czar a division of spheres in Korea and Manchuria. He met refusal, but fear that Japan might join Russia caused England to make definite overtures. The Katsura ministry favored them, Ito withdrew his opposition, and thus the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was signed on January 30, 1902. It recognized the "independence" of both China and Korea—diminished by any vested interests of the contracting powers. Militarily, this alliance obliged either signatory to intervene if the other became engaged in war with more than one opponent. Japan thereafter was secure against French attack if engaged in war with Russia; she could count on sterling loans³ and the output of English shipyards. The Mistress of the Seas, associated now with the leading Asiatic power, could concentrate her fleets nearer home waters. The Allies were in sympathetic rapport with the United States under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt. The kaiser refused to associate Germany with them, fearing that if Russia were checkmated in the Pacific she might shift her full energies to Europe.

³ England's loan of sixty million dollars materially aided Japan in fighting the war, though a further one hundred million dollars was refused shortly before the war began.

RUSSIA'S LAST FAIR CHANCE

Faced by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Nicholas II agreed in April to evacuate his troops from Manchuria in three stages within eighteen months. The first evacuation was carried out in October; the second, due half a year later, was ignored. In fact, the Russian armies were reinforced and the last fair chance of peace disappeared. The resulting international outcry was forcefully expressed by President Roosevelt: "No human beings could be as untruthful, insincere . . . arrogant as the Russians." The czar had surrendered to a clique of military adventurers directed by his uncle, the Grand Duke Nicholas. The cautious Count Witte, and the Foreign Office envoys who signed the withdrawal agreement, resigned from office. A Russian syndicate in which the czar was interested had received a timber grant in the Yalu River Valley, which made Northwest Korea a virtual Russian sphere of influence. Profits were potentially immense, and Japan charged that the Yalu loggers were in reality disguised Russian troops and that their timber warehouses were military barracks.

Alexei Kuropatkin, minister for war, toured the Far East in June, 1903. His report warned that gains in Korea were doubtful and would be wiped out if the Triple Alliance attacked Russia in Europe. What he advised no longer counted; the czar was already transferring all authority beyond Lake Baikal to a Committee of the Far East whose viceroy, responsible to none but Nicholas himself, was Admiral Eugene Alexeieff, a leader of the war party. The new oligarchy was prepared to cast dice for the mastery of East Asia. It relied upon certain comforting assumptions: that the 150,000 troops already in Manchuria could outfight Japan's armies; that Port Arthur's fortifications, now nearly completed by immense working shifts of Chinese laborers, would prove impregnable; and especially that the Russian Pacific fleet of 146 vessels, including seven capital ships, could dominate the Yellow Sea. No Asiatic nation had, after all, won a fleet engagement against a Western navy since 1571. Vyacheslav Plehve, minister of the interior, looking forward to a rapid victory, was quoted as hopefully desiring a small war "to stem the tide of Revolution."⁴

Japan, too, was no longer inclined toward compromise; she was

⁴ Dallin, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

of course dedicated to avenging the disgrace of the 1895 intervention. Her sea power had quadrupled since the defeat of China; concentrated in five western bases, it could threaten either Port Arthur or Vladivostok and prevent any junction of the Russian squadrons. No supplies except grain were locally available for the Russian Army, and a five-thousand-mile line, with a wide water gap at Lake Baikal, separated European Russia from Manchuria. Japan could count upon delivering twice the volume of material and reinforcements after the war began. No revolution threatened Japan. The nation was united behind the emperor and the military leaders; nationalist organizations, especially the Black Dragon Society founded by Toyama Mitsuru to watch the Amur, or "Black Dragon River," frontier, were already committed to war. It was dangerous for politicians to resist them.

FINAL PROPOSALS

Katsura proposed, in the summer of 1903, that Russia was to recognize the special rights of Japan in Korea, and Japan the railway interests of Russia in Manchuria, inasfar as these did not eliminate the Open Door. The Committee of the Far East countered in October with a demand that Japan keep her commercial privileges in Korea, but establish a military neutral zone north of 39 degrees, abandoning all interest in Manchuria. By Christmas time, Japanese sailings to Dalny were canceled. On January 13, 1904, Japan repeated her terms in the form of an ultimatum; there was no reply, though the czar wavered somewhat from his intransigence and Great Britain offered mediation.

The Russo-Japanese War

On the clear night of February 8, 1904, Russian warships outside Port Arthur were attacked by Japanese torpedo boats, which they mistook in the darkness for tugs. Three heavy units were crippled and run aground; three more were put out of action next day during a bombardment of the harbor. Nearly half the strength of the Yellow Sea squadron was lost before, at noon on February 10, three rockets rose over Gold Hill to announce that war had begun. The *New York Times* observed:

By the successful attack . . . at Port Arthur . . . the numerical superiority is shifted in favor of Japan . . . this prompt, enterprising, and gallant feat . . . will be memorable.

It seems hardly to become the dignity of the ruler of a great nation to complain that he was struck before he was quite ready.³

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

The Russian fortress was, in important aspects, a strategic trap. Its land communications passed for fifty miles along a narrow peninsula exposed to coastal attack. The entrance channel was not wide enough to admit two ships abreast and it was too shallow at low tide to float battleships. The anchorage afforded no maneuver space and quick sorties were impossible. There was but one repair dock in the naval base, and the land defenses had not been completed on the northwest.

Most of the Russian Army remained at all times in Europe, facing Turkey and Germany. With utmost rail efficiency, not over seventeen hundred troops could be transported daily to the Far East and these, since Russia assumed the defensive, became immobilized in separate commands at Vladivostok, along the Yalu River, and in South Manchuria. Japan had recently fought a successful war in the theater under the same generals as now faced Russia, professional soldiers of high ability. On the contrary, Alexeieff was little more than a court favorite and Kuropatkin, who took to the field after leaving the War Ministry, proved incapable of conducting offensive operations.

MILITARY OPERATIONS

The Japanese forced the war from its outset. General Kuroki, completely disregarding Korea's declaration of neutrality, landed at Chemulpo an army of forty thousand, which proceeded rapidly to the frontier and forced its way across the Yalu. But no large-scale operations were possible in Manchuria while the Russian fleet remained active. For three months Port Arthur was kept under sea attack and surrounded with mine fields. In May, the Yellow Sea appeared safe for unescorted Japanese convoys, and

³ The *New York Times* editorials of February 10 and February 11, 1904. These lines might instructively have been reread in December, 1941.

two formidable armies were landed on the Liaotung Coast. Marshal Oyama's main force moved directly north, following the railway; General Nogi drove across the Liaotung Peninsula and wheeled left to push toward Port Arthur. By August his troops were entrenched before the outer forts of the citadel. Oyama, steadily on the offensive, won in August a major battle at Liaoyang and repulsed a strong Russian counterattack on the Shaho River.

Winter snow halted the fighting in the north, but there was no truce in the siege lines around Port Arthur. Nogi's assaults were almost continuous; when he succeeded, after heavy losses, in capturing 203-Metre Hill, the anchorage was brought within clear view of Japanese artillery observers. A number of the Russian warships had been lost or interned during two mass sorties from the harbor; those that remained were destroyed by howitzer fire "like beasts in a pit." Yet the inner ring of land forts held out until General Stoessel's capitulation on January 1, 1905.⁴

THE BATTLE OF MUKDEN

In February, Marshal Oyama's command included both Kuroki's forces, which had fought their way up from Korea, and Nogi's veterans from Port Arthur; about four hundred thousand Japanese bivouacked before Mukden, the ancestral home of the Ch'ing emperors. Over three hundred thousand Russians defended the city. In the action which began on the twentieth, more men were engaged than in any previous land battle, and more ammunition was expended than in the entire Franco-Prussian War. The Russian lines held for two weeks until a flanking movement by General Nogi forced them to retreat in disorder, abandoning Mukden. But the Manchurian Grand Army was not destroyed; it dug into new positions fifty miles to the north, awaiting further attack which never came; both armies were approaching exhaustion. Fighting stopped more than seven hundred miles short of the Russian border. The war had been fought entirely on neutral soil among Chinese peasants, who planted and

⁴ Nogi complimented the defending general on his courage; however, he was court-martialed and sentenced to be shot, though later reprieved by the czar. Bolshevik writers have written the story of the siege as a classic of bourgeois ineptitude, declaring that the fortress should easily have withstood the siege.

reaped under shell fire and gladly sold intelligence or carried burdens for either army.[†]

THE BATTLE OF TSUSHIMA

The final chapter in the war was written at sea. Over half of the Russian Navy had remained inactive in the Baltic for the first eight months of the war. Hopeful of relieving Port Arthur—in part, too, because of Kaiser Wilhelm's persuasions—the czar ordered it to sea on October 15. Denied all benefit of British naval bases,^{*} the fleet made its first rendezvous at Camranh Bay in French Indo-China on April 24. By this time Port Arthur had long since fallen; Admiral Rozhdestvensky could choose between interning his ships or running for Vladivostok through the Korean straits.

He chose to steam ahead, though his fleet bore little resemblance to a fighting force. Warships straggled in column with colliers and tugs; hulls were fouled, gear and machinery corroded and worn after the long tropical voyage. The crews were half mutinous; some turrets were manned by factory hands who had never previously seen the sea nor fired a piece of ordnance. The Japanese fleet which awaited them at Sasebo was in perfect fighting trim; it had won laurels in the Yellow Sea operations. Admiral Togo and most of his staff, Satsuma men, had known the sea for generations, and the enlisted personnel were career sailors who had rehearsed their duties scores of times. The Japanese had also a considerable superiority in tonnage and fire power. When they engaged the Russians in a two-day battle off the Tsushima Islands (May 27–28), the issue was never in doubt. With the loss of only three torpedo craft, the Japanese sank twenty-two Russian vessels including six battleships; five others hoisted the white flag; three only reached Vladivostok.

THE TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH

Count Witte had drafted peace proposals in February, but it was not until June that President Theodore Roosevelt secured the

[†] A young bandit named Chang Tso-lin won distinction by raiding Russian communications for the Japanese. Twenty years later, still in Japanese pay, Chang became the war lord of Manchuria.

^{*} Not only was Britain honoring the spirit of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; the Russians opened fire on a British fishing fleet in the North Sea on the incredible assumption that it consisted of "Japanese torpedo boats."

consent of both principals to discuss peace. The delegates, headed by Witte and Foreign Minister Komura, met at the quiet seaside resort of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Japan had won a clear military victory, but she faced bankruptcy. The strain of keeping a million men under arms was insupportable; foreign loan funds had been used by November, and Britain would extend no more credits. On the other hand, the Russian home front was in active revolution since the "Bloody Sunday" of January 22, and discipline was breaking down in the Far Eastern armies.

Roosevelt laid down only two conditions, which were accepted with little debate: respect for the Open Door, and the return of Manchuria to China. Komura's early demand for an eight-hundred-million-dollar indemnity was refused point blank by the Russians, who threatened to reopen the war. The treaty, signed on September 5, 1905, returned to Japan the rights lost in the Liaotung Peninsula in 1895, also the three hundred miles of South Manchuria Railway below Changchun—with Russia keeping all the trackage in the Sungari and Amur valleys. Japan annexed also the southern half of Sakhalin Island, with its coal and petroleum resources. In Korea, "paramount political, military, and economic interests" were conceded to Japan.

MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR

The Russo-Japanese conflict set new patterns in warfare. At sea, it revealed the potentialities of the ironclad fleet; torpedoes launched from surface craft proved almost as destructive as gunfire, though the primitive submarines of the era saw no action. Heavy howitzers began to make fortresses obsolete; there was large-scale trench warfare, but little use of barbed-wire defenses, and machine guns were not efficient enough to paralyze the offensive. Wireless communication—with a range of a hundred miles—and telephone systems made it possible to coordinate larger field operations than had ever before been attempted. For the first time in any comparable-sized army, the Japanese held their losses from disease to only a fourth of the total casualties; rigid sanitary discipline almost eliminated the water and insect-borne plagues.⁹

⁹ Much had been learned from the Americans in Cuba. An interesting example of the total mobilization of the nation was the ratcatching crusade

DIPLOMATIC CONSEQUENCES

Failure of the envoys to secure an indemnity caused riots throughout Japan and brought down the Katsura government after an unprecedented five-year term of office. Though England renewed her alliance during the Portsmouth negotiations, there was a perceptible cooling of Anglo-American friendship with Japan; the jingo press blamed President Roosevelt for the collapse of the indemnity claims.¹⁰ The Open Door policy in Manchuria gave place to *Realpolitik*; Japan and Russia amicably divided the vast and defenseless territory into joint spheres of influence. American trade declined, one reason reported by United States consuls being that the cheap Japanese goods flooding in often bore well-known American trade labels. Though the Port Arthur forts were never rebuilt, Japan launched a naval construction program designed to increase her 1905 tonnage by 130 per cent in five years. Against whom was the new force directed? President Roosevelt won good will by his opposition to the San Francisco ordinance for segregation of Japanese-American school children and the "gentlemen's agreement" used in 1906 to check the flow of Japanese immigrant laborers. But the Great White Fleet of sixteen American battle-ships that visited Tokyo the next year was more formidable than any Western armada seen before in Oriental waters.

The fall of Mukden prompted the kaiser to threaten French interests in North Africa. This move—the Moroccan Crisis of 1905—strengthened France's *entente cordiale* with England; and at Whitehall, the end of Russia's mischiefmaking in the East and her return to European politics as France's ally placed the Slavs in a friendly light. When Kaiser Wilhelm failed, in 1907, to detach Nicholas II from the Anglo-French *entente*, the lines of the World War were drawn.

The Annexation of Korea

A few skirmishes drove the Russians from Korean soil at the beginning of the war. The same Japanese who had a few years ordered throughout Japan. Rat fur was then sewed into collars and mittens that helped the troops to survive the bitter Manchurian winter.

¹⁰ Governor William Howard Taft, homeward bound through Tokyo from the Philippines, required a guard to protect him in the streets. He had been greeted as a state hero on his way to Manila.

before exalted Yi Hyeung to the rank of emperor proceeded then to teach him his helplessness: he was obliged at once to accept financial "advisers" and to submit treaties to Tokyo for approval. Shortly afterwards, diplomacy was removed from his jurisdiction. Rivalry over Korea had, by Japan's assertion, led to the war; therefore, Korea must not be allowed to sow further international dissension. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1905 permitted Japan to "take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Korea as she may deem proper. . . ."

The United States was the first power to withdraw its minister from Seoul. Nevertheless, the emperor appealed to Washington for support against Japan, citing an American pledge in the 1882 Shufeldt Treaty¹¹ of "good offices" in settling Korea's later disputes. President Roosevelt declined to meet Homer Hulbert, the Korean delegate;¹² two years later a protest to the Hague tribunal failed to gain a hearing. Yi Hyung's spirit had not been broken by forty-three years of defeat; it became necessary in November, 1907, to force his resignation from office, in favor of a feeble-minded son, Yi Chuk. The Root-Takahira notes, signed at Washington twelve months later, pointedly guaranteed the *status quo* in the Pacific Ocean and so formalized American consent to Japan's Korean policy.

In August, 1910, the puppet Yi Chuk agreed to the annexation of Korea, though the royal family lived on for thirty-five years in a courtyard of the ancient palace below North Mountain. A year before the annexation, Prince Ito Hirobumi, who had served for three years as resident-general and forced the abdication of Yi Hyung, was assassinated in Harbin by a Korean patriot. The act was foolish, since the old statesman was resisting the establishment of a military government and, had he been permitted to live on, he would have restrained the excesses of the Japanese carpetbag-

¹¹ See p. 180.

¹² Theodore Roosevelt asserted often that Korea was helpless to enforce her rights against Japan; that the nation was incapable of self-government; and that Japan could not afford to see Korea fall into the hands of any other great power. Enemies of Korea compared Japan's right to that of England over Ireland, and warned that the United States had been high-handed also in seizing the Panama Canal Zone. Friends said that Korea deserved as much friendly protection as Cuba. The Japanese were convinced that, by deferring to the United States in the Philippines, they were entitled to a free hand in Korea.

gers who, in subsequent years, swarmed to plunder the new colony.¹³

The End of White Invincibility

The principal casualty of the Russo-Japanese War was the legend of white invincibility. By weight of numbers and sheer bravery, colored warriors had destroyed Custer's command and cleared the Italians from Abyssinia. But as the dust settled on 203-Metre Hill, it became evident that Asians could outfight Europeans under adverse conditions; and the Battle of Tsushima proved them to be masters of the most complex scientific machine yet produced: the battleship.¹⁴ As they watched, a billion Asians and Africans felt their own stature increase.

Students swarmed to Japan from over the Asian world; China alone supplied ten thousand of them by 1907. Chieftains in Sumatra fought the Dutch with renewed hope. Hindu maharajahs asked with impassive faces for permission to invest in the war bonds of Britain's good ally; while young Annamites rioted against France's tie with Russia. Indo-Chinese peasants, forbidden any political expression, planted Japanese lotuses in their ponds. Siam made intensive official studies of Japan's sources of power, as Ito had studied those of Europe. China denounced the United States Exclusion Law and canceled the most valuable American railway concession. Alarmed Old China Hands reportedly found it inadvisable to beat sense into refractory houseboys: "Something had got into the beggars" since 1905.

¹³ Ito's assassin became a Korean folk hero; and, while open resistance was smothered for ten years, the people protested passively by retaining their national dress and resisting Japanese-sponsored innovations.

¹⁴ None of Togo's battleships in 1905 was built in Japan. The first Japanese-constructed capital ship was launched five years later.

Far East History
to 1945:
The Crisis of
Asian Nationalism

*The fourth year of George the Fifth,
of Great Britain, King, and Emperor
of the Dominions beyond the Seas.**

☪ The cruisers of His Majesty's Asiatic squadron came smartly to anchor in the bay; to their salute, the guns of the Chinese fort returned a badly timed reply. To landward of the long beach, gathered around the flagstaff, boys from the school lifted their caps and cheered (the school that was a part of England, removed farthest east from Oxford). The Fourth Form recited Rudyard Kipling's *Recessional*.

Soon the shore boats swung away. Officers in flannels, carrying their bats, mounted the steps of the stone pier and stepped into waiting rickshas. On the cricket field, the school team was waiting. While the play lasted, the ladies of the settlement served high tea in the shade of the sycamores to the foreign colony, the officers of the squadron, and the staff of the city magistrate; suave compliments were exchanged.

The school watched the game from benches at the boundary line. Beyond the compound wall, passing Chinese paused to look on impassively. ("Once we asked one of them what he thought of cricket. He wondered why we didn't make our servants play the game for us. Isn't that a Chinaman for you?")

Wickets were drawn at sunset. Soon the cruisers' lights were mir-

* A.D. 1913.

rored in the reflecting pool of the bay. Searchlights flickered across the harbor, picking out temples on distant islands . . . gilding the gray roofs of the dark native city. As they passed the windows of the school, admiration rippled through the study halls. The English boys were in their pride; to their whispered taunts, the few Americans could only predict the speedy arrival of the Manila squadron, with its white hulls, yellow deck structures, and cage masts.

At vespers the master spoke from the text: "And Paul said, 'Behold, I am a citizen of no mean country.' Do not forget, boys," he concluded in a vibrant appeal, "the responsibilities of Christian gentlemen toward these poor Chinese." The anthem followed, words and music rolling through the quadrangle to be drowned in the quiet night:

As o'er each continent and island
The dawn leads on another day,
The voice of prayer is never silent,
Nor does the strain of praise away. . . .

So be it, Lord, Thy Church shall never
Like earth's proud empires, pass away!
Thy kingdom stands and rules for ever,
Till all the nations own Thy sway.

East Asia between Two Wars, 1904-1914: Politics and Industry

✿ Since the closing years of the nineteenth century . . . [there has been] intense rivalry . . . in the Far East for control of the resources and markets of the less industrially developed areas. This struggle has dominated commercial relationships among the countries of the Pacific. . . . There have been many phases to the struggle, ranging from the military aggression of Japan to the maneuvers of the United States to maintain the Open Door. . . . Accompanying this struggle among the more advanced industrial powers is the struggle of the less industrialized nations to achieve higher standards of living by freeing themselves from the control of foreign [finance].

Kate L. Mitchell, "Industrialization of the Western Pacific," 1942

Japan: the Political Scene

AFTER THE Portsmouth Treaty, the Katsura government was trapped by its own war propaganda. The people had heard victory reports with little hint of the military costs: they expected a "march on Moscow," a profitable indemnity and substantial annexations. But the Portsmouth Treaty yielded little compensation for the loss of a hundred thousand lives and one and a half billion yen—ten years of national revenue.

THE SAIONJI MINISTRY

Mobs took over Tokyo; for a time Katsura went into hiding. Resigning, he was succeeded by Saionji Kimmochi, the Paris-

educated Elder Statesman. The two, clan militarist and cosmopolitan intellectual, were to alternate in power for twelve years. Saionji's close associates in office were the Seiyukai party politicians: Hara Kei, whom he appointed home minister, and Matsuda Masahisa, who became Minister of Justice. Overseas, Saionji wished to cultivate friendly relations with China and Russia; domestically, despite the warnings of Ito, he tolerated left-wing parties and expanded education at the expense of the armed services.

His government succeeded in nationalizing the railways; but its continued public spending in the face of the heavy 1908 budget deficit forced it to call for a general election. The party won, but lack of support within his Cabinet forced Saionji to resign.

Katsura held office in turn for three years, ignoring an opposition majority in the Diet; his government toppled only after a major tax scandal involving the Japan Sugar Refining Company. The premier accepted a post in the Imperial household, implying that he had withdrawn from partisan politics.

THE ARMY UNSEATS A GOVERNMENT

Saionji, in office again, was successful in blocking increases in the army and navy, but the armed services proved superior to his authority. The war minister surrendered his portfolio, and the General Staff refused to appoint a successor. This military veto proved effective in returning Katsura, the clansmen's nominee, to power in 1912. But the three-time premier, now elevated to princely rank, insulted public propriety by leaving the personal service of the emperor. Riots, more violent than those which followed the treaty, soon forced Katsura into permanent retirement.

DEATH OF THE MEIJI EMPEROR

Shortly before this government crisis, on July 30, 1912, occurred the death of Mutsuhito, the Meiji emperor. His forty-four years of well-omened rule had carried Japan from obscurity to the sixth place among world powers; the leadership of Asia had passed from the Forbidden City of the Manchus to his own moated palace on Kojimachi Hill. As a span of black oxen drew the Imperial catafalque through the streets of Tokyo, an equally ancient ritual¹

¹ That of *junshi*, whereby a servant accompanies his lord in death. Other examples have been noted in pp. 116 and 187 fn.

took place in the compound where General Nogi had been living in retirement since the Manchurian War. The General and Madame Nogi committed *hara-kiri* together; their gesture fulfilled the ultimate demand of *bushido*, the warrior cult; its site has remained a patriotic shrine.²

The new emperor, Yoshihito, presided over the era of Taisho ("Great Enlightenment"). He proved unable to direct state affairs; it became necessary in 1922 to establish a regency in the name of Hirohito, his twenty-one-year-old son. The Imperial office was weakened. There was no shogunate, but invisible government flourished again, organized most often by the military bureaucrats who alone among public servants enjoyed direct access to the emperor. Admiral Yamamoto Gombei succeeded Prince Katsura. Within a year he was overthrown by scandals in his own service.³ Then the Elder Statesmen invited the old liberal, Okuma, to form a cabinet; the time was April, 1914, four months before the outbreak of the World War.

China: the Political Scene

LEADERSHIP FALLS VACANT

Jung Lu, last of the strong Manchus, died in 1903. Authority was vested still in the Eight Princely Families and their popinjay bannerman, whose braided pigtails, cap buttons, and dragon-embroidered gowns seemed more archaic than ever in contrast with the trim khaki uniforms of the Western legation guards. At a lower level, Li Lien-ying and his fellow eunuchs looted the empire to replace the hoard of silver they had lost to Allied troops.

Arrayed against them was Young China that had backed the Reforms of 1898 and dedicated itself to the restoration of a national Chinese dynasty; its members crowded the few Western schools in the empire or swarmed in thousands to Tokyo, where *émigré* students fell into bohemian and revolutionary ways. The Empress Dowager's Edict of 1904 made foreign studies a prerequisite for

² The elderly couple lived in humble quarters behind the luxurious stable for the white horse surrendered to Nogi by General Stoessel at Port Arthur. They were alone. Their two sons had been killed in the war.

³ Since the Diet could not investigate the navy, evidence of corruption became public only when proceedings in a German court proved that Japanese supply officers had received personal commissions from the Siemens-Schuchert construction firm.

public office. Of twelve winners in the 1906 examinations, nine were Christians and all wrote their answers in English; but the stubborn Han Lin board would grant no posts to such upstarts. Only Yuan Shi-k'ai, the metropolitan viceroy, more far-sighted than the court, was willing to promote Western-trained scholars.⁴ T'ang Shao-yi, who had studied and taught at Columbia University, became Yuan's lieutenant; Jerng Tien-yew, an American-educated engineer, headed the Communications Bureau; others directed the activities of the new Foreign Office, the Waiwupu, or served as foreign ambassadors. The Empress Dowager had convinced herself that lack of a "constitution based on the will of the people" kept China from greatness; she sent an Imperial duke to study, as Ito had done, the constitutions of Europe. Upon his return, a decree promised parliamentary government after nine years—a delay which Young China branded as "a snare and a delusion."

DEATH OF KUANG HSÜ AND THE EMPRESS DOWAGER

The captive emperor did not survive to the parliamentary era. Kuang Hsü was failing steadily; the end came on November 14, 1908. Next morning the Old Buddha presented his successor to the council: the infant Pu Yi, grandson of Jung Lu, and son of Prince Ch'un—who became nominal regent. Probably the indomitable dowager contemplated a renewal of her own power as guardian of a third infant emperor. Instead, she herself died suddenly the same afternoon.⁵

In a valedictory message, Kuang Hsü ordered that Yuan Shih-k'ai be executed; he had never forgiven the betrayal of 1898.⁶ The new regent, also, did not wish to share authority with a holdover from Tzu Hsi's regime; Yuan was relieved of his offices and, ignoring a hint that he commit suicide, he pleaded illness and retired to his Honan estates.

⁴ Especially, Yuan favored the so-called Yung-ying clique, students sent to the United States by an enlightened Manchian official in the early 1870's. The program had been stopped in 1875 and its graduates forced into obscurity by the classically trained mandarins.

⁵ Especially in the South there were scandalous rumors about this cycle of death. Tzu Hsi was accused of poisoning the emperor who would, she knew well, destroy her followers if he survived her. The eunuchs of the Forbidden City knew the real causes of the emperor's decline; they have left no memoirs.

⁶ See p. 241. A full text of the emperor's last requests is provided in *The Times* (London), September 7, 1909.

International Relations following the War

As the tide of Japanese victories rose, Europe gave more credence to Kaiser Wilhelm's Wagnerian warnings of a Yellow Peril. Foreign merchants were irked to see the port of Dairen closed to their shipping, while Japan flooded Manchuria with duty-free goods. On the American Pacific Coast, where Oriental immigrants were pouring into the Sacramento Valley farm lands, the mayor of San Francisco sponsored an anti-Japanese league.

THE TAFT-KATSURA AND GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

Such misunderstandings did not prevent the conclusion in 1905 of the Taft-Katsura Agreement, which acknowledged America's predominance in the Philippines and that of Japan in Korea, nor renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in strengthened form.¹ Shortly afterwards, France signed a pact of friendship with Japan which guaranteed their mutual interests in Korea; and American ill will was thawed by generous Japanese relief contributions after the San Francisco earthquake and by Tokyo's hospitality to the Great White Fleet which Theodore Roosevelt dispatched around the world in 1907. Next year, the president's sensible Gentlemen's Agreement granted the Japanese government full responsibility for limiting the emigration of its nationals to the United States.

MANCHURIAN SPHERES OF INTEREST; THE SAZONOV-MOTONO CONFERENCE

Russia followed the Portsmouth Treaty with an agreement partitioning Manchuria into railway zones north and south of the city of Changchun, and sharing, also, fishery rights in the Sea of Okhotsk. Ignoring Western pleas to respect China's integrity, Russia and Japan continued to seal off the Three Eastern Provinces against outside interference. St. Petersburg proposed outright annexation of Heilungkiang and Kirin shortly after Japan's seizure of Korea. Though this plan was never consummated, Foreign Ministers Sazonov and Motono did draft in July, 1912, a realistic delimitation of spheres throughout Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

¹ The signatories agreed to help each other in case of unprovoked attack upon the interests of either. This guarantee was stronger than that of 1902, which operated only if one nation were to be attacked simultaneously by two enemies.

The United States was barred by the Taft-Katsura Agreement from interference in Korea, but as the guarantor of the Open Door, she protested the closing of Manchuria to American investors. Shortly afterward the Imperial Navy negotiated with Mexico for a naval coaling station at Magdalena Bay in Lower California. The protest of President Taft's government was immediate and threatening; Tokyo diplomats replied that a Monroe Doctrine was as permissible in Asia as in the New World. When the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came up in 1911 for a second renewal, trade competition and the open unfriendliness of Australia, New Zealand, and the United States toward her ally motivated England against the compact. But by now it was imperative that she offset the growing naval power of Germany; the alliance was extended to 1921.

THE ISOLATION OF GERMANY

The Pacific conventions of England, Japan, France, Russia, and the United States after 1905 foreshadowed the cleavage of the First World War. Imperial Germany became increasingly isolated in the Pacific. For a time Wilhelm II attempted to construct a German-Chinese-American front; consistently he wooed Russia. During a final attempt to win the personal friendship of Nicholas II, the kaiser's reported insults to the "yellow races," prompted Japan toward her World War declaration on the side of the Allies.

Economic Development: Japan

JAPAN BECOMES URBANIZED

Growth of Japanese population^{*} provided a main motive for expansion into the Asian continent. During the Meiji era the increase was 50 per cent. By 1915 there was an annual excess of seven hundred thousand births over deaths, with overseas migration relieving only 3 per cent of the surplus. Hawaii and California no longer accepted Asian immigrants; Korea absorbed a few administrators but no farmers or laborers. Since, after 1895, rural

^{*} With full consent of the authorities; it was illegal to disseminate birth control information.

Japan was saturated with people, later increases were added to the cities; Japan was to become an urban and industrial society, retracing the course of nineteenth-century England.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES: A SUBSISTENCE PROGRAM

Agriculture dominated the Meiji economy; there were five million farm holdings averaging about three acres each, one half of them devoted to rice culture and a tenth to soybeans. By intensive traditional methods five rice rations, or *koku*, could be produced per acre. The diet of the poor was supplemented by wheat and coarser grains, with about 10 per cent of its bulk in yams and Irish potatoes. Agriculture paid taxes relatively twice those of industry to subsidize technological development.

The fishing industry was enormously expanded under Imperial patronage. Japanese fishing craft operated in fleets off the coasts of Alaska and British Columbia and by thousands in the Sea of Okhotsk. Tuna and bonito hunters ranged south as far as Australia. All told, the sea brought more wealth than the entire mineral industry, and fish supplied meat protein to a people who officially respected the Buddhist law against slaughtering livestock. Improving their techniques, Japanese fishermen were by the 1930's by far the most successful on the seas, taking about one third of the world's total catch.

HER LIMITED MINERAL RESOURCES

Japanese mineral resources were totally inadequate as a basis for heavy industry. As in the Middle Ages,⁹ some copper was available for export. The islands yielded about six million dollars' worth of gold and silver per year, with a little more from Korea; a single field near Niigata produced petroleum. Japan's annual coal output made the nation self-sufficient, though matching Great Britain's for only one month, and her oil production was less than a week's flow from the wells in the United States. Her first steel mill, opened in 1901, relied largely upon the iron ores of Malaya and India. In 1913 Japan produced twenty-five thousand tons of steel—a third of the national requirement though less than one day's current output in America.

⁹ See p. 74.

THE COTTON-WEAVING BONANZA

There was far more hope in light industry, especially spinning and weaving. Until 1895, cotton was processed only by farm women for home use. To develop a textile industry, Japan was obliged to import fiber from Bombay and New Orleans, and machinery from Lancashire; but she adapted it well to her economy. Cloth could be shipped cheaply overseas, and its processing and dyeing utilized the abundant and intelligent labor displaced from the farms. Textiles came to account for nearly a half of the national industrial output, and Osaka became Manchester's triumphant rival. Though in 1909 the United Kingdom operated nearly thirty times as many spindles as Japan—40 per cent of the entire world's supply—Japan's low-cost cloth was within a decade to equal British exports to East Asia and, by 1929, to outsell them tenfold.

The great raw material export of Japan was silk. Completely surpassing China, Japan became by 1914 the largest producer of raw silk, a luxury product of which three fourths was sent abroad, the United States taking 90 per cent of the export. The total silk traffic, both yarn and cloth, reached a hundred million dollars and brought a third of all Japan's foreign exchange revenues, providing cash income for nearly half the farms in the nation.

JAPAN'S ADVERSE TRADE BALANCE

In the years preceding the World War, Japan averaged a foreign trade of seven hundred million dollars, in which imports exceeded exports by an average of about eighty million.¹⁰ There was usually a favorable dollar balance, the principal trade deficit area being British India, the source of most cotton. A general tariff in 1911 replaced the earlier commercial treaties and laid a rate of 15 to 40 per cent on finished imports.

THE ZAIBATSU

Between the Boxer Rebellion and the First World War, the number of Japanese factories increased fivefold, to thirty-two thousand; the great majority employed fewer than ten people, and capitalization averaged less than fifty thousand dollars. But the

¹⁰ Estimates are taken from *Japanese Trade and Industry*, Mitsubishi Research Bureau (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 254, 498.

number of large firms was increasing. In 1906 there were twenty-three five-million-yen corporations; the number was nearly tripled in the next decade.

The giant trusts—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda—entered every type of enterprise. All conducted their own banking; in fact, these *Zaibatsu* often absorbed their smaller industrial competitors after default of loans made to them. All maintained close ties with the government, from which they held large contracts. In the "fostered industrialism" of Japan, state association with business was taken for granted. There was little comment when, for example, in 1905, a well-recommended Osaka bank received a loan at 2 per cent from funds which the government borrowed abroad at 6 per cent.

Rural Japan was financed largely by local credit associations, common since feudal times but legally authorized in 1900. Pawnbrokers were the poor man's financiers, their shops outnumbering twentyfold the regular banks. Here, as throughout Asia, the workman could pledge his utensils and even his out-of-season clothes for needed cash.¹¹

PUBLIC FINANCE

Though the Treasury borrowed less than seventy-five million dollars before 1900, it required an additional seven hundred million (almost all of it from London) during and after the war with Russia. Municipalities borrowed nearly a hundred million dollars in fifteen years, and a larger sum was obtained by industrial corporations—the greatest single loan going to equip the South Manchuria Railway. Despite borrowings, the yen remained stable throughout two wars at its par value of fifty cents.

LIVING AND LABOR STANDARDS

An observant foreigner noted that in 1904 fewer than 2 per cent of Tokyo pedestrians wore leather shoes. And though Japan gained glory during the ensuing years and factory production multiplied, the living standard rose very little. Per capita wealth at the

¹¹ In Manchu China, most rifles seen in military inspections carried pawnbroker's tags. After pledging his weapon, the soldier was permitted to borrow it for inspection, returning it to the pawnshop after the parade.

outbreak of the World War was about \$250, highest in the Orient, though only two thirds that of Italy. In electrification alone—made possible by the numerous hydroelectric plants which distributed power to the humblest rural homes—did Japan rank with the Western nations.

Of a million factory workers, the majority were women and a sixth were girls under seventeen. The first Factory Act, passed in 1916, limited female labor to an eleven-hour working day. Employers, moved by a Confucian sense of *noblesse oblige*, added needy relatives to their payrolls, overstaffed their plants in times of slack employment, and sometimes paid relief money to strikers. Traditionally docile, the workers were slow to organize. A labor federation was formed in 1912; party politicians regarded its efforts with tolerance, though antistrike laws remained on the statute books until 1924. About fifteen thousand Socialists, most of them students, were listed in the police dossiers. These alarmed the aging Prince Ito who, reclining on a tiger skin among his intimate friends, predicted mass upheavals and revolution. His fears were treated with amusement by the Seiyukai liberals.

Economic Development: China and Southeast Asia

The sum total of enterprise in China and Southeast Asia was insignificant beside that of Japan. At Hanyang, across the river from Hankow in the Wuhan area, China possessed the largest single iron complex in East Asia, situated midway between a coal bed and a mountain of ore. Its Hanyehping works were able to fill contracts for China's rails and even, with their fifty-cent daily wage, to market some steel in the United States. The Tongshan Collieries, close to the Gulf of Chihli, were hardly less profitable.

By 1910 metal foundries and scores of cotton, flour, silk, rag paper, and woolen mills were flourishing around Shanghai; and industries, mostly of small size, were rising in Tientsin, Hankow, and Canton. Foreign managers directed native labor, far lower paid than any in the West, though perhaps a third as productive. There were a few metropolitan foreign-owned streetcar lines and telephone systems. Hydroelectric power was almost unknown, though perhaps half of the treaty ports had steam-operated plants which distributed enough current for single-bulb domestic light

circuits. Wider modernization was blocked by the fear of financial imperialism; in ancient interior cities and even many coastal ports hardly a power-driven machine existed.¹²

Manila, growing up north of the Pasig River and the old walled Spanish capital, came to resemble a second-class American city. The Philippine Islands imported seventy-five million dollars' worth of goods in 1909, less than half of them American. Gold, the most profitable mineral investment, reached an output of but two hundred fifty thousand dollars, coal of a hundred thousand. Iron ore production had scarcely begun. Considerable American capital was attracted to Cagayan Valley sugar plantations.

Aside from sawmilling and the processing of rubber, rice, and spice crops for export, industry scarcely existed in the colonial countries. Holland was rearing a metropolis in Batavia; England created modern cities on the mud flats of Rangoon and Singapore; and Saigon gained a reputation throughout the East as "Little Paris."

Transportation in the Far East

ROAD SYSTEMS

Highways hardly existed in East Asia at the opening of the First World War. Though the Manchus collected road taxes, after official squeeze had been taken from the funds, the best routes degenerated to mule tracks, far inferior to the post roads of Kublai Khan or even the military highways of the T'ang dynasty. There was hardly a mile of all-weather vehicular road in the empire, and only six hundred miles a decade after its fall. The colonial lands were almost equally undeveloped, though American engineers built three hundred miles of paved or graveled highway in the Philippines. In Japan there was little extension of the Tokaido and Nakasendo trunk lines built by the shoguns two centuries before.

STEAMSHIP LINES

The pioneer Nippon Steamship Company (Nippon Yusen Kaisha or NYK) opened transocean service in 1893 to India and

¹² This statement was certainly true up to 1914, for example, of the naval port of Chefoo in Shantung Province, with a population of a hundred thousand.

three years later to Europe, the United States, and Australia. Other routes were established by the Toyo ("Eastern Seas") Transpacific Line, later absorbed by NYK; and, in 1912, the Nanyo ("South Seas") Line serving Indonesia and the South Pacific. At the outbreak of the World War, Japan's merchant flag flew over one tenth as much tonnage as the Union Jack; her Maru ships sailed all of the world's oceans and carried half of the national foreign trade; and the Japanese had won the nickname of "Yankees of the East."

China did not compete in the international carrying trade, though fleets of coastal steamers—Jardine, Butterfield and Swire, North-German Lloyd, China Merchants, or Nippon Yusen Kaisha—linked all of her ocean and river ports to Shanghai and Tientsin.¹³

In 1910 nearly eight hundred steamers cleared from Philippine ports, three fourths of them British. Ships of the British India Line connected the China Sea with all ports in the Indian Ocean. The Peninsular and Oriental, together with Dutch and French lines, offered regular sailings from the Far East through the Suez Canal to Europe.

In shipping maintenance and construction, the Orient approached self-sufficiency. No ships on the Pacific exceeded half the size of the contemporary Atlantic "greyhounds" nor approximated their speed. Yet the first battleship ever launched in the Far East, HMS *Satsuma*, was reckoned at her commissioning in 1910 to be the most powerful warship afloat. The Mitsubishi shipyards in Nagasaki set a world record during the World War by launching a ten-thousand-ton freighter twenty-three days after her keel was laid; and they delivered regularly to NYK or TTK passenger liners of fifteen thousand tons. Smaller yards in Shanghai and Hong Kong were able to build ocean freighters, river craft, and troop transports. Tsingtau claimed the largest floating dock in the East; Japan had thirty-four ship repair docks, China eleven, the Philippines eight, and there were at least twenty-four in other maritime areas.¹⁴

The Railway Age: the Japanese Empire

Japan possessed by 1915 eight thousand miles of railway track-age, equal to that of California, though serving twelve times its

¹³ Most adopted a six-class system of passenger tickets with three foreign classes superimposed upon three Chinese.

¹⁴ See *Far Eastern Review*, VIII (April, 1911), 450.

population. Three fourths of the mileage had been nationalized by the Saionji government, private lines being retained only as feeders. The narrowness of the gauge limited speed. The national rail system was almost unique in earning more gross revenue from passenger than freight services; indeed, during the 1920's, it carried more single-ride passengers than the United States network with twenty-five times the mileage.

In Korea, the line from Pusan to Seoul was completed by 1905; its extension to the Manchurian border was finished three years later, to be followed by two spurs to the west coast and a longer branch from Seoul to Wonsan on the Sea of Japan. Since American engineers had done much of the early construction, the standard gauge was retained. It was impossible to transfer rolling stock from Japan to the Korean railroads; these continued to purchase material in the United States and used American business techniques, such as special excursions and exhibitions of equipment.¹⁵

THE SMR

Russian rolling stock was withdrawn ahead of General Kuropatkin's retreat in 1905. The Japanese relaid the five-foot tracks with their own narrow gauge, and rushed through a feeder route from the Korean border to Mukden. Under Article Seven of the Portsmouth Treaty, Japan acquired leasehold rights to the seven hundred miles of track south of Changchun.

Ultimate ownership was vested in China, with the option of redeeming the lines after 1923. To assert authority in the Manchurian provinces, China erected them into a vicerealty governed by Yuan Shih-k'ai's trusted aide, Tang Shao-yi. When Japan requested permission to improve the Antung-Mukden right of way, Tang refused—but the program was nevertheless carried through. In 1906 all the lines in Korea and coastal Manchuria were absorbed into the South Manchuria Railway System. The SMR, "not a commercial concern so much as a political force," became a virtual East India Company, operating its own ocean fleet, mines,¹⁶ and timber reserves. It owned public utilities, schools, the chain of Yamato hotels, perhaps the most luxurious in continental Asia, and

¹⁵ For a time strips had to be pasted across car windows to deter rustic travelers from thrusting their heads through the invisible panes.

¹⁶ Including the Fushun coal seam, several hundred feet in thickness—the richest in the world.

the entire port facilities of Dairen. It collected taxes in addition to its business revenues, and guarded its properties with imperial troops "until China could afford protection." Its Manchurian operations were almost coextensive with those of the government-general of Kwantung, a branch of the Tokyo Foreign Office which was administered until 1919 by a general officer in the Imperial Army. Half the SMR stock of a hundred million dollars was owned by the Japanese government.

THE HARRIMAN PROPOSALS

E. H. Harriman, magnate of the Union Pacific, applied in Peking during 1905 for the right to purchase the Manchuria Railway. He projected a round-the-world transportation system, linking his American rails by a fleet of Pacific steamships to the trans-Siberian network. Prince Ito encouraged the plan, welcoming American capital as a neutralizing influence, but Foreign Minister Komura did not wish to forfeit any of the fruits of Japan's war victory. He therefore forced upon Peking an agreement granting Japan all former Russian railway rights; in a secret protocol China promised to build no new lines paralleling the SMR. As a consequence, the Chinese Foreign Office could not accept the Harriman proposals.

The Railway Age: China

China, a continental land mass equaled in size only by Russia, the United States, and Canada, was, like these three, to experience a dramatic Railway Age.

In 1876 the ten-mile line between Shanghai to the Yangtze was torn up for religious reasons¹⁷ and moved to Formosa by order of the Empress Dowager. Only a year later six miles were laid from the K'ai-p'ing coal mines, a territory less haunted by ancestral spirits, to the coast of Chihli. To haul its trains, a British engineer built the empire's pioneer locomotive, the Rocket of China. For two decades the only further construction consisted of extension of the K'ai-p'ing line to the Great Wall and to Peking.

Early in 1898, the system was extended to Mukden, ancestral

¹⁷ The disfiguring of the landscape, with the noise and smoke of the trains, were held to be insulting to the *feng-shui*, or earth spirits.

home of the Ch'ings. By the end of that year the Ministry of Communications granted six thousand miles of railway concessions to six foreign powers in their respective spheres of influence.¹⁸ For these projects, the greatest public works since the Grand Canal, little Chinese capital was available; perhaps \$250 million existed, but native financiers were reluctant to abandon the security of local land mortgage investments. In any case, the court frankly preferred to deal with Europeans rather than with its discontented Chinese subjects.

THE SATOW AGREEMENT

Half of the grants went to English firms, chiefly the British-Chinese Corporation (jointly financed by the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and the government of China) and the Peking Syndicate. Surveys run before 1900 infuriated the rural Boxers; consequently, fuller development of the railway concessions dates from 1903. By the Satow Agreement the same year, China agreed to apply to Great Britain or the United States for any funds needed to construct railroads in the Upper Yangtze Valley. Sale of concessions was counted upon to produce state revenue; construction expenditures by providing steady squeeze could keep officialdom solvent.

FOREIGN-OWNED OR FOREIGN-FINANCED LINES (MAP, P. 237)

In the Eighteen Provinces only two fully foreign-owned railways were constructed. A French line followed the Red River from Indo-China to Yunnanfu. Germany constructed the Shantung Railway for 256 miles west from Tsingtau. Foreign contractors constructed nearly all other trackage for the government, using the proceeds of European loans. The British-Chinese Syndicate built the Peking-Mukden Line, and also the Kowloon-Canton route flanking the Pearl River estuary and the vital Shanghai-Nanking Railway following the south bank of the Yangtze. Pukow (opposite Nanking) was finally joined in 1912 to Tientsin, replacing the Grand Canal as the link between the metropolitan area and the commercial centers in the Yangtze Valley. German contractors built north, and British south, from the Yellow River.

¹⁸ Along with the territorial concessions wrung from the Ch'ings.—See pp. 235-38.

The main line through North China was begun ten miles from the Imperial City and extended 817 miles to Hankow. The contract for this Pehan (Peking-Hankow) was assigned to a Belgian syndicate with Russian political backing. Only after the Boxer Rebellion could the line be carried within the city walls of Peking, and the royal peace disturbed by the panting of switch engines. Two Western spurs were built from the Pehan Line—the French-controlled Shansi Railroad, employing the meter gauge, and the British Peking Syndicate Railroad, tapping the greatest coal reserves of Asia in Shensi Province.

FINANCING AND CONTROL

The military powers of Russia, France, and Germany demanded political control, mining rights—virtual sovereignty, in fact—within the territories served by their rail interests. All continental European governments worked with their bankers and industrialists to hoard the utmost national profit from their contracts. The Anglo-Americans were somewhat less exacting, asking only commercial returns on their investments; it is true that the Shanghai-Nanking contract pleased Old China Hands by mortgaging the entire assets of the railway and giving British engineers charge of operations; but England demanded no political rights. Terms of the later Tientsin-Pukow concession allowed China full management of the road. A fear of financial imperialism of the type that had overthrown the khedive of Egypt obsessed the Manchu court. The minister of communications declared, after awarding the valuable Pehan contract:

Belgium [was] a small country with no wish for aggrandisement [so that] borrowing money . . . would be . . . attended with but little risk. So we left the British and Americans alone and took up with the Belgians.¹⁹

The most favorable terms of all were obtained by Japan in financing the SMR: debentures were floated in London without any mortgage rights; then most of the money was spent for materials in the United States.

In time, Chinese capital became available, usually provincial funds. The first railroad completely financed and constructed by

¹⁹ *The Engineer* (London), CIX, 6, February 12, 1915, 137.

the Chinese was the Peking-Kalgan, reaching the borders of Mongolia; it was followed in 1905 by the Chekiang Road southeast from Shanghai. Europeans caustically criticized the quality of Chinese construction, alleging enormous wastage through squeeze and nepotism; they praised, however, the Yale-trained chief engineer, Jeme Tien-yu, who became the first national director of railways.²⁰

Construction difficulties were numerous: hardwood for the cross ties was imported from Australia; most steel, from Europe. Over the muck of the Yellow River plains, ballast had to be transported as far as a hundred miles and bedrock could not be found to support bridge piers. Cost per mile compared to that in Europe despite the cheapness of peasant labor. Its third-class passenger rates were commensurate with a coolie's earnings; freight charges were many times higher than those on American roads today.²¹ The curse of *likin* accompanied the new transportation systems; collection stations at about twenty-mile intervals helped to paralyze the business of the Peking-Kalgan line.

Nevertheless, soundly conceived commercial lines could often take in twice their operating costs, and the Peking-Mukden returned its entire investment within twelve years. Little was re-invested in improvements,²² since it could be assumed that the Chinese government would promptly exercise its option of buying up a profitable line.

In fact, the railways of China were nationalized in May, 1911. The trackage acquired was about six thousand miles—equal to that of Oklahoma, though serving three times the population of the entire United States. The gauge was almost uniformly standard, but equipment included almost every type to be found elsewhere. Goods moving overland one thousand miles from Harbin to Shanghai were transferred from Russian broad-gauge to American standard-gauge cars, then to British wagons with eight-inch-

²⁰ Commenting upon all railway construction in China, *The Engineer* (CIX, 5) stated on February 5, 1915, "A strong, honest man could have saved ten thousand dollars a mile on all China's lines and made them better than they are."

²¹ Typical freight rates were two to five cents per ton-mile. These destroyed competition, since coolies could not survive at rates of less than fifteen cents per ton-mile, but they did little to help industry.

²² In contrast, for many years all profits of the Japanese Imperial railways were "plowed back."

lower couplings, and again to German and back to British cars, to be transhipped on lighters across the Yangtze. Not surprisingly, freight was usually hauled by rail only as far as the nearest waterway.

Nevertheless, hopes rose for a revival of the Great China Market by way of rail investment during the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty. Failing to buy out Japanese interests, Mr. Harriman in 1907 employed the former American consul in Seoul, Mr. Willard Straight, to negotiate for a railway concession in western Manchuria from Hsinmintun to Fukumen. It was hoped that the rails would be carried eventually from Aigun on the Amur River to Chinchow on the Gulf of Chihli.

Cancellation of the Boxer indemnity by Congress in 1908 raised American prestige. Viceroy T'ang Shao-yi set out for the United States, ostensibly conveying the thanks of his government, but incidentally to discuss the new rail plan with Wall Street bankers. There were rumors of a Chinese-American understanding, perhaps including Germany, to counter the influence of Anglo-Japanese-Russian interests.

However, on November 30, the day of the viceroy's arrival in Washington, the Root-Takahira Agreement was signed pledging the United States to respect the established interests of Japan. News was waiting, too, of the Empress Dowager's death, which presaged T'ang's own downfall. But Harriman would not surrender his dream. He was winning over the Russian Foreign Ministry to a more sympathetic attitude when his own death intervened in October, 1909, followed shortly by the assassination of Prince Ito.

FAILURE OF THE KNOX NEUTRALIZATION PLAN

Early in 1910, President Taft's secretary of state, Philander Knox, proposed that an international syndicate purchase Manchuria's railway lines and "neutralize" the vicerealty under Chinese political rule. The plan was not unreasonable; Russia, shifting to a Europe First policy, had offered her Chinese Eastern stockholdings on the Wall Street market provided that the Japanese government would sell its shares in the SMR. But it was ineptly promoted. Neither Japan nor Russia was consulted in advance; both may have feared that the Neutralization Plan was a device

for buying their lines at a bargain price on threat of constructing parallel routes.

Great Britain, deferring to her allies, would not support Mr. Knox. In Japan, military politicians were in the ascendant; to them any new rail project appeared to contravene the Komura Agreement. Some Russian officials protested that the international railroad might be used to carry "a menacing Chinese horde" against their Siberian frontier. So died the best hope of internationalizing Manchuria, bringing "the world's greatest supply of willing, robust labor" into a fertile wilderness, and making the Open Door, so often emptily affirmed, a reality. With its failure, Manchuria has remained, for two generations, a cockpit for military rivalries.²³

The Consortium and the Hukuang Loan

With Manchuria curtailed off, international rivalries were transferred to the Yangtze Valley, centering about the projected Hankow-Canton or Hukuang Road,²⁴ which provided, with the Pehan, a short land route between Peking and the South China Sea. A contract with American interests was canceled in 1905, after Hunanese provincials, the most antiforeign element in China, protested any trespass upon their territory.

Britain and France pooled their rail-financing interests the same year with the signing of the Entente Cordiale. Germany joined them in 1909 to form a banking consortium. In an unprecedented move, President Taft cabled personally in July to the Manchu regent asking for participation by American financiers.

The request was granted, and Wall Street shared in organizing a four-power loan of thirty million dollars. The contract provided for building six hundred miles of railway from Hankow west to Szechuan Province, with an equal mileage south to Canton.²⁵ Con-

²³ It was suggested that Americans build a line across Mongolia connecting the Peking-Kalgan to the Trans-Siberian. Traversing unproductive territories, such a route would have no appeal to commercial capitalists; its strategic significance, shortening by eight hundred miles the distance from Europe to Peking, alarmed China. Such a line was at last completed by the Communist People's Republic.

²⁴ A name derived from the provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung.

²⁵ President Taft's demand cited the Satow Agreement by which the United States was assured a financial interest in Upper Yangtze Valley rail construction.—See p. 279.

trol was vested in the Chinese Railway Administration, though foreign auditors supervised expenditures and interest payments were secured by the salt tax. Materials could be purchased through competitive bidding, but construction was divided into zones assigned separately to British, German, and American engineers.

Though ratified in May, 1911, the Hukuang Loan did not become effective. Russia and Japan demanded admission to the group, which was thereupon enlarged to become a six-power consortium.²⁶ The new participants were less concerned about commercial profits than acquiring a veto upon outside investments in Manchuria, and the contract touched off protests in the restless South, which saw in the borrowed funds an accession of financial strength to the Manchu empire. It hastened the revolution, which began only five months later, and indefinitely postponed the building of the Hankow-Canton and Szechuan railways.²⁷

WANING OF BRITAIN'S INFLUENCE

The negotiations demonstrated the failure of Great Britain's leadership in Far Eastern politics. Hukuang lay almost entirely within her Yangtze Valley fief, as defined in three Anglo-Japanese treaties. By the Scott-Muraviëv Agreement of 1899, Russia was barred from railway projects south of the Great Wall; Germany had in 1900 agreed to confine her interests to Shantung and the Yellow River Valley.²⁸ Now, without protest from Whitehall, five interlopers shared in the development of Central China.

The Railway Age in the Southern Lands (map, p. 511)

Below China, archipelagoes and narrow peninsulas favor water over land transportation. By 1910, Burma, best provided of the southern lands, had scarcely fifteen hundred miles of meter-gauge track. Siam, employing British capital and direction, completed a slightly smaller mileage, two thirds of meter gauge, running from Bangkok in three directions and employed chiefly to collect bagged rice for overseas export. In Malaya standard-gauge trains were already in service between Singapore and Penang, nucleus of an

²⁶ Neither of the latecomers possessed surplus investment capital.

²⁷ The former was completed some decades later; the latter has never been built.

²⁸ See p. 248.

international through service that was later, with construction of Siam's peninsular rail line, to link the Straits Settlements with Bangkok and Rangoon.

In Indo-China, construction was pushed west from Saigon; later on, the Annam coastal railway connected Tongking and Cochinchina. In Indonesia a few short lines ran from Batavia and Surabaya into the Java hinterland. American interests had by 1911 built five hundred miles of rails in Luzon, centering in Manila, and a hundred miles in the rest of the Philippine Archipelago.

The Railway Age: an Evaluation

Long after Europe and the United States had established their systems, East Asia was pitifully undersupplied with rail transport. Total mileage was, at the outbreak of the Great War, about fifteen thousand—comparable to that of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe; but gross revenues were less than those of any second-class American road. Outside of Japan and Siberia three fourths of the track was standard gauge, but it seldom crossed international frontiers.

Only in the Philippines were lines privately owned and operated. British rail enterprise in China was related to service and profit; elsewhere on the continent, routes were primarily strategic: Siam built eastward to Korat and southward into the peninsula to protect her remaining provinces. France built toward Cambodia shortly after raising the Tricolor there, and Britain laid rails into the fever-ridden Shan jungles to seal the conquest of Upper Burma. A subsidy of ten million dollars yearly paid the deficits of the Chinese Eastern, and even the SMR was of far greater strategic than commercial value.

Political rivalry blocked much promising railroad development. Germany starved Shantung of transportation to feed her monopoly rail route to Kiaochow Bay, which haughtily refused to carry even the imperial Chinese mails. Southeastern China remained isolated from the Yangtze Valley; in fact, South China as a whole, politically mistrusted by the Manchus, possessed no rail network; travelers still moved for weeks by sampan or on foot to reach the cities of Hunan, Kweichow, and Szechuan. Not a flanged wheel turned in the wastes of Chinese Central Asia, which functioned

merely as an empty buffer zone against Russia. Nor did rails customarily parallel the continental coastlines or the larger navigable rivers, whose traffic belonged to foreign steamship lines.

The majority of Asians never heard the whistle of a locomotive. Many regarded it with fear, as the cousin of the gunboat. In no way did the greatest of Western inventions catch the imagination of the East or enter its folklore. Peoples nurtured in pomp would not respond to the pageant of the flying Limited with Casey Jones at the throttle. The Pehan Blue Express, its more luxurious namesake in Malaya, the Mukden-Pusan boat train, and the diminutive Hato (Pigeon) Express westbound from Tokyo were pale imitations of the Royal Scot or the Twentieth Century Limited. In Asian hands, the train was an iron coolie, ill-kept and overworked, laboring under a mixed freight of passengers and livestock along a dusty track.

Failure of the Community of East Asia

The effect of nineteenth-century technology was to create communities, however diffuse, in Europe and in North America. No such community appeared in East Asia. No periodical was read throughout the entire area.²⁹ A regional association for the study of tropical medicine held the first of a series of biennial conferences in 1909; in its membership, distinctions of race and politics were forgotten. But no other intellectual links were forged. Enterprising Americans planned to make the Philippines an Asian resort—"Visit the Land of Palm and Pine!"—but few Orientals could grasp the idea of international travel. Cultures amalgamated long before by the Eightfold Law of Gautama still resisted the unifying bond of telecommunication, mass production, and the Age of Rail.

²⁹ The *Far Eastern Review*, published by Americans in Manila, attempted for a time to reach the entire business community.

East Asia before the Second World War: Cultural Trends

☼ There is a feeling that the foundations of our culture are insufficient. A social culture . . . cannot make use of new institutions with an old psychology. Let us ask our scientists, do we have . . . any inventions of world importance? Ask our artists, do we have one or two productions . . . for world appreciation? And in our publishing circles, do we have one or two books which are important for the world? China during the last fifty years has been like a silkworm becoming a moth. . . . This is a difficult and painful process [but] the future will be another world. I feel that the possibility of . . . progress is very great.

Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, "Review of Progress," 1923

Weakening of the Oriental Faiths

DURING THE nineteenth century, the older Oriental faiths produced no dynamic new sects or spiritual leaders. Islam's caliphs were the feeble sultans whose secular Turkish state was derided as the "Sick Man of Europe"; the Moslem advance east into Central Asia and Yunnan was checked by the hard-fighting Chinese general, Tso Tsung-t'ang.¹ In the southeast, the Malay Muslims, a branch of the Indian or Shafite sect, never showed the zeal or orthodoxy of the West Asian believers. Their mosques were few and simple; some did not veil their women

¹ See p. 196.

or require polygamy, and they made only sparing use of Arabic, the language of the Book.

Buddhism had gained wealth and patronage from the Tokugawas, but it was disestablished in Japan at the outset of the Meiji era in favor of nationalist Shinto. It lost little support among the masses, most of whom preferred the easy Shin sect which promised salvation for a single call upon the name of Buddha. Austerity and discipline relaxed: monks were permitted to marry, and believers ate meat and even took intoxicants.

The Manchu emperors, fearing to alienate any large segment of their people, supported both Confucianism and Taoism. The study of the classics lost prestige after 1907 when it ceased to dominate the civil service examination, while the magic nostrums of Taoism were discredited by modern science.

All the older faiths were, in fact, suffering corrosion by 1900 from the acids of Western philosophy; their richest income, the large sums once spent by every family in rites for the dead, declined everywhere. Temples were, especially in China and Korea, converted wholesale to secular uses.² It was said laconically that, in China, "the educated classes believed in nothing, the lower orders in everything." In Japan, of 5000 students at Tokyo Imperial University, 4600 declared themselves agnostics.³

The Missionaries

Roman Catholic Christianity, which had won a strong following in Japan, China, and Siam in the seventeenth century, had largely disappeared in autonomous Asian states by 1725.⁴ Its revival more than a century later was backed by the political authority of Emperor Napoleon III; Catholic priests of all nationalities usually carried French passports until 1890, and most of them were of French birth, maintained by the Société des Missions Étrangères (SME).

Protestantism, newly awakened, competed with the Catholics in almost every field. Its missionary ranks were overwhelmingly re-

² An unpublished Chinese thesis supervised by Dr. David Graham in Chengtu, Szechuan Province, showed that, by 1942, of 210 former temples only 11 were used exclusively for religious purposes.

³ C. P. Fitzgerald, *A Short Cultural History of China* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1938), p. 363; J. W. Bashford, *China, an Interpretation* (New York: Abingdon, 1916), p. 245.

⁴ See p. 136.

cruited from the far-ranging Anglo-Saxons, nineteenth-century bearers of the Cross, the sewing machine, and cotton cloth, to the backward peoples of the earth. Middle-class in origin and sympathetic with the new free-enterprise capitalism which supported it, the new Protestant pietism had scored impressive moral victories in the Western world: temperance, the peace movement, prison and judicial reform, the abolition of slavery. It accompanied the commercial and military advance of the whites with a parallel sense of dedication; it carried civilization by going "into all the world" to "preach the Gospel." A mystical "kingdom of God," chosen from all nations, seemed to be in process of completion; when it was formed, the *Pax Britannica* would merge into the Biblical Millennium.

The Mission Fields

JAPAN

In Japan the formal proscription of Christianity ended by 1873. Thereafter, the Catholic Church resumed its ministry, though without its earlier rapid success. Converts numbered twenty thousand in the 1870's and seventy thousand by 1914; they were no longer regionalized in the southwest. Converts became amenable to official regulations, and attended Shinto rites at "patriotic" exercises. There were about half as many Greek Orthodox as Catholic conversions, forming the largest Orthodox community in Asia outside the czar's dominions.

Protestantism had been tolerated for centuries as the faith of the Dutch traders at Deshima, and it accompanied the forces of Admiral Perry. In the new missionary era it developed an intellectual appeal but had somewhat less success at popular levels than Catholic teachings. Since the Meiji state itself promoted Europeanization, the missionaries did not appear as leading promoters of modern ideas; they encountered among educated Japanese a tide of scientific agnosticism, and among nationalists resistance to a "Western fad." There were about one hundred thousand Protestant church members by 1914 including men of influence; their faith was respected by most progressive politicians.

Japan produced the most famous Oriental Christian of the age in Kagawa Toyohiko; dedicating himself to social reform after

graduating from Princeton Theological Seminary, Kagawa lived for years in industrial or rural slums; he took the lead in organizing labor unions as well as farm cooperatives. His writings of protest, especially the novel, *Beyond the Death Line*, won for him international fame.

KOREA

Despite attempts by the Korean regent to exterminate Christianity in 1866 French priests remained active in the kingdom. Korea also became a successful mission field for American Presbyterians, one of whom became court physician in 1884. Nowhere had the native faiths lost ground more than in Korea. Buddhism was associated in the public mind with Hideyoshi's invaders. Confucianism declined with Chinese influence; Shinto represented culture of an aggressive neighbor, against whom the white man offered some hope of protection. Korea, therefore, with half the population of Japan, developed a larger Christian church.

During the colonial period, when Korean history was banished from public classrooms, it survived in the mission school curricula. The Protestants, some of whose leaders, such as Dr. H. B. Hulbert and E. T. Bethell, served as spokesmen for the nation during the last struggles for Korean independence,⁵ were briefly persecuted in 1912. They consistently declined also to honor the Shinto shrines erected in the colony; Catholics proved more sympathetic to the Chosen government-general and were not molested.

CHINA: THE GREATEST MISSION FIELD

The T'ai-p'ing Rebellion offered a chance to establish an official, if corrupt, form of Christianity in China.⁶ As a consequence of the Boxer Rebellion, Christendom received unlimited rights of proselytizing, and it is probable that every large community in the decaying empire heard the Christian message. Among the Catholics, Jesuits labored in the Lower Yangtze Valley; Lazarist Fathers and Franciscan friars divided the north; the Société de Mission Étrangères served the provinces adjoining French Indo-China. Together, the Catholic orders claimed nearly one and a half million converts by the time of the revolution. The Greek Orthodox faith,

⁵ See "The Militant Editors," *The Korean Survey* (Washington: Korean Pacific Press), May, 1956.

⁶ See p. 145.

fostered by the czars, erected church buildings and gained a few adherents in the Chinese Eastern Railway zone.

Protestants made considerably fewer converts than did the Catholic missionaries, though their work was divided among thirty denominations from almost every country in the Protestant world. It was well coordinated, general Protestant conferences being held as early as 1877 and territories assigned to avoid rivalry and overlapping; American Methodists in the North initiated work, for example, in Soochow, Nanking, and Chungking. Stations were served by a missionary group including evangelists and teachers, and sometimes also by medical technicians, with their homes and their institutions.

FAITH MISSIONS

Denominational work was largely restricted to the large and accessible communities. However, China, the most populous mission field on earth, spread over perhaps a hundred thousand villages, could not be effectively evangelized from its treaty ports. The Catholic Church had little difficulty in recruiting enthusiasts from the minorite orders, who, with breviary, gown, and hempen girdle, accepted lonely assignments in the hinterlands. The married Protestant missionary could not be as adventurous. But the fervor of the Victorian era led many volunteers to dedicate themselves to the remote parts of the huge empire, rearing families far from the nearest white neighbor, depending on faith for their subsistence. Most of these entered the China Inland Mission, founded in 1865 by the English physician, J. Hudson Taylor, which drew its membership from a dozen lands and came to include half the Protestant missionaries in China. CIM members adopted Chinese dress; they declined to accept indemnity for their losses during the Boxer Rebellion. Ignoring what they considered side issues, they channeled their effort into evangelism, holding the cardinal doctrine that all "heathen" who failed to accept the Christian gospel were spiritually lost.

MISSIONARY WORK IN SIAM

In the twentieth century, Siam was less influenced by Christianity than any neighboring country. Assailed by two Christian empires, Protestants to the west and Catholics to the east, the Siam-

ese saw little manifestation of the gospel of peace and good will. However, the Chakkri kings, though devout patrons of the Buddhist state church, were willing to send their children to Christian schools. French priests of the SME won a large majority of sixty-three thousand converts. Protestantism was represented by American Baptists, who in 1914 left the field largely to American Presbyterians.

MISSIONARY WORK IN THE EUROPEAN COLONIES

There were facilities in all colonial lands for propagating Christianity, respected as the faith of the ruling race. The Philippines formed, under Spain, an official Catholic state; Luzon was a province of the Dominican Order, which claimed to have baptized about half the population. In two decades after the American conquest, Methodists and Presbyterians converted about fifty thousand of the islanders. In Indo-China, the right of evangelization was almost limited to the Spanish friars together with the SME. By 1914 there were twelve apostolic vicariates enrolling a million people—5 per cent of the whole population.

The British colonies were open to every religious denomination. The Anglicans built a number of fine metropolitan churches and attracted some following at native official levels; remarkable results attended the work of American Baptists in Burma and American Methodists in Malaya and North Borneo. Catholic missions in Malaya and Burma accounted for a third of all Christian conversions. Few American or British missions were established in Indonesia. Holland, with a large Catholic minority in Europe, encouraged the SME, which by 1914 had made fifty thousand converts. Six times as many natives joined the Protestant Church of the Netherland Indies. The Dutch government supervised mission work, forbidding sectarian rivalry, discouraging dogmatism, and localizing Christian teaching in selected saturation areas. Rhineland missionaries had notable success in Central Sumatra, in parts of Celebes, the Moluccas, and New Guinea.

The Christian Impact

After five decades of earnest effort, the Christian Church claimed four million followers—one in two hundred of the population. In-

evitably, Western forms of the Christian faith suffered cultural change. The abstract, Pauline forms of its theology were not easily communicated. In China, the Taip'ing emperor assumed the rank of "younger brother" of Christ simply because his followers could not comprehend the concept of a pure spirit as the third person in a trinity.⁷ The emotionalized "revival" failed to stir the Oriental soul; hymns rarely proved effective—though the portable street organ became familiar in mission stations.

Eclecticism remolded and blended Christianity with the older creeds. The Tonghak mixture of Oriental and Western beliefs persisted in Korea for fifty years; under Japanese rule, another syncretic creed known as Chondo Kyo was developed to offset Western penetration. In Burma, a cult schism divided not only the native church but also the Protestant missionaries. In Manila, Aguinaldo appointed the Filipino churchman Aglipay to a bishopric. His authority was, of course, repudiated in Rome; but he proceeded to ordain a native clergy, using Catholic vestments and rites but vernacular speech, and his sect claimed the bulk of church membership in provincial parishes.⁸ In Cochin-China, a religious innovator taking the title Cao-Dai ("The All-Highest") synthesized nationalism, Buddhism, and Christianity; his followers became active revolutionists in the mid-century.

Christian advance was, in much of Asia, checked by a counter-reformation grounded in nationalism. Nativists saw in its creed the most dangerous—because the most generous and plausible—form of imperialism. Shinto and Confucianism, accenting traditional values, were revived as bulwarks of the Japanese state (where, also, the Russo-Japanese War was dramatized by some as an Armageddon between Buddhism and Christianity). The dogmatic faiths gave little ground, though sometimes they borrowed such techniques as hymn singing and church schools for the young. Among Mohammedans there were virtually no conversions. Only 10 per cent of Siamese converts were Buddhists and, in Burma, three-fourths were northern Shans or Karen hill folk, who accepted Christianity at a rate two hundred times higher than the Burmese. These, along with the Toradji of Celebes, the Bataks of Sumatra,

⁷ See p. 145.

⁸ Aglipayan and orthodox orders disputed bitterly over the payments made by the United States for church lands.

the Miao aborigines of southwest China,⁹ and the mountain tribes of the Philippines, were animists—nature-worshipping pagans. Even in Korea the spread of the Christian faith was most rapid among the masses who practiced shamanism. Many Eurasian half-breeds adopted the religion of their fathers.

And, as with any new faith, there was considerable success among the underprivileged, the minorities, and the outcasts. Missions were well received among migrants, including the Chinese expatriates in Malaya and the Hindus of the Irrawaddy Delta. In reaching the leaders of society, Christianity found greatest success in Japan, where numbers of the disinherited samurai¹⁰ embraced the Western creed. One early congregation included a supreme court judge, two noblemen, and three government secretaries. The impact upon Young China was great, and may be epitomized in the career of Charles Jones Soong, who became converted to Methodism. He was educated in the United States to return to China as a circuit preacher, bringing up his three daughters in the Christian faith. They became the wives of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang K'ai-shek, and H. H. K'ung, the lineal heir of Confucius. K'ung was already a Christian and president of Oberlin College in China. Chiang was baptized in 1930, three years after his marriage. Many leaders like K'ang Yu-wei, the reformer of 1898, admired Christian teaching without accepting confirmation.

Christianity's Social Impact

The scholarly traditions of the early Jesuit fathers were maintained by later missionaries. They included natural scientists who classified the flora and fauna of Asia, sociologists like John Lossing Buck and anthropologists like Batchelor, authority on the Ainu. They excelled as linguists: Gutzlaff, by 1831, had translated the Bible into Siamese, Laotian, and Cambodian; later, Father Pallegoix produced a Siamese-French-Latin-English dictionary; Hepburn, the American physician-missionary, developed a romanized spelling system for Japanese, and Legge presented

⁹ Among whom the author's parents served as members of the China Inland Mission. A. C.

¹⁰ See p. 160.

Confucius to the English-speaking world. Such languages as those of the Miao tribes, the Kachins of Burma, and Sea Dyaks of Borneo, were reduced to phonetic writing by missionary scholars.

Modern medicine—especially the science of public health—marched in step with Christian teaching. Movements to care for the blind, the insane, lepers, and cripples were most often launched by the foreign missionaries. The Catholic Church was especially active in establishing orphanages; in 1912 it cared for thirty thousand abandoned children in China. During the recurrent famines, missionaries distributed food relief; not surprisingly, a class of parasites referred to as "Rice Christians" attached themselves to the church communities.

Asians learned that "the profession, if not the practice, of altruism and humanitarianism was a necessary passport to the best society among nations." Cruel and obscene spectacles largely disappeared in the twentieth century; reformers studied the religions as well as the politics of the West. There was a re-evaluation of human worth, especially that of women, whose place of total inferiority became slowly modified.¹¹

The New Life Movement of Republican China launched in 1934, setting new standards of public and private behavior, may be called an application of Christian teaching, sponsored by its two most famous converts, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang K'ai-shek.

ITS FOREIGN ASSOCIATIONS

Mission work carried, almost invariably, a foreign stamp. A Catholic compound was part of overseas France; a Protestant was almost always English-speaking, though, north of the Great Wall, it acquired a Scandinavian, and in Shantung, a German, cultural flavor. The missionary could not disassociate himself from his government. Catholic agencies were embarrassed during the Franco-Chinese troubles in 1885; when England became allied to the Meiji Empire, Protestantism benefited. The Vatican sent Americans to overcome the unpopularity of its Spanish priesthood dur-

¹¹ The suppression of women was so long established as to be classed by Percival Lowell in *Soul of the Far East* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), as one of three fundamental Oriental characteristics.

ing the Philippine insurrection, Critics labeled them as advance agents of foreign imperialism. More often they were charged with luxury. A few forgot their message in the pursuit of property interest in lands or even in native arts. If, however, the Five Missionary Families came almost to own Hawaii, most mission boards forbade their members to own real estate or carry on any business activity. More commonly the missionaries were attacked as fanatics whose preachments insulted the ancestor-worshipping creeds and violated practical sense.¹²

Of necessity, all missionaries lived above the average Oriental standard; the more fortunate resided in well-staffed compounds enjoying comforts that only the opulent could afford in Europe. But deep in the continental interior, lonely priests slowly forgot the language of the homeland they would never revisit, and "faith missionaries" sacrificed their own children in furtherance of the Gospel.

AUTONOMY OF THE ASIAN CHURCHES

The vitality of the Asian churches varied. Nearly all remained as missions, dependent upon foreign subsidy. A few Catholic parishes became independent financially through shrewd investments; congregations of Karens in Burma were often completely self-sufficient.

Numbers of Oriental people were trained for the Christian ministry; in 1912 there were half as many native as white priests in China, and a quarter as many in Japan. A few zealous Korean Protestants went as missionaries to China. But Asian churchmen served nearly always as parish subordinates to the Europeans; the Aglipayan movement developed out of the resentment felt by Filipinos on this account. Progress was made toward the development of an autonomous Christianity able to hold its own against the native creeds. It was to appear, unfortunately, less plausible and flattering than the Marxian philosophy whose Third International movement launched in 1919 became the most dangerous enemy the Asian church has known.

¹² See Angus Hamilton, *Korea*, pp. 118-19 in the "Oriental Series," Millett, Boston, 1910; also the concluding chapter in Hearn, *Japan, an Interpretation*.

The Growth of Education

JAPAN

During the new century, the Japanese educational system developed in 1872¹³ was functioning at all levels. The master plan calling for 7 universities, 256 secondary schools, and nearly 54,000 elementary schools, each serving its defined district, was too expensive to be developed. However, six years of primary training were available everywhere, three of them compulsory, so that Japan became the first literate Asian society. There were middle schools (called higher schools for girls, who rarely went farther) in each prefecture. The collegiate institutions beyond them were of four types: teacher-training normal schools; technical schools, numbering over two hundred and preparing young Japanese in almost all forms of technology; preparatory schools; and the universities to which they served as gateways.

Every school, as far as the remotest mountain hamlet, felt the influence of the Mombusho, a national education bureau which supported and censored every cultural agency.¹⁴ Little democratizing influence was permitted. According to plan, Teidai and other imperial universities enjoyed a feudal pre-eminence, followed in prestige by twelve lesser government institutions and, at a lower plane, twenty-five or thirty private universities, about half of which received foreign support. Only 10 per cent of applicants passed the university entrance examinations; to do so, it was almost essential to attend a preparatory school comparable to the public schools of England, to which family connection was the surest avenue of admittance.

Though almost every Japanese was literate, few could read more than two or three thousand of the forty-four thousand ideographs of the Chinese *Kanji*. Ninety per cent of all East Asian technologists were Japanese; and technical colleges could supply only a sixth of the experts needed in industry. However, gifted youths, still influenced by Confucian concepts, crowded into the fields of belles-lettres and law in which but 50 per cent of qualified graduates could normally find employment.

¹³ See pp. 169-71.

¹⁴ Somewhat foreshadowing the function of the later Nazi Bureau of Enlightenment and Propaganda under Dr. Josef Goebbels.

KOREA

The kingdom of Korea had only primitive village schools and a single government institution in Seoul for the study of the Chinese classics. Japan presented the protectorate in 1906 with a school system, noncompulsory and downgraded in its offerings. Beyond the four-year primary course, there were fifty modern and thirty-five old-type common schools together with three times as many local private schools. Of eight advanced foreign-language institutes, half specialized in the study of Japanese; a few three-year normal schools were also authorized and some technical institutions were founded during the colonial period. After 1920 the Mombusho established Keijo (Seoul) Imperial University with law, engineering, and medical faculties; most of its students and all of the faculty consisted of resident Japanese. However, in 1927 the state accredited an educational committee of the Protestant churches which sponsored several colleges. To take advanced training or to study abroad, native students must be in good standing with the government-general. Colonial schools were used by Japan as an agency of cultural assimilation. Courses on "morals" emphasized emperor worship, and children were often required to have their school passbooks stamped weekly at the nearest Shinto shrine.

Nevertheless, colonial Korea was educationally far ahead of contemporary Manchuria, whose 800 elementary schools enrolled only 30,000 boys and 126 girls—1 per cent of the school-age population.

CHINA AND THE SOUTHERN LANDS

The Empress Dowager's reforms of 1906 eliminated classical examinations but did not establish state-supported primary schools. Thousands of temples were, however, converted to educational uses. In 1906 fifteen universities in China offered Western learning, and there were thirteen thousand Chinese students in foreign lands. Modernism was strikingly emphasized when, at a college established in Confucius' birthplace, physical culture and foreign languages were included in the curriculum. At the same time, the Sage was granted posthumous rank "with Heaven and earth,"

symbolizing that his ethics must continue, as in Japan, to dominate education.

In Buddhist communities of Southeast Asia, monastery schools had for long given free but voluntary training in reading, writing, and Hinayana doctrine. During the new century, Siam organized a department of education, working closely with the church. Though only a seventh of eligible boys were enrolled in this system, most urban dwellers became somehow able to write. Secondary education was available at first only in Bangkok, and in the capital too there were professional law, civil service, and military training institutes. As a by-product of the World War trend toward democratic liberalism, Chulalongkorn University was in 1917 established as a royal foundation in Bangkok. It absorbed most of the previously authorized colleges and used the English language in many of its classes.

In primitive Burma, village schools taught by the *Pongyis*, or monks, trained a third of all men and a twentieth of the women. Later, British-sponsored secular schools at least doubled the literacy rate. The one national college was operated as a branch of the University of Calcutta for many years before it gained autonomy as the University of Rangoon.

The Dutch colonial government in Indonesia partially subsidized Islamic parochial schools, one of which was planned for every village. Higher education, confined almost entirely to Java, was offered at one medical school, five teacher-training institutes, and four special schools for young aristocrats, together with a few trade and agricultural institutes.

The French encouraged Buddhist schools throughout Indo-China and, in Annam, Confucian academies. These were often required to offer also some scientific training and French-language study. In metropolitan areas, *lycées* offered the same rigid curriculum that was studied in France; a modern university opened its doors in Hanoi after the war.

Somewhat to the alarm of European colonizers, who feared the political consequences of universal education, the United States, shortly after annexing the Philippines, drafted a comprehensive primary-school program. A decade after its organization, a fourth of the two million children in the islands were attending class, and

there was at least one trade school in each province; more young Filipinos spoke English than Spanish.

Educational Achievement

Outside of Japan, fewer than 5 per cent of all East Asians were literate in 1910; and only an infinitesimal number had entered a college classroom. Higher education was valued as an entree to the overcrowded white-collar professions and bureaucracy; a graduate, though he risked unemployment, escaped the stigma of manual work. Women barely touched the fringes of the system; a single room would contain the annual output of women university graduates.

Education was measured out sparingly by colonial or feudal masters who were afraid of filling the vessels of ancient culture with the heady new wines of science and political theory. To many observers¹⁵ the effects of Western-style education seemed often regrettable. A class of swaggering, foreign-dressed youths came to despise their indigenous culture and ape the vices of the whites—while they took the lead in nationalist movements.

Catholics in China trained 130,000 children in their parochial elementary schools, besides operating colleges and seminaries. Protestant Christian enterprise in Japan founded Doshisha in 1875 and five more universities in the '80's; eventually every important denomination maintained at least one college in Japan. In Korea, as the state institutions were increasingly monopolized by the Japanese, such American-supported institutions as Pyongyang, Ehwa Women's, and Chosen Christian colleges and Severance Medical School became citadels of native culture.

While China's politics gravitated toward anarchy, missionary institutions set educational standards. By 1914 there were 543 Protestant secondary schools and 33 colleges, led by such respected institutions as Tsinghua—supported by Boxer indemnity funds—Yenching University near Peking, Lingnan in Canton, St. John's in Shanghai, West China in Chengtu, and the University of Nanking. Peking Union Medical College, endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation, became the greatest scientific institution in Asia. Yale

¹⁵ See especially the volume on *Philippines*, "Oriental Series" (Boston: Millett, 1910), pp. 39 ff.

and Oberlin opened affiliated colleges in China. For a time, the only Burmese college was maintained by Baptists in Rangoon. Mission primary schools were encouraged and often subsidized by the colonial powers, though neither in Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, nor Indo-China was there a Christian college before the Second World War.

The aloofness and superior attitude of the West is shown by the fact that almost no white children received training in the cultures of the Far East. Nearly all were sent for their education to the homelands. A few missions, notably the China Inland, provided schools for children of their members; but these were designed to meet the requirements of Oxford or American college entrance. Equipped with cricket or baseball fields, quadrangles and boat-houses, they gave unsurpassed instruction in Latin grammar but ignored the writings of Confucius. Hardly a Western student crossed the ocean to attend an Asian college;¹⁶ the white man came only to teach, never to learn.

Literature and the Arts

Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain has recorded¹⁷ that "the opening of the country was the death-blow to Japanese literature"; and the effect of Western penetration was hardly less deadening throughout East Asia.

Traditional literary forms were designed to be heard rather than read—whether the courtly Japanese *hokku* and *tanka*, the Malay *puntun* quatrain or, at the other extreme, the fustian romances recited by professional Filipino storytellers to carnival crowds, whose content resembled that of the *chansons de geste*. Many native dialects have never been reduced to writing. Of eighty-seven spoken in the Philippines, seven only have a literature of as much as one hundred printed books; Tagalog, the chief language, comprehends only a few thousand titles.

LITERARY BORROWING

Few East Asian writings have been introduced to the West in the twentieth century. Scholars have the benefit of extensive transla-

¹⁶ The young Russian, Eliseef, who graduated from Tokyo Imperial University, is one of very few exceptions.

¹⁷ *Things Japanese* (London: John Murray, 1905), p. 290.

tions from historical and philosophical works—more often into French than English—and of selections from the poets, as well as the full texts of plays.¹⁸

A compilation in 1936 showed seventy-one Japanese works translated up to that year into English, nearly all by Tokyo publishers. *The Tale of Genji*, originally written in 1004, became an American book-club selection; nearly half of the titles are drawn from the feudal ages. Admirable English renderings have been made also of ancient Chinese picaresque romances, such as *The Three Kingdoms*, *All Men Are Brothers*, and *Ch'in P'ing Mei*.

On the other hand, the impact of Western literature upon the Orient was overwhelming. Early in the colonial era, Spanish padres introduced vernacular dramatic treatments of the Passion and the crusades which became assimilated into Filipino folklore. Meiji Japan began in 1879 wholesale translation projects, including piracy of current works. Many educated Japanese and Chinese studied English novels and poetry as devotedly as European technology, turning at the beginning of the century to French, German, and especially Russian models. After World War I, there was omnivorous consumption of Western writings, with emphasis upon scientific works but strong interest in realistic American novels and even detective fiction.

To this period belongs the first strong leftist intelligentsia movement. Though officially banned, Marx' and Kropotkin's works were printed clandestinely and sold in volume. Stimulated by the Great Earthquake suffering and the world depression, novelists became socially conscious. The National Proletarian Arts League published an organ, *Battle Flag*, for five years, until its military suppression. The International Pen Club, alone of professional organizations in Japan, dared to criticize in 1938 the attack upon China.

Though Shanghai's commercial press laid claim to being the largest private printing plant in the world, China produced few creative authors: a *Who's Who* listing of 650 eminent Chinese in 1936¹⁹ lists virtually none of them. Some of the most admired

¹⁸ Translation with full commentary of the *Manyōshū*, the thousand poems of Japan's Heian court, was a six-volume achievement by Dr. J. L. Pierson in 1936, dedicated to Adolf Hitler and published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.

¹⁹ In the *China Yearbook*, *North China Daily News*, Shanghai.

showed left-wing sympathies: Lu Hsün, as literary leader, though officially a Nationalist, was commemorated after his death in the communist Library and Cultural Academy in Yenan.²⁰

The bulk of Japanese publishing was impressive. Figures for 1953 show 8392 titles, a thousand more than were produced in the United States, even after deducting the 500 foreign translations.²¹ While Americans wrote three times as much fiction as works in social science, in Japan the ratio was reversed. The plots favored by readers in Tokyo featured sex, psychology, and foreign adventure, as did the current favorites on Main Street. The Sino-Japanese fighting brought, on the Chinese side, bitterly realistic studies of the resistance. Japan sent numbers of artists and litterateurs to the combat zones. These, and gifted soldier-narrators, issued a series of journalistic and often well-illustrated chronicles, such as *Soil and Soldiers*, *Barley and Soldiers*, and *Sun, Soil and Water*.

THE INTERPRETERS

Since contemporary Oriental authors are so little known abroad that a well-read foreigner cannot name one of them, the task of explaining the East has been left to sympathetic "interpreters." Most respected among these is the Anglo-American Lafcadio Hearn, a teacher in Japan for fourteen years before his death in 1904. His eight books of short sketches, drawn from life or translated from folktales, were climaxed by Hearn's *Japan, An Attempt at Interpretation*. Intoxicated by the beauty of his adopted land, he nevertheless felt the granitic core of its people; and he found moral eminence where native philosophers denied it, in the lives of the women. Born half-Greek on the Ionian island for which he was named, Hearn saw in Shinto the lost faith of Arcadia and compared the Japanese cults of war and beauty with those of classic Greece. A syncretist, Hearn cited the Buddhist karma cycle as evidence of Herbert Spencer's doctrine of superorganic evolution. Hearn's strictures were bitter upon those who "betrayed" their ancestral creed to become Christians.

²⁰ See p. 364.

²¹ See *World Almanac*, 1937 (New York: *World-Telegram*), p. 366; *Japan Year Book*, 1939-40, Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, (Tokyo), p. 777. All books were submitted in galley proof for censorship by the *Mombusho*.

The most effective impressions of China were conveyed in works of Pearl Sydenstricker Buck, whose semifictional saga, *The Good Earth*, secured for its authoress a Nobel prize in 1938. Mrs. Buck knew China as the daughter and, subsequently, as the wife of a missionary. Hardly less famous are the readable expositions of the American-educated Lin Yu-tang, especially *My Country and My People*.

The strongest claim to world eminence among contemporary Far Eastern philosophers is held by Hu Shih. A mental prodigy who completely mastered the Chinese literary classics by the age of twelve, he went on to study under John Dewey at Columbia University. Like Kagawa, Hu Shih undertook a career of reform, placing his vast scholarly prestige behind the *pai-hua*, or vernacular movement. His own voluminous writings made use of the common Chinese speech, rather than the archaic style affected by pedants and used in all official pronouncements. Among the honors conferred upon Hu Shih was that of wartime ambassador to Washington.

EAST ASIAN JOURNALISM

The enormous difficulty of setting ideographic characters—which defy linotyping and require a roomful of type cases for the compositor—has restricted the scope of Far Eastern daily journalism. A modern-style newspaper appeared in Tokyo in 1872. By 1940, eighteen hundred daily papers were published in the Japanese Empire as against two thousand in the United States. Over 80 per cent were, to some degree, subsidized, and the field was dominated by five papers with circulation of over a million each: the Tokyo *Asahi*, *Nichi Nichi*, and *Yomiuri*; and the Osaka *Asahi* and *Mainichi*. Japan's Northcliffe, Maruyama Ryuzen, owner of the *Asahi Press*, was, until his death in 1933, a champion of freedom.²²

No paper in China acquired comparable coverage or reputation; most dailies were local and short-lived, though nine hundred were listed in 1936, most of them printed in *pai-hua*. There was no other vernacular daily press outside of Bangkok, where twenty-

²² Maruyama's orders after his offices were raided by nationalist gangsters would honor any editorial masthead: "We are in the right. Stick to it, boys, until my last copper is spent."—See Fukuda Ippi, *New Sketches of Men and Life* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1934), p. 35.

two newspapers were published in Thai, at least nine of them owned, in 1940, by Japanese. English-language journalism included three dailies in Japan (of which the *Japan Times* received Foreign Office backing), twelve in China, two in Siam, a number in Manila, with some British papers in the Straits Settlements and Rangoon; there were Dutch publications in the Indies.

Weekly journals were rare, but Japan alone produced in 1939 over seven hundred monthly or quarterly periodicals (after large numbers had been suppressed by the police following the China Incident). Some appeared in issues of over 500 pages with lavish format; characteristically, scientific, technical, and literary periodicals were four times as numerous as magazines of entertainment.²³ Few magazines of general interest appeared in the southern lands, though there was a scattering of reviews published in elegant academic English by Burmese, Hindu, or Chinese college-trained intellectuals.

The press was less respected by government authority than in Europe.²⁴ Not before 1930 did journalism become an academic study. Censorship laws in China forbade "attacking the Kuomintang or the Three People's Principles," or publishing items "prejudicial" to the Republic of China. In Japan, press laws required a surety of one thousand yen to be posted as a guarantee of good behavior by all licensed periodicals. Fines could be imposed for criticizing not only the home government but also foreign states friendly to Tokyo. Editors were certainly imprisoned more often in the autonomous than the colonial countries.

SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS

From the beginning of the century, scientific periodicals were issued throughout East Asia, the majority, particularly those sponsored by government agencies, printed in English. In 1937 the Japanese published in their own language six journals of astronomy, five of mathematics, twenty-two of medical science, and numerous others in forestry, meteorology, and seismology. Hardly a twentieth as many appeared in Chinese, and nearly all of these became extinct during the invasion of 1937-45.

²³ *Japan Year Book*, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

²⁴ For example, General Nogai curtly refused to allow foreign correspondents in the Russo-Japanese war zones in 1904.

Japanese scientists won a world-wide reputation in research, perhaps the most eminent being Dr. Noguchi Hideyo of the Rockefeller Institute. Professor Sagane of Teidai was among the earliest nuclear physicists working at the University of California; a cyclotron came into operation before the Pacific War on the campus of Osaka Imperial University. However, no East Asian received a Nobel Prize in any field before 1949.

The Fine Arts

THE THEATER

Western dramatic plots and stage techniques probably influenced all Asian drama, but only in Japan were plays from London and Broadway thoroughly acclimated.

The conventionalized No Play pantomime was losing ground, even at the court, by the turn of the century. Popular heavy kabuki melodrama was first played before the emperor in 1887; two years later, under sponsorship of the Drama Improvement Society, an ornate national Kabuki Theater was erected in Tokyo—to remain continuously popular. Translations of foreign hit plays were regularly presented on metropolitan stages to postwar audiences, though foreign actors and artists were less acceptable. The Proletarian Theater, emphasizing social and *avant-garde* plays, attracted attention in 1924. The modern drama movement proved popular throughout urban Japan and in Seoul.

Elizabethan drama, so similar to kabuki, became the special study of Professor Tsubouchi Yuzo of Waseda University; his forty-two-volume edition has given the modern Japanese humanist considerable familiarity with Shakespeare. A combined museum, theater, and classroom building of Elizabethan design stands on the Waseda campus.

THE "GARDEN OF ELECTRIC SHADOWS"

The movie theater—the Garden of Electric Shadows—was the most powerful vehicle of Western cultural penetration, affecting every medium and large-sized community in East Asia. The influence of silent films was greatest; these could be explained by Asian interpreters to even illiterate moviegoers. Talking pictures were

more difficult to adapt or "dub" into vernacular speech; yet by 1940 most screen stars had won a following in Manila, Shanghai, Seoul, and Nagasaki, and glossy fan magazines carried the gossip of Hollywood to every Japanese newsstand.

Japan had 1600 movie houses; there were fewer in China, though Shanghai had 34. While in Japan, two thirds of exhibited films tended to be of native manufacture, Hollywood reigned supreme in China. Everywhere, its importations were stunningly popular. They touched off jazz-age demonstrations, developed a cult of the *mobo* (Modern Boy) and *moga* (Modern Girl), and eclipsed the native public storyteller with his ancient folklore tales.

Alarmed at such cultural inroads, government censors banned undesirable films (in China the Kuomintang included in this category all with a "predominance of sex") and cut subversive scenes, including kissing. National producers ridiculed the *mobo*, satirized America as the home of cocktail parties and gang wars, and rather stiffly applauded native customs and character. However, *Lives of a Bengal Lancer* proved so powerful a tract on *bushido* that it became required viewing for every Japanese army officer.

MUSIC

From the beginning of the Meiji period, European military music was adopted by the Imperial Armed Forces. It thus acquired national prestige; brass bands played at public concerts and accompanied the army over Asia. In 1879 the Tokyo School of Music offered courses in Western music, and by the 1920's Tokyo had two philharmonic orchestras—perhaps the only ones in Asia. Opera was patronized by the *cognoscenti*.²⁵

The variety and richness of Western forms, and the exciting rhythms of jazz, forced native music so far to the defensive that Japan's state radio was required to give it equal time in broadcasts. Western popular songs recorded with native words were appropriated into the national folk music.²⁶

²⁵ In 1928 the author sang the tenor lead in the Tokyo symphony's production of Beethoven's *Ninth*. There was a well-balanced chorus of 250 voices.—P.B.

²⁶ The author has heard Japanese assert that "Neath the Shade of the Old Apple Tree," among other favorites, were composed in the Orient, and even claim "Auld Lang Syne" as a native folk tune. At least one Japanese unit marched into action in World War II singing "Deep in the Heart of Texas!"—A.C.

GRAPHIC ARTS

In estheticism, the West had little to teach Asia; there was on the contrary a reverse influence upon great impressionists of the European continent. After a regrettable interlude of collecting cheap foreign chromos, the Japanese returned at about the turn of the century to their superb techniques of water-color, silk-scroll, and wood-block art. Oils were, as formerly, seldom used, and portraits were left to the mechanical photographer; traces of Western influence can be seen in the more realistic portrayals of landscape in Yoshida's and Kasamatsu's contemporary block prints than in the classics of Hiroshige. Japan's National Academy of Fine Arts sponsors nation-wide education and supports local exhibitions and a number of permanent art galleries.

Sports

In Japan, though far less on the continent, Western sports began early in the century to replace folk amusements. Eleven horse-racing tracks were opened in Japan and there were others in the larger Asian port cities, to satisfy the universal love of gambling. Tennis became popular in international circles; Japan's teams were serious contestants for the 1921 Davis Cup. There were few entrants from the Far East before 1932 in the Olympic Games; in 1936 a Korean won the marathon race, and Japanese captured the hop, skip, and jump, together with a number of swimming prizes. Handicapped by their slighter build, Asians turned for a time to concentrate on their own Far Eastern Olympics.

Baseball, though seldom a sandlot pastime, became the principal spectator sport of Japan, equally popular in commercial and inter-collegiate leagues. In the Philippines and on American-supported school campuses, basketball has won favor.

Radio Broadcasting

Characteristically, Japan organized her radio broadcasting by 1925 into a monolithic system based on stations JOAK in Tokyo and JOBK in Osaka, with thirty-three lesser stations, fully state-controlled, and, during the intervals between the world wars,

reaching four million receiving sets which were assessed twenty-five cents monthly. Programs were inclined to be didactic; news and educational programs filled half the air time, one tenth was allotted to entertainment—none at all during daylight hours; music, native and modern, received a similar apportionment.

Chinese broadcasting was for a decade confused and uncoordinated; nearly sixty low-power stations mushroomed in Shanghai. With the war emergency, broadcasting was largely taken over by the Kuomintang government. Commercial radio in the American manner was hardly known outside the Philippines; state radio facilities in the colonies rebroadcast some European programs. A few missionary "hams" began to experiment with religious messages. There were, for instance, fifteen broadcasting stations in Indonesia—seven of them in Java. In the remoter and more backward societies, the poverty of the people and the multiplicity of spoken dialects restricted the use of radio as a mass medium.²⁷

Cultural Trends

Nationalism set its stamp upon much Asian cultural activity. Science was made, especially in Japan, to serve native ends; not only mechanical inventions like the Toyoda cotton-spinning loom, but projects in pure science were restricted from foreign scrutiny. Scientists drew from the pool of international research but contributed little to it. Kagawa, almost the perfect Christian, approved Japan's resignation from the League of Nations and served as a cultural representative of his government in conquered China, just as the Chinese "Christian General" Feng Yu-hsiang became in time an anti-Western leader.

In the popular art forms, secular and mass-oriented techniques from the West competed with the conventionalized forms of the Far East, making serious inroads upon them. Asian governments took steps to protect the national spirit, the most effective authority being Japan's protean Mombusho. Were native forms losing their vitality? The Sages, the code of Nogi, and the Meiji emperor were pitted against Western materialism and hedonism; *kendo* sword play and judo encouraged to offset baseball; movies upon ethical

²⁷ BBC in Malaya was obliged to use nine languages in addressing five million people.

themes, showing samurai in costume, subsidized to encourage the warrior spirit. The emperor of Japan himself participated in an annual classic poetry contest; and even communist leaders recorded their achievements in elegant verse. But the drift continued.

Perhaps because of the swift pace of change and his schizophrenia between the new and the traditional, the Oriental made few original contributions to either. Not a musical symphony, nor a moving and universal literary theme was developed; no Asian schooled at Harvard or Cambridge or the Sorbonne added significantly to his adopted culture.

Statistics show that in artistic vigor and productivity Japan eclipsed the rest of Asia as completely as in her industrial output—sometimes surpassing her Western teachers. She produced athletes, musicians, writers, scientists, and philosophers—but by fiat, imitatively and with dogged intensity. Her pride mounted in the culture which she was about to impose by military force upon Greater East Asia. But no growth of artistic genius accompanied its rise; the twentieth century appears as neither a T'ang nor an Elizabethan Age.

Revolution in China

* We, the heirs of Sun Yat-sen, greet
you, the heirs of Lenin.

Message from the Kuomintang to Moscow, 1925

Eat good cakes!
Wear a warm coat!
Possess ten dollars!

I bake nice cakes.

Japan gives to each Chinese rebel a long, warm coat and rifle.

Mayor Chang Hsueh-ming promises to men who surrender the
rifle, pardon and ten silver dollars.

Eat good cakes!
Wear a warm coat!
Jingle ten moon-dollars!

Song of a Tientsin street-vendor, November, 1931
quoted by Nora Waln, *Atlantic Monthly*, CXLIX, 726

Genesis of a Revolution

REVOLUTIONARY thought had gathered momentum since the defeat of 1895—most actively in the south and southeast. It was endemic among the overseas Chinese, many of them migrants from these regions, whose remittances to their relatives nearly equaled the revenues of the Manchu government. The revolutionary spirit was strongest among frustrated students

and disappointed place-seekers; it inspired radical editors who, despite strong censorship, managed to bring out eight daily papers in Shanghai and five in Peking.

SUN YAT-SEN AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

Kwangtung men took the lead: K'ang Yu-wei, survivor of the 1898 purge; T'ang Shao-yi, graduate of Columbia University and renegotiator in 1908 of the U. S. Boxer indemnity claims; most hopeful of all after the beginning of the century, Sun Yat-sen. Born in 1863 in a village community dedicated to the T'ai'ping cause, Sun spent part of his youth with a brother in Hawaii, becoming impressed with American enterprise. He returned to enter the University of Hong Kong Medical School, where he felt the influence of English liberalism. At the age of thirty, he wrote to Li Hung-chang urging political reforms, but received no reply.

Instead of practicing his profession, he became, after the defeat of China in 1895, a professional revolutionary. Forced to flee after the failure of an uprising, he was kidnaped, for a time, by Manchu agents in London but released through the influence of his former teacher, Sir James Cantlie.

Some revolutionists would have been satisfied with a few new faces in the Grand Council. More, including K'ang Yu-wei and the powerful Triad Society, demanded a native dynasty—"Up with the Ming! Down with the Ch'ing!" Sun wished an end to the empire—"Divine Right Cannot Last Forever"—in favor of a parliamentary republic. He was convinced, as Ito had been, that the strength of the West was rooted in its forms of government.

Journeying from one Chinatown to another around the world, he prefigured the democratic age as he solicited funds. The money purchased arms and printed anti-Manchu tracts. In his memoirs, Sun Yat-sen lists ten uprisings fomented during his sixteen years of exile. Most were quickly suppressed; but early in 1911, 103 revolutionists occupied the governor's yamen in Canton for some days. Seventy who died in this putsch became the protomartyrs of the Revolution.

THE T'UNG MENG HUI

In Tokyo, at the headquarters of the Black Dragon Society, Chinese students met in July, 1905, to organize themselves as the

T'ung Meng Hui. This association fully supported Sun's doctrines, declaring that the empire must give way to a democratic state. It did not denounce imperialism, but offered friendship to the foreign powers, especially Japan. Land redistribution was at first favored, then dropped from its program for twenty years; Sun possessed as yet no revolutionary social outlook. Within six years the T'ung Meng Hui claimed three hundred thousand members in seventeen provinces.

Twilight of a Dynasty

It was, perhaps, only foreign intervention that saved the Manchus from collapse during the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, to be succeeded by the dynasty of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan. During the half century remaining to it, the Ch'ing showed signs of mortal decadence, and was believed by millions to have lost the Mandate of Heaven. Its legislation seems a hodgepodge of idealistic exhortations; its bureaucracy continued to follow the eight-century-old light of Chu Hsi's Confucian commentaries.

The Empress Dowager's reforms¹ included the promise of elected provincial councils competent to advise the Imperial governors; and, after an interval, a national assembly, half of whose members were chosen by the councils. Her death in 1908 resulted in a premature convening of the Assembly; it met in 1911 under the presidency of a Manchu prince, with only deliberative privileges, and the Cabinet, which replaced the Ch'ing Grand Council remained, like it, responsible to the emperor.

FINANCIAL CHAOS

The financial position of the empire was becoming almost hopeless. While internal commerce was being crippled by the weight of the likin barrier toll, hardly fifteen million dollars of its take reached Peking from the provinces. To support themselves, the "ten million opium smoking loafers" of the Manchu aristocracy were resorting to flagrant corruption. This bore heavily upon new enterprises—the state-owned steamships, railways, and mines; for instance, the exactions of mandarins tripled the delivered cost of Hanyang iron ore. As in T'ai-p'ing times, survival of the Ch'ings

¹ See p. 249.

depended upon the devotion of the foreign powers to their special interests, now augmented by Boxer indemnity payments.

Tariff rates could not be raised, and provincial satraps resisted every demand to increase their contributions. The Peking government was increasingly obliged to exchange concessions for loans; thus it further alienated the provinces, which wished to finance their own rail lines and public works, keeping the expenditures under local control. The patriots of Young China unwearingly cited how Egypt and Peru had lost their autonomy by accepting European loans; they predicted that the Manchus would use rail revenues to maintain their military authority and punish nationalistic communities by depriving them of transportation.

A railway scandal in Szechuan Province provided political motivation for the 1911 Revolt. On the national scene there had been two years of famine, spreading agrarian distress far more threatening than the intrigues of financiers and bourgeois intellectuals. In May, 1910, a "hairy star" dominated the nighttime sky; to the initiated, it was merely the return of Halley's comet; to superstitious millions it appeared as a portent in the heavens foretelling disaster.

The Double Ten and Its Consequences

The T'ung Meng Hui had plotted a full-scale uprising for December, 1911, but on October 10, "The Double Ten," an explosion in an illegal arms factory in Hankow attracted police attention and betrayed a list of conspirators. Revolutionists faced the choice of fighting or swift arrest. Across the river in Wuchang, provincial garrison troops, hearing of the crisis, persuaded their commanding officer, Colonel Li Yuan-hung, to lead them from the ranks of the imperial army and don the white armband of the Revolution. The insurrection spread until, in a few weeks, sixteen provinces seceded from the empire.

But the National Assembly refused to desert the monarchy; it drafted a constitution of nineteen articles which ended autocracy, and it forced the regent to swallow his pride and summon Yuan Shih-k'ai to serve as premier.

THE RETURN OF YUAN SHIH-K'AI

The times called for ruthlessness and craft—qualities in which Yuan Shih-k'ai excelled. For three decades he had risen during crises, ever since, as an able youth who failed the classical examinations, he attracted the favor of Li Hung-chang and went as resident to the Korean court. Defeat by the Japanese taught him to respect force. Returning to Peking, he first flattered and then betrayed the reformers of 1898. Though a nationalist, he was too shrewd to side with the Boxers; with their downfall he won the confidence of the foreign powers. His star descended with the death of his patroness, the Empress Dowager; now it rose to the zenith as he returned from village exile in Honan to lead the imperial armies.

Accepting command on November 7, he quickly recaptured the Wuhan cities and, as a warning to the rebels, devastated Hankow. Complete military victory for the imperialists was in sight, but Yuan declined to press forward; he seemed less interested in restoring the banner princes than in retaining for himself the balance of power between the Revolution and the Ch'ing empire. While he delayed, the rebels moved from Shanghai to capture Nanking, the ancient southern capital. The powers, following their traditional demand for order and treaty observance, favored a rapid peace. The Manchu cause was actually lost in a series of conferences at Peking with foreign banking representatives, at which Sir John Jordan, chairman of the group, refused further loans to the empire. At a later meeting in Shanghai on December 20, T'ang Shao-yi, negotiating for the government, gave secret assurances of surrender.

SUN YAT-SEN—PRESIDENT OF CHINA

Sun Yat-sen had read of the Double Ten outbreak while staying at the Brown Palace Hotel in Denver, Colorado. He reached Shanghai eleven weeks later, where lieutenants offered their homage to him as founder of the new Republic. A parliamentary constitution was already drafted, and a five-striped flag adopted that symbolized union of the Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu, Tibetan, and Moslem peoples. On the first day of 1912, chosen president of the newly proclaimed Chinese Republic, he walked with his Cabinet to the tomb of Hung Wu beyond the walls of Nanking.

there to inform the spirits of the Ming rulers that the Chinese once more possessed China.

Yuan had returned to Peking where he joined forty-six imperial commanders in declining to fight against the Republic. An abdication document was prepared whereby the emperor preserved his priestly functions and the titles and trappings of the nobility were retained, together with their palaces and landed estates. As Henry Pu Yi, the boy monarch lived on for fifteen years, well pensioned, in the Forbidden City. During the brief Revolution "not a drop of princely blood was spilt." The Republican constitution was "granted" in concessive terms like those used in 1899 by the Meiji emperor. Imperialist leaders survived into the Republican era as high administrators or successful war lords. The Republic created hardly a ripple in Chinese village life, save for the disappearance of the pigtail and the slow abandonment of female foot-binding—both symbols of subservience to the Manchus.

THE TRIUMPH OF YUAN SHIH-K'AI

On February 12, 1912, the Great Pure dynasty ended its rule of 268 years. Three days later, Yuan Shih-k'ai replaced the visionary Sun Yat-sen as provisional president. Eminent as a fund-raising evangelist of freedom, Sun could not cope with political realities. During his brief presidency he was almost the prisoner of officeseekers; a regional partisan, his affiliation was perhaps too strong with the nationalist South. He could neither command troops, organize a bureaucracy, nor win the confidence of the Western powers. The nation could not simultaneously follow this idealist and his military rival; and so, returning from sixteen years of exile to claim his honors, Sun resigned them to the man who had been three months before the prime enemy of the Revolution.

Three Revolutions

THE FIRST REVOLUTION: THE KUOMINTANG

The provisional constitution of fifty-six articles under which Yuan ruled was patterned somewhat after that of the French Third Republic. There was to be a powerful bicameral legislature; the Cabinet, responsible to parliament, had considerable author-

ity; the presidency was weak. Its apparatus could scarcely satisfy a self-willed militarist, hungry for power.

Sun Yat-sen himself had not been an advocate of immediate popular self-government; he favored gradualism, a prolonged period during which the people could learn the responsibilities of the franchise. A premature election would probably count against the revolutionary leaders who, though celebrated abroad, were less known to the masses in China than were the former court personages around Yuan Shih-k'ai. To strengthen his position, Sun felt the need of a new political organization. The T'ung Meng Hui had fulfilled its purpose by launching the Revolution. Uniting diverse elements in its membership, from Jacobins to strong conservatives, it could not longer be held together. In August, 1912, its radical elements were formed into the Kuomintang; this party accepted Sun's personal leadership and his doctrines of five-power government and social modernization.

THE SECOND REVOLUTION: THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMPACT

Yuan Shih-k'ai thus faced an organized opposition, entrenched in the Yangtze Valley and the southern provinces. Nanking, the capital, lay in politically hostile territory. Yuan never intended to govern so far from the bases of his own strength. On March 12, 1912, a revolt was staged among his troops in the north, accompanied by widespread looting; this "emergency" making it "impossible" for him to go south, he convened the Assembly in Peking under close military observation. Kuomintang members were purged in November; since the more democratic elements still resisted, the Assembly was dissolved.

The Republic was giving way to an oligarchy backed by the great merchants, the foreign business community, and two thirds of the provincial governors. Factions consisted of the Kuomintang, now virtually outlawed, a weak Republican center group which desired unitary government without regional autonomy, and Yuan's own following, little changed in essentials from the Peiyang military cadre of the 1890's.

The militarists drafted in May, 1913, a new constitutional compact, superseding the Republican code. It was written by Dr. J. Goodnow, Yuan's American political adviser, a sincere believer in monarchism, and ratified by fifty-eight picked supporters. The new

instrument transferred authority from the Assembly to a council of state resembling that of imperial times. A powerful president held office for ten years, and the worship of Confucius was resumed (extreme Republicans had demanded that the Temple of Heaven be converted into a model farm!).

But the national taxation system was close to collapse. With the same tax base, the Republic was collecting only 90 per cent of the former imperial revenues. Yuan critically needed funds to pay off the revolutionary armies and buy support in the southern provinces. His recourse was to the foreign bankers. The six consortium powers trusted this "second Li Hung-chang" beyond his rivals, but were yet unwilling to advance money to him without thorough audit and security. He received a promise of twenty-five million pounds over strong protests from the South, which preferred provincial loans even at much higher interest rates.

The contract pledged the revenues of the salt administration, renewing the financial imperialism which had helped to bring on the Revolution and causing American bankers, at the urging of President Wilson, to withdraw from the consortium. The constitution required the consent of parliament to foreign borrowings but, knowing that this could not be obtained, Yuan personally ratified the loan (April, 1913). Sun Yat-sen had been appeased for a time with an appointment as director of railways—a post that enabled him to travel through China expounding his projects. He returned to partisan politics to impeach the "autocratic demon king," and warned international financiers not to supply Peking with funds "which will certainly be employed in a civil war."

THE THIRD REVOLUTION: DICTATORSHIP

Yuan followed the precedents of Bismarck and of Ito; instead of serving parliament he ignored it; when his Cabinet resigned, he ruled by decree. He may have countenanced the assassination of his critics: at convenient times, two leading revolutionary generals died by violence, as well as C. J. Sung, one of the authors of the Nanking Republican constitution. The new dictator could depend upon the sympathy of the foreigners, some of whom he retained as high-salaried advisers. He permitted the spread of British influence in Tibet and Romanoff control of Outer Mongolia; he sanc-

tioned railway grants to Japan in Manchuria, and found large investments for Western syndicates.

Sun Yat-sen's protest preceded an attempt in July, 1913, to unseat Yuan by force of arms. Amply financed by his overseas borrowing Yuan defeated the rising and forced Sun into exile in Japan. Massing troops in the capital, he persuaded the rump parliament on October 7 to elect him president for life. When the legislature was dissolved in January, 1914, he declined to hold new elections.

Within a few months the Europeans were locked in war; Yuan counted therefore upon little outside interference as he prepared to restore the empire. His own coronation date was set and patents were distributed for a new nobility; but, as a third revolution threatened to produce a Chinese Napoleon, revolts broke out in almost every province except metropolitan Chihli. Yuan swiftly renounced his claims to the throne and declared allegiance to the Republic. It was his final maneuver. In May, 1915, he was forced from office to return for the last time to Honan where, eight months later, he was gathered to his ancestors.

A Decade of Anarchy

Parliament chose, as the new chief of state, Vice-president Li Yuan-hung, who had deserted the Manchus in Wuchang on the first day of the Revolution. Li took the lead in rupturing diplomatic relations with Germany and increased China's dependence upon Japan. His policy was lampooned; it was said "to declare but not wage war on foreign enemies; to make war without declaring it upon domestic rivals." Li was temporarily overthrown in June, 1917, by the imperialist General Chang Hsün. The counterrevolution was promptly defeated, but Li felt obliged to retire from office a month later.

China lapsed into a decade of anarchy. No single authority was strong enough to hold the nation together; there were shifting regional federations under war lords or *tuchuns*, usually military commanders, who ruled from horseback, intriguing against each other. The deepest division followed the ancient North-South cleavage, formed by the Yangtze River. The South was filled with polit-

ical ferment; the North showed more conservative tendencies, trying to retain the hegemony it had held since 1500. Peking remained normally the seat of government; and though parliaments, too venal to win respect, met both there and in Canton, foreign embassies were accredited to the northern capital, to which also the customs' funds were remitted by the international administration.

The Canton Republic and Chiang K'ai-shek

It was to Canton that most Kuomintang assemblymen retreated in 1913 when outlawed by Yuan Shih-k'ai. The party was remodeled in 1917 as the *Chung Hua Kuomintang* (Chinese Revolutionary Party) with a firmer bond of personal allegiance to Sun Yat-sen. The chief maintained control of the Canton city state and a small Republican navy; but rivals sometimes dominated Kwangtung Province; and Sun's two attacks on the northern militarists were repulsed.

His influence was greatest among the youthful revolutionaries. Notable among these was a scion of the Chekiang gentry named Chiang K'ai-shek, an artillery cadet in Japan when the Revolution broke out. After brief association with the Kuomintang, he retired from politics to win a commercial fortune in Shanghai. Chiang went in 1923 at Sun's recommendation to study in Moscow, but returned little influenced by personal observation of Lenin. Described in more mature years as "the strongest man China has produced in generations," he was still found most devoted to "poetry, mountains and his wife."² He had already married Meiling, youngest of the three American-educated Soong sisters, in 1927. Her influence was profound in shaping Chiang's career; it was to lead him three years later into the Christian Church. Years before, Sun Yat-sen had married her elder sister, Ch'ing-ling.

Sun decided, under Russian advice, to assure the Kuomintang of a trained officer corps by founding a military academy. It was located at Whampoa, beside the anchorage where, a century before, the Canton clippers wintered. Chiang K'ai-shek was appointed in 1924 as superintendent of the Whampoa Academy.

² John Gunther, *Inside Asia* (New York: Harper, 1942), pp. 201-02.

The Northern War Lords

In the north the Peiyang party split, after Yuan Shih-k'ai's passing, into three factions: the Peking group under Ts'ao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu—"the Scholar War Lord"; a Manchurian authority controlled by the bandit-ally of Japan in the War of 1905—Chang Tso-lin;^{*} a third "Anfu clique," named from its Anhwei military and Fukien naval backers (in exactly the manner that the Sat-Cho oligarchy of Meiji Japan was related to naval Satsuma and military Choshu). Their cabals form an obscure and discreditable record. The Anfu ruled Peking through the period of war against Germany. They were disgraced by their reckless "borrowing" of Japanese funds, ostensibly for war purposes but actually to enrich themselves. After a melee, Wu, the Scholar War Lord, a humane conservative, attempted to reunify the country under a parliamentary government. Before any election could be held, Wu was ousted from Peking by an alliance between Chang and his own subordinate, Feng Yu-hsiang. Feng was the most remarkable personality among the war lords; an uncouth giant, he had been reared in a peasant family and risen from the ranks. After receiving his command, Feng associated with Protestant mission workers and styled himself "the Christian General." Missionaries were invited to evangelize his armies, baptizing them sometimes en masse; his soldiers maintained puritanical discipline and paraded to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

During a five-year period, Wu controlled the Yangtze Valley in tacit alliance with Britain; Feng was supreme in his native northwest, backed by Soviet Russia; Chang ruled the three eastern provinces, openly supported by Japan. In order to seize Peking, each allied himself with one of the other two to dislodge the third.

In the autumn of 1924, a northern coalition invited Sun Yat-sen to Peking. When he arrived, he was suffering from illness which was diagnosed as cancer. For some months, from his hospital bed at Peking Union Medical School, he continued to expound his principles for national unification. On March 12, 1925, the architect of the Revolution died.

^{*} See p. 258 fn.

The Influence of Sun

Sun Yat-sen as a symbol was of incomparable value to the Chinese Revolution. His memory is enshrined in two works which he published, and in the posthumous edition of his speeches.⁴

Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary appeared in 1918, a condensed autobiography, followed by a political interpretation of the age. In *The International Development of China*, issued during 1921, Sun, stunned by the wastefulness of the World War, proposed that one half of one day's expenditure, or \$120 million, be assigned to making China "an unlimited market for the whole world." His proposal echoed the buoyant commercial optimism of the 1880's together with a friendliness toward the powers that had gone out of fashion with Anson Burlingame. It would fit the objectives of the Marshall and other recent American foreign-aid plans, but it seemed premature in 1918 and was totally ignored at Versailles.

Sun Yat-sen was no less obsessed than Nikolai Lenin with the economic ends of revolution. His projected New China was to build a network of one hundred thousand miles of rails and a million miles of road, whose routes he mapped for display throughout the land—with the approval of the *tuchuns*, who were glad to employ him in noncontroversial activities. How visionary was his thinking may be noted in the eleven-thousand-mile rail system he planned for Tibet and Sinkiang, through areas where not a mile of rail has yet been laid and where no strategic or commercial returns could be realized.⁵ Minimum achievement of his targets would have required more overseas borrowing than the Manchus ever contemplated.

THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES

More famous than his written works were Sun Yat-sen's lectures, as recorded by his followers. On March 6, 1921, before the Kuomintang Executive Committee, Sun coined the phrase most

⁴ Manuscripts of several other works, with nearly all of his library, were burned in Canton, June, 1922.

⁵ See Sun Yat-sen, *The Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary* and also *The International Development of China*, pp. 162-71, both published by Cultural Service of the Chinese Government, Taipei, 1953.

famous in modern Chinese history: "The Three People's Principles," or *San Min Chu-I*. They are translatable as nationalism, democracy, and livelihood.⁶ These were developed in a series of sixteen lectures delivered at intervals from January to August, 1924. Nationalism (*Min Ts'u* "Doctrine of the State"), meant transfer of loyalty from the Confucian family and clan to the five-nation Republic of China;⁷ it also demanded respect for China's sovereignty by the foreign powers.

Democracy (*Min Ch'uan*) involved leveling down the Confucian orders of society,⁸ with uniform acceptance of a constitution of five powers. Sun accepted the American pattern of executive, legislative, and judicial branches (or *yuan*). He added to these, from ancient Chinese precedent, an Examination Yuan, to be used in staffing the bureaucracy, resembling in its duties the Han Lin Academy and the United States Civil Service Board. Maintaining that impeachment was not a function of the legislature, Sun inserted as a fifth coordinate the Punishment Yuan, modeled after the Imperial Censorate, or the United States Army's Inspector General's office.

Democracy was to include a broad right of franchise—though Sun was never precise about voting qualifications; he accepted the liberal doctrines of popular initiative and referendum, with recall of elected officials. Since full democracy was still a mirage, Sun Yat-sen called for preliminary intervals of military unification and political tutelage by experts. Left-wing critics saw in his wish for delay a revival of autocracy.⁹

Livelihood (*Min Sheng*) concerned increase in national productivity. Sun wished for full industrialization with centrist, somewhat Marxian, controls: the nationalizing of transport and communications, encouragement of distributors' cooperatives, and adoption of a graduated income tax. He borrowed from Henry George a design for preventing land speculation: the private owner must fix the price of his land, paying taxes on this valuation and surrendering it to the government at the declared price when needed for a

⁶ In the Taipei, 1953, edition, livelihood is rendered as socialism.

⁷ Symbolized by the five-striped flag; showing the usual Chinese preoccupation with numerology, Sun used the number five, traditionally sacred, both for his five-nation republic and five-power government.

⁸ See pp. 28, 99 ff.

⁹ M. N. Roy, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China* (Calcutta: Renaissance Press, 1946), p. 292.

"higher" use.¹⁰ All three principles implied an end to discrimination against China, and granted her right to full legislative autonomy.

APOTHEOSIS OF SUN YAT-SEN

Throughout all subsequent factional struggles, the Chinese people have professed to follow the Three Principles, as Europeans affirm the Ten Commandments. The five yuan form the structure of the Nationalist government; while Communists quote Sun's views upon nationalization of industry. Sun Yat-sen's words are in verity the Bible of the Revolution, replacing for many Chinese the works of Confucius. His tomb on Purple Mountain beyond Nanking excels that of any emperor. The will he dictated from his hospital bed replaced the Sacred Edict of K'ang Hsi; it is chanted still at patriotic gatherings as a ceremonial collect:

For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these forty years have convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

The work of the Revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my *Plans for National Reconstruction*, *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*, *Three Principles of the People*, and the *Manifesto* issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and strive on earnestly for their consummation. Above all, our recent declarations in favor of the unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heartfelt charge to you.

Foreign Affairs during the Chinese Revolution

LOSSES IN CENTRAL ASIA

The Revolution seriously weakened the hold of China on her dependencies. Under the Ch'ing, their cultures were united in the person of the emperor. With his passing, many Mongol princes considered their alliance dissolved; they preferred to retain the mandarin system, even to its peacock plumes and cap button, long

¹⁰ This doctrine, developed in George's famous tract, *Progress and Poverty*, has never been enacted in China; in modified form it is the land law of New Zealand.

after the imperial pageant at Peking was ended. Their tribesmen feared the hordes of Chinese emigrants who, in moist cycles, came to crop the northern grazing lands. In February, 1912, the *Hutukhtu*, grand lama of the Mongol hierarchy, appealed to Russia for protection. Outer Mongolia became detached from Chinese authority; later, with the fall of the Romanoff empire, it subsided into the anarchy which raged from the Urals to Kamchatka.

Lapse of the Ili Treaty, signed thirty years before,¹¹ automatically renewed Russia's threat to Turkestan. But no action followed. Russia and Britain were allies in the Triple Entente, and their rivalries in the Central Asian buffer area were dormant. St. Petersburg was furthermore too involved in Europe to waste effort on the Ili Valley.

In Tibet the Dalai Lama admitted the British Younghusband Expedition to visit Lhasa in 1904. The event roused concern in Peking over the security of the Western frontier. The Ch'ing launched a strong military counterinvasion, destroying anti-Chinese monasteries, and installing a Chinese amban, or governor, with strong authority. His power collapsed with the Revolution and, though nominal Chinese authority was restored in 1927, Tibet remained in seclusion as long as England ruled India.

MANCHURIA DETACHED

Manchuria ceased in 1912 to be a crown reserve of the Ch'ings, becoming nominally a regular part of Chinese territory. But the Three Eastern Provinces had been, for two decades, the most coveted prize in Asia. Spheres of influence re-established in 1910 ignored the claims of New China: Russia retained her predominance in Kirin and Heilungkiang, the Amur-Sungari watershed; while Fengtien Province, the valley of the Liao, and the Yellow Sea littoral were firmly controlled by the Japanese, who tolerated no Open Door aspirations among Western traders and took steps to seal off Chinese revolutionary doctrines at the Great Wall.

FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH POSTWAR RUSSIA

As bolshevist armies were pushing eastward in 1920 across Siberia, Lenin renounced in a formal note all czarist territorial

¹¹ See p. 197.

claims and special rights. This excellent gesture did not prevent the Reds' absorption of Outer Mongolia as the White Russian armies retreated. North China watched the communist advance distrustfully, though in the South it was hailed with joy.

In January, 1923, there occurred a memorable meeting between Adolf Joffe, the Soviet diplomatic representative, and Sun Yat-sen. The Liberator no longer hoped for a Western "Lafayette" to help him; he concurred in Joffe's belief that China and Russia, both loyal allies, had been jointly betrayed at Versailles. Why should they not form a common policy? Commercial interests, powerful in the Kuomintang, would not permit open friendship with the Soviets, but Sun and Joffe did sign a statement repudiating imperialism and minimizing areas of rivalry.

Shortly afterward, the international revolutionist, Michael Borodin, was invited from Moscow to Canton as political adviser to the Kuomintang; he was able to bring Chinese Communists into the party and install Russian military advisers on the staff of the Whampoa Academy. The five-striped Republican banner was replaced by a flag bearing an eight-pointed star quartered on a red field.

JAPAN AIDS THE REVOLUTION

Japan's victory over Russia comforted all the Oriental peoples; in the years that followed it, Nippon, encumbered with war debts, took little part in the financial imperialism of the powers. Her popularity was a main reason why, when the Revolution began, nine tenths of all Chinese who studied overseas, were in Japan; most rulers of New China had at some time visited the Mikado's realm. There they were indoctrinated with Pan-Asian nationalism and enabled to contrast the strong Tokyo government with the faltering rule of the Ch'ings. Japan provided hospitality for conspirators, her police winking at their activities. There the Tung Meng Hui was founded. As the Revolution prospered, the Foreign Office offered, half seriously, a cadet prince of the imperial line to found a new dynasty, and it was rumored that almost every Chinese yamen was in rapport with Japanese agents.

But all mutual good will was sacrificed after the outbreak of the World War, when the seizure of Kiaocho Bay, the Twenty-

One Demands,¹² and steady encroachments upon Manchuria marked Japan as the principal foe of the Republic. From Mukden, financial bondage began to impose itself upon Peking: bribery masked as the Nishihara Loans held Premier Tuan Ch'i-jui and the Anfu government in line until 1919. Upon its collapse, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the former bandit completely in pawn to Japanese masters, became *tuchun* of Fengtien, summoning at need Japanese regular troops to defend him.

The Revolutionary South

While conservative interests were paramount in the North, South China became a promising theater of Communist International activity. Two large labor strikes in the Kailan coal fields and the Pehan Railway were bloodily suppressed by the northern *tuchuns*; but the Hong Kong seamen's strike was successful. In 1924 the Kuomintang, hitherto not unfriendly to the West, became avowedly anti-imperialist and expelled its moderate elements, led by Sun Yat-sen's own son, from Canton.

THE MAY 25 INCIDENT

Strikes against the Japanese cotton mills in Shantung, early in 1925, attracted sympathy in Shanghai; while labor was parading, a mob threatened to tear down the Nanking Road police station. The British police chief gave orders to fire. Among the casualties were university students, whose death outraged the popular Confucian reverence for the scholar class. The outburst following this May 25 incident spread across the nation and exceeded any anti-foreign demonstration since Boxer times.

An especially large protest march was held on the Canton River bund opposite the Anglo-French concessions on Shameen Island. Firing broke out between the paraders and concession guards. There followed a general strike which almost completely paralyzed the foreign communities in Canton and Hong Kong; an accompanying national boycott cut British trade in half. For the first time, native personnel in the police and militia could not be relied upon.

¹² See p. 336.

THE SECOND KUOMINTANG CONGRESS

Following this show of national solidarity, the Second Kuomintang Congress met on January 26, 1926, under firm control of its left wing. The congress voted for social reform, including a 25 per cent reduction in land-rent collection, minimum-price fixing for grain, and the abolition of usury. The radical drift was checked in a coup by Chiang K'ai-shek on March 30 which halted further infiltration of Communists into the Kuomintang. When he had thus consolidated his leadership, the young general set about to unify the nation.

The Record of the War Lords

By 1926, six *tuchun* armies were dividing the rule of central and northern China. Village crafts had everywhere been undermined by cheap Western imports; there were few new industries to support the displaced artisans, some of whom became the pauper labor of the treaty ports while the majority remained to join bandit gangs or accept the rice of war lords. Largely unpaid, they turned to looting or sold their services to the top bidder. If they felt any private sympathy, it was for the desperate tenant farmers.

Rusty broadswords had sufficed the Boxers; the gangsters of 1925 required machine guns and even war-surplus armored tanks and airplanes, purchasable in Western currency. Few legitimate tax sources were available to them; the salt gabelle was pledged to meet consortium loans; international maritime customs receipts were remitted to Peking.

They resorted to practices more ruthless than those of the mandarins. Land taxes rose and were collected for as much as twenty years in advance. Church foundation lands were quickly confiscated, and later the temple grounds. The presses printed bales of fiat money, which was forced upon merchants at the point of the bayonet. Wherever the plant would grow, fields of poppies flowered in the spring, for opium was a secure source of revenue, easily distributed; not a few peasants were executed for planting their land to food crops. An American consultant declared that there was—

No convincing evidence that China's present-day troubles are in any degree attributable to the so-called unequal treaties, or to the imperialistic attitude of the foreign powers . . . evidence seems to be overwhelming that the troubles of China today are internal, rather than external, and that unequal treaties, extraterritoriality, tariff autonomy, and imperialism are political slogans . . . to excite the people of China into a frenzy of criticism and unrest.¹²

The Northern March

Nationalist forces marched northward from Canton in July, 1926. They possessed hardly a piece of heavy fighting equipment but they felt confidence in their commander, Chiang K'ai-shek, and his staff of personally trained academy officers and Russian strategists. An "iron army" of former industrial strikers formed its tough core. Wang Ching-wei, Chiang's party rival, was political adviser. Their success was swifter than that of the Taip'ings; they reached the Yangtze—a march of seven hundred miles—in two months, multiplying their numbers through desertions. Great *tuchun* armies melted away as their peasant soldiers heard of Kuomintang reforms from advance propaganda agents who were often Communists.

Though Wu P'ei-fu defended the Wuhan cities in Central China, they fell quickly to the Iron Army on the fifteenth anniversary of the Double Ten (October 10, 1926). Columns of gunboats in the river held their fire while soldiers and proletarians looted the Hankow and Chinkiang British concessions. Neither was ever re-occupied; imperialism had begun its retreat.

THE NANKING AND SHANGHAI CRISES

Chiang then led the Nationalist main armies eastward, sweeping through the coastal provinces. Nanking and Shanghai fell to different assaults in March, 1927. Shanghai provided needed revenues—customs receipts together with promise of a ten-million-dollar loan from banking and industrial leaders.

The Central Executive Committee established itself in Hankow. China, in the spring of 1927, replaced Russia as the center of international revolution, and the world awaited almost hourly news

¹² Silas Strawn, quoted in H. B. Morse and H. F. MacNair, *For Eastern International Relations* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1931), p. 732.

of the sovietizing of the nation. An armed filibuster had become a historical movement.¹⁴

But extremists had overplayed their hand and when, in Nanking, left-wing Nationalist soldiers ran amuck, killing three foreigners, the Western patrol fleet swung into action and sent ashore marines to establish order. More significantly, Chiang K'ai-shek was finding further cooperation with the Communists impossible. The Shanghai proletariat, swarming from their warrens along Soochow Creek, rose as he approached the metropolis; Tsuchun Sun Chuan-fang's *gendarmerie* mercilessly suppressed them, Chiang declined to intervene, halting in the suburbs until Sun had retreated; he then completed the White Terror, executing thousands of overt or suspected Communists.

CHIANG'S TRIUMPH

Three weeks later an equally thorough purge of radical elements was carried through in Canton, and raids ordered upon the Soviet consulates in Shanghai, Canton, and Peking. The Wuhan faction denounced Chiang for "massacre of the people, oppression of the party . . . reactionary acts and courses," and then dissolved as Borodin and his military attaché, Blucher (later, the Russian Far Eastern commander), left China. Madame Sun Yat-sen and other Wuhan leaders followed them to Moscow; for a time the sovietization of China was halted.

Chiang himself resigned his command in August to "go abroad and study" in Japan. But after several months of wrangling it became evident that no other leader could direct the Revolution. Invited to return after a few months, Chiang assumed the rank of generalissimo of the Nationalist armies, an office he has retained unbrokenly for over thirty years.

The events of 1927 revealed Chiang's matured political philosophy. Deciding between the marsh-fire promises of proletarian hegemony and a course of cooperation with the West, he made the conservative choice. Its implementation was ruthless; during a single year, he liquidated twenty-five thousand of his former allies, the Chinese Communists, and a quarter million of their followers. The National Labor Federation, which once counted

¹⁴ The period is brilliantly described by Vincent Sheehan in his book, *Personal History* (Garden City: Doubleday Doran, 1937).

three million members, lost nearly all of its support. Political unification of China was halted, and the heirs of Sun Yat-sen split themselves permanently into liberal and Marxian factions. But with the arrest of the commune, democracy in China received a twenty-year reprieve.

Leading from strength, Chiang launched his most popular national policy: the annulment of "unequal treaties." His *tuchun* predecessors had in 1926 induced a minor power, Belgium, to renounce its special privileges. In Nanking, late the next year, the generalissimo warned that he would recognize no agreements with any pre-Kuomintang government. He listed as five aims of Nationalist foreign policy tariff autonomy, exclusion of foreign shipping from China's coastal and internal waterways, recovery of foreign settlements and leaseholds, withdrawal of foreign troops from China, and an end to extraterritoriality—going as far as to set January 1, 1932, as the date by which foreigners must submit themselves to Chinese law and dissolve all but a few of their courts.

THE FALL OF CHANG TSO-LIN

At the beginning of 1928, the powers continued to recognize the Peking authority of the Japanese puppet, Chang Tso-lin. His fellow *tuchuns*, the "left" militarists, Yen Hsi-shan of Honan Province and Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General," swung to the Nationalist cause as the generalissimo crossed the Yangtze. He met resistance only in Shantung, from Japanese railway garrison, which had been strongly reinforced.¹⁵

The respite was without value to Chang Tso-lin; his army became demoralized by Nationalist propaganda. Probably his masters in Tokyo no longer trusted the old marshal himself. Making no effort to defend Peking, he entrained for Manchuria; but he was destined never to reach his home. A bomb explosion shattered his private car and killed him not far from Mukden.¹⁶ His son, the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang, inherited his domain.

Yen and Feng declared for the Nationalist cause and hoisted the

¹⁵ When Chiang protested to the League of Nations, his plea was rejected on the ground that he did not represent the recognized government of China.

¹⁶ Chang's death is ascribed definitely to Japanese intrigue, operating through a treacherous aide of the Marshal.—See James Bertram, *First Act in China* (New York: Viking, 1937), p. 43.

Kuomintang tricolor above the yellow-tiled roofs of Peking; the city was stripped of its power, even its classical name, becoming Peip'ing, "The Pacified North." Chiang ruled from Nanking over all China; only the far southwest and a few communist enclaves challenged the authority of the Nationalist government.

Kuomintang Government

The weakness of the union soon appeared: it was a coalition of satraps rather than a central state. Feng Yu-hsiang presently wearied of his Christian role and moved toward Soviet Russia. Though accepting the title of Secretary of War, Feng failed to proceed against a formidable revolt in Kwangsi and Kwangtung—the starting point of the Northern March.

The Young Marshal became involved in a private and disastrous war with the Bolsheviks when he attempted in 1929 to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway. And there was disaffection in Hunan and Hupeh, the strategic middle South. The generalissimo confessed to the Third Kuomintang Congress:

It is not possible to say that China is now really united, for provincial governors are acting independently . . . often dictating terms to [the central authority] by virtue of their military strength.¹⁷

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

In exact terms, the financial chaos that swallowed up the empire now threatened the Republic. Its land taxation base included Shanghai and a few contiguous provinces, yielding perhaps thirty million dollars, a sum insufficient for civilian state services. Elsewhere, revenues belonged to militarists whose loyalty could be purchased only with "silver bullets."¹⁸ Chiang owed his bankers sixty million dollars, and the cost of all the standing armies was nearly two hundred million dollars. Financial leaders called a conference in 1929 for the purpose of balancing the budget. The presiding officer was Finance Minister T. V. Soong, Chiang's brother-in-law. It voted to cut all military forces by half and place these under central control, resettling demobilized troops on desert

¹⁷ Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 592.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 603-05.

lands or employing them in public works. The war lords signed the agreement but held their armies intact. Feng and Yen no longer concealed their hostility; Wang Ch'ing-wei installed himself in Peip'ing as champion of "pure Sun Yat-senism"; and financial leaders began to regard T. V. Soong as the only executive able to end military waste.

Chiang's resort was to the foreign powers, postponing indefinitely his five-point nationalization plans. The Soong family preferred dealing in the United States; a Wall Street delegation visited Nanking but, though the loan was tied to attractive industrial contracts, declined to enter a bid. American investors were profit-minded; they could not jeopardize their capital for political advantage. British interests made proposals that later came to nothing. There remained the Japanese, who had three times provided a haven in exile for Chiang—and proved openhanded in exchanging loans for influence and concessions.

But Japan no longer responded to the leadership of her bankers. Continental policy had passed under control of the Kwantung army, massed in Korea and the Liaotung Peninsula; its masters were wearying of palaver and of dealing with puppets, and they trusted the Young Marshal no more than his father. Japan's financial mortgages upon the huge eastern provinces had yielded too little return. It was time to throw the samurai sword into the scale. On September 18, 1931, following a well contrived bomb plot, the army struck across the Yalu and seized the rich lands of Manchuria. The Revolution for human rights and self-government in China gave way to a struggle for existence.¹⁰

¹⁰ For a fuller discussion of the Manchurian Incident, see pp. 380-84.

The First World War and Its Settlements

✿ The present gigantic struggle in Europe has no parallel in history . . . its results will create in the political and social world a new era . . . now is the most opportune moment for Japan to solve the Chinese question. Such an opportunity will not occur for hundreds of years to come. Not only is it Japan's divine duty to act now, but present conditions favour the execution of such a plan. We should by all means decide to act at once.

Memorial of the Black Dragon Society
Delivered to the Japanese Government, 1914

✿ Japan is going to take advantage of this war to get control of China.

Yuan Shih-k'ai to the U. S. minister, 1914

Japan Makes War

LINES OF cleavage of World War I were apparent by 1910 in the Far East. England, Russia, and France were linked by treaties to Japan; Germany had no East Asian allies. However, Japan had a *casus belli* under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance only if Britain's possessions were attacked. On August 12, 1914, the German ambassador in Tokyo gave assurance that the German East Asiatic Squadron would "commit no hostile acts

against England" if Japan remained neutral. Premier Okuma nevertheless presented an ultimatum on the fifteenth demanding the unconditional surrender of the Kiaochow colony "to China." It was followed by a declaration of war. Okuma professed that "Japan has no desire to secure more territory and no thought of depriving China or other Peoples of anything which they now possess."¹

JAPAN BUILDS A PACIFIC EMPIRE

The militarists and the patriotic societies were less idealistic. To attack the fortress of Tsingtau, Japanese troops marched through Chinese territory, as von Kluck marched across Belgium, ignoring Peking's neutrality declaration. The city fell after a two-month siege, though the German Asiatic naval squadron escaped, to inflict serious losses on Allied shipping before it was destroyed.² Chinese demands for retrocession of the colony passed unheeded; Japan cited her "immense sacrifice in blood and money" (two thousand casualties in all) as warrant for holding Tsingtau and occupying the former German railway zone.

Naval forces of the British Dominions occupied all of the German Pacific islands during the early weeks of the war. Those north of the equator—all purchased from Spain in 1898—were transferred to Japan; they included the Marianas (formerly the Ladrões) north of Guam, the Marshall atolls and the Caroline chain. Japan's new Pacific empire had a total land area of one small county, but it strategically dominated the entire quadrant of the North Pacific between Hawaii and the Philippines.

The Imperial Navy agreed to convoy Anzac troops and supplies as far as Suez, and Japan provided ship tonnage and munitions for the Allies at inflated war prices (meanwhile taking over their markets in Asia, Africa, and South America). But, though invited and even urged to send an expeditionary force, she steadily declined; not a drop of Japanese blood was spilled on the European battlefields.

¹ Morse and McNair, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

² The main fleet was, after some successes, sunk by British task force off the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic. The cruiser *Emden*, detached earlier, engaged in spectacular commerce raiding career before being destroyed in the Indian Ocean.

THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS

The grand strategy of Japan became plain when, on January 18, 1915, her minister in Peking served the Twenty-One Demands upon the Chinese government. These were arranged in five groups. The first assigned to Japan all of the territory and privileges which Germany had ever claimed in Shantung. The second extended the Liaotung leasehold, due to expire in 1923, and the Manchurian Railway concession to ninety-nine years; and it granted commercial privileges in Inner Mongolia.

Group Three affirmed Hanyehping Iron Works,³ China's single heavy-industry complex, to be a "joint concern" of the two nations. Group Four excluded third powers from establishing naval facilities on the China Coast. The final series of demands would have permitted Japanese to serve as political and military advisers, Buddhist missionaries, and metropolitan police chiefs. Imperial arsenals were to supply at least 50 per cent of China's armament imports; and Japan was granted a territorial sphere of influence on the Fukien coast opposite Formosa and in upper Kiangsi Province.

President Yuan Shih-k'ai temporized, hoping for Western support, until on May 9 Tokyo demanded quick acceptance of groups One to Four. Yuan himself capitulated a fortnight afterward, but his consent was never ratified by Parliament or recognized by public opinion. Though denounced by China, these unilateral agreements of 1915 were for three decades quoted *de jure* by Japanese diplomats. The United States and Japan's Entente allies were, hardly less than China, victims of the new *Realpolitik*. The Demands scaled the Open Door, threatened intercourse between Shanghai and Canton through the Formosa straits, menaced the Philippines and the Chinese Eastern Railway, and mocked British hegemony in the Yangtze Valley.⁴

DIPLOMATIC INTRIGUE

The diplomatic record reveals further evidence that Japan viewed the war less as a crusade against Prussianism than as an oppor-

³ See p. 274.

⁴ A letter between Tokyo and the Peking embassy admitted Japan's intention of eliminating the Western powers and revealed that the demands had been drafted ten years before.—See Dallin, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

tunity to suppress Republican China and weaken the white powers in East Asia and the Southwest Pacific.

During July, 1916, the Romanoff government, nearing the end of its resources, placed large arms orders in Japan: the contract was drawn to include a secret protocol in which the two agreed "to safeguard China from the political domination of any third power"—a pact almost certainly directed against America.⁵ Two months afterward Britain was castigated in the press for opposition to the Twenty-One Demands. If the Zimmerman letter is authentic,⁶ Japan was prepared, had von Tirpitz' submarine blockade proved decisive, to switch sides and join the Central Powers.

Only in May, 1917, when American participation made the Allied victory fairly certain, did Japan send destroyer squadrons into the active war zone of the eastern Mediterranean. For this service she exacted secret pledges that England, France, and Italy would support at the peace conference Japanese claims to permanent retention of Germany's Shantung and insular interests.

The United States remained outside of the web of these understandings. But in November, 1917, the State Department strengthened Japan's position by signing the Lansing-Ishii Agreement; this recognized Japan's "special interest in China," particularly those parts contiguous to Korea. The agreement was followed by the appointment of a Japanese civilian government in Shantung and further contraction of American trading opportunities in Manchuria.⁷

DUAL DIPLOMACY IN TOKYO

When the Armistice was signed, it became apparent that Japan, alone among the powers, had benefited by four years of disaster. Germany, Russia, and China had collapsed; the Western Allies were preoccupied in Europe. Japan's military expansionists seemed to have fulfilled their dream, and immense war profits were being invested in further rearmament. War was declared by the liberal premier Okuma, the Sage of Waseda, a lifelong admirer of British

⁵ If the "third power" was Germany, secrecy of the document was unnecessary. The Bolsheviks, in publishing the treaty, assumed that it was anti-American.—See Morse and MacNair, *op. cit.*, p. 588.

⁶ A letter directed to the German Embassy in Mexico City and intercepted by the Wilson government early in 1917.

⁷ Morse and MacNair, *op. cit.*, pp. 599-600.

parliamentary institutions. The farce was played through by his successor, Terauchi, one of the army leaders who felt more than a professional regard for their European counterparts, the Prussian *Junkers*. The war brought to a climax the dual diplomacy that had confounded Japanese statecraft since the days of Ito and Yamagata. Objections in the Diet to the reckless Twenty-One Demands were stifled through military pressures, and it is doubtful if the civilian Foreign Office was even aware of the Nishihara Loans used to corrupt China during the last months of the war.⁸

China Enters the War

China was in 1914, like the United States, not linked in alliance to any of the belligerent nations. At the outset of the war, Allied statesmen were hesitant about inviting Chinese intervention: an efficiently militarized China might prove intractable, and her seizure of German colonies and concessions could set a dangerous precedent. By the end of 1915, England and France were willing to accept any ally, but Japan still objected to placing China upon a war footing.

The crisis of the Twenty-One Demands paralyzed the Peking government for some months; shortly afterward, Yuan Shih-k'ai's bid for the throne and his abdication centered attentions upon domestic politics. A number of incidents in 1916 prejudiced opinion against the Allies,⁹ but Germany may have suffered more from the British "corpse factory" propaganda myth which charged her with desecrating the bodies of battlefield casualties—an unimaginable offense to Confucian morality.

A more substantial injury was the drowning in March, 1917, of five hundred Chinese on the torpedoed French liner *Athos*; this precipitated a rupture of diplomatic relations with Berlin. But Parliament, distrusting the government, refused to grant it full war powers. Premier Tuan Ch'i-jui dissolved the legislature, and during the resulting confusion the imperialist commander, Chang Hsün, replaced the ten-year-old Pu Yi on the Dragon Throne and,

⁸ Chitoshi Yanaga, *Japan Since Perry* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), p. 364.

⁹ Cossacks massacred four hundred Chinese near the Sinkiang border, France seized a part of the city of Tientsin, and there were clashes with Japanese patrols in Inner Mongolia.

for the last time, paraded a pigtailed banner army through the venerable city. Tuan regained control, surrounding himself with the pliant politicians known as the Anfu Clique. The declaration of war was easily obtained on August 14, 1917.

There was no thought of sending Chinese troops to Europe, though many thousands of coolies were recruited as labor battalions behind the Western Front. The grateful allies permitted China to cancel Boxer indemnity payments due from Germany, and suspend all others for five years. German concessions and commercial properties were forfeited, including forty thousand tons of interned shipping. President Wilson's championship of the rights of small nations held out hope that China would regain Shantung at the peace conference.

Japan, unable to keep China from entering the conflict, supervised her war efforts through a Sino-Japanese War Participation Board. Some arms were dispatched to Peking armies—which, if they did not threaten the Germans, proved useful in checking the Kuomintang; in May, 1918, the two nations signed a military and naval pact. Patriotic Chinese protested against the Lansing-Ishii Agreement and the rumored secret deals between the Allies and Japan. But government action was headed off by the unsecured Nishihara Loans to Tuan and his colleagues.

The First Settlement: Versailles

Japan suffered 1 per cent of the Allies' maritime losses and less than a thousandth of their manpower casualties. Yet she was ranked among the Big Five.¹⁰ Her delegation to Paris for the Peace Conference was headed by Prince Saionji Kimmoji, the Elder Statesman who, as a Latin Quarter student, had watched the establishment of the Third Republic. His three subordinates were the ambassadors to England, France, and Italy. China dispatched a quartet headed by Mr. Wellington Koo, a statesman of West Indian-Chinese birth.

JAPAN RETAINS HER CONQUESTS

Japan's objective was to retain all territorial and economic gains. Her brief was based upon Chinese "consent" to the agree-

¹⁰ Though not in the later Big Four, in which Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd-George, and Orlando represented their countries.

ments of 1915 and upon the compacts of 1917 with the Allies—now revealed to Woodrow Wilson for the first time. Wilson, committed to a doctrine of "government by the consent of the governed," could not favor the alienation of Chinese territory against the wish of the entire population.

Count Makino retorted shrewdly that almost every Chinese treaty with the West had been signed under duress. Should all of them be now renounced? The European powers could not, indeed, repudiate methods they had used for eighty years, and they were bound by their secret guarantees. After the Tokyo delegation threatened to boycott the conference, Wilson gave in, and articles 156–158 of the Versailles Treaty transferred German interests in China to Japan.

She had less difficulty in securing the German Pacific islands. The Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas were awarded to her as League of Nations mandates in trust for the native peoples to be kept unfortified and subject to inspection by the League. Japan's third objective was the outlawing of "distinctions either in law or fact, on account of race or nationality." Though fully backed by China, this racial-equality resolution was lost through opposition of the British Dominions.¹¹ But Japan's gains were worth a single setback; on October 30, 1919, the emperor affixed his seal to the Versailles Treaty.

CHINESE HUMILIATION

China's loss of Shantung led to the gigantic May fourth demonstrations which brought down the Anfu government and forced some of its members into exile. The uprising was led by students, now become more "politically conscious" than they had been for centuries.¹² It rose to a crescendo on National Humiliation Day, September 7—anniversary of the Boxer Treaty. China never ratified the Versailles Treaty, though she signed a separate peace with Germany in 1921; by participating in the Austrian Treaty of Trianon, she acquired a seat in the League of Nations.

¹¹ The vote of the League Executive Council was 11-6 in its favor; however, unanimous approval was necessary.

¹² For instance, Tsinghua University in Peking suspended publication of its annual, the *Tsinghuapper*, for two years, while the staff was immersed in political demonstrations.

Postwar Turmoil in Central Asia

MONGOLIA FALLS TO THE REDS

Little rapport was established between Outer Mongolia, a state governed by living Buddhas, and the secular Chinese Republic. Its autonomy was recognized in 1913 by China and Russia, though two years later the Chinese were able by the Treaty of Kiakhta to regain nominal sovereignty. In 1918, the Anfu government, anxious to regain prestige it had lost in Shantung, sent to Urga four thousand troops who forcibly overthrew the Mongol hierarchy.

Abuses by the occupation army deepened the people's traditional hatred of China. In August, 1920, the White Russian commander, Ungern von Sternberg, retreating from Siberia, easily ejected the Anfu forces. Von Sternberg, a mystical fanatic descended from the Teutonic knights, dreamed of creating a Central Asian empire extending to the Urals with himself as its Genghis Khan.¹⁸ His mission miscarried within a year, when he was defeated by the Reds and shot. Claiming that the steppes below their border had become a base for White guerrillas, the Bolsheviks then declared a permanent protectorate over Outer Mongolia.

THE ALLIES ENTER SIBERIA

After the czarist empire had collapsed, the Maritime Province and Amur River territories offered a tempting continental beach-head to the Japanese. Only a month after the 1917 October Revolution, Japan signified her intention of "preserving order" in Siberia; some weeks later, Japanese, British, French, and American fleet units were in Vladivostok.

During the war, many Czechoslovak regiments in the Austro-Hungarian Army had surrendered to the Russians. Stranded in prisoner-of-war camps after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, they dared not be recaptured by the Central Powers but could not endure Bolshevik rule. Their only route of escape was eastward across Asia. By the summer of 1918, their vanguard was in Vladivostok,

¹⁸ The baron is discussed unfavorably by General William S. Graves in his book *America's Siberian Adventure 1918-20* (New York: J. C. Smith, 1931); in a kindly way but with doubtful historical truth by Ferdinand Ossendowski, *Gods, Men, and Beasts* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1922).

and a hundred thousand other Czechs were strung across the immense length of Asiatic Russia.

An American expeditionary force totaling about seven thousand five hundred men, and smaller British and French contingents, arrived in Siberia to protect their evacuation. Japanese troops joined them, in operational rather than token strength. The Western forces in Siberia had no orders to fight bolshevism; in fact, the American commander, General William S. Graves, considered it his mission to protect the area against Japanese seizure.¹⁴ Japan's movements were, in fact, little related to evacuation of the Czechs: the Imperial Navy occupied Nikolaievsk, eight hundred miles north of Vladivostok, and the island communities of northern Sakhalin; gunboats bombarded Slavic villages far up the Amur. When army forces, whose numbers reached seventy-two thousand, penetrated as far as Lake Baikal, it became evident that a continental adventure more ambitious than the seizure of Shantung was in prospect. Among the White Russian factions, the Japanese backed the minor chieftains, Semeonov and Kalmikov, who seemed most willing to collaborate with them. By so doing they doomed Admiral Kolchak, the one commander capable of defeating the Bolsheviks.

With the Czechs safely embarked, the Western detachments and half of the Japanese withdrew early in 1920; the Tokyo civilian Cabinet was willing to terminate an expensive adventure. But the General Staff had marked down the huge zone east of Irkutsk as a sphere of conquest; without consulting the Foreign Office, War Minister Tanaka Giichi sent fresh troops to maintain "political stability" on the continent.

THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC

After Kolchak's death, a right-wing partisan government at Chita claimed to rule the Trans-Baikal region, calling its domain the Far Eastern Republic. This republic professed to be democratic and independent of Moscow. It won some favor in the United States by holding out promises of rich concessions; and it was sufficiently well regarded in Tokyo to be invited to a conference

¹⁴ Soviet propaganda accusing the "capitalist" powers of wanton attack upon the maritime provinces has no factual base. The U. S. and Great Britain may more truly be said to have saved Siberia from annexation.

at Dairen in August, 1921. Japan offered to recognize the Far Eastern Republic on condition that it repudiate the Soviet Union, disarm itself, and grant the Japanese rights of exploitation—accepting a status hardly differing from that of Korea in 1905. After debating the terms for six months, the partisans rejected them.

A Second Settlement: the Washington Conferences

The U. S. Republican administration, which repudiated the Versailles Treaty, by no means intended to withdraw from Far Eastern diplomacy. Shortly after his appointment in 1921, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes drafted plans for a conference designed to pacify Asia and end the postwar naval construction race.¹⁵

Invitations were extended to all Pacific powers—pointedly excluding the Far Eastern Republic. The initial plenary session of the conference was convened in Washington on the third anniversary of Armistice Day, November 11, 1921. Subsequent separate meetings produced three distinct treaties and a number of subsidiary agreements,

THE FIVE-POWER NAVAL TREATY

Mr. Hughes' principal objective was world-wide naval limitation through the fixing of tonnage ratios for capital ships.¹⁶ The Five-Power Treaty, signed on February 6, set a ratio of 5 for the two-ocean navies of Great Britain and the United States, as against 3 for Japan—enough to make her paramount in the western Pacific. France and Italy, whose navies were restricted to defense missions, accepted a 1.75 ratio. Though there were professional outcries against her "inferior allotment," Japan was generously treated. She was obliged to scrap only half as many vessels as was the United States; and to increase her security, Britain and the United States agreed to add no new naval bases west of Hawaii to their installations at Manila and Singapore. To limit their striking range, battleships could not exceed thirty-five thousand tons in size nor cruisers, ten thousand tons.

¹⁵ It may be noted that since the annexation of the Philippines, the Republican Party has tended to follow an "Asia First," and the Democratic Party a "Europe First," rule.

¹⁶ Battleships, as well as the new and unfamiliar aircraft carriers.

THE FOUR-POWER ARBITRATION TREATY

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, due to lapse in 1923 and mistrusted by the United States and the Pacific dominions, was canceled in favor of a Four-Power Arbitration Treaty. The United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France pledged themselves to convene for "full and frank discussion" if aggression threatened the Pacific area.

THE NINE-POWER GUARANTEE OF CHINA

Concurrently, the four powers met with five lesser states to reiterate the Open Door policy. For the first time, China was herself a party to the discussions. A nine-power compact abjured "special privilege" in favor of "equal opportunity"; it guaranteed the sovereignty of China and pledged her "opportunity . . . for the creation of a stable government."

Such phrases had in twenty-five years of anarchy been drained of much of their meaning. The Chinese delegates called for their immediate implementation: let Japan, Britain, and France surrender their colonial holdings.¹⁷ They pressed also for tariff adjustment, alleging that the rate had fallen to an effective 3½ per cent.

CHINA REGAINS SHANTUNG

After the frustrations of Versailles, China gained tangible benefits at Washington. Her tariff rates were doubled. More significantly, after thirty-six sessions of argument, Japan agreed to evacuate Kiochow Bay and sell the Shantung Railway by January 1, 1923. Her subjects retained their private property interests, so that Tsingtau remained a Japanese manufacturing and distributing center.

A few bilateral agreements accompanied the Washington protocols. The United States received rights of residence and cable operation on Yap Island, in the Japanese-mandated Carolines. China, resuming Boxer indemnity payments in 1922, was compelled to make payments to France in gold rather than depreciated paper francs. Her setback in the gold franc controversy was com-

¹⁷ The port of Wei-hai-wei, for example, should have been returned to China in 1906, since the leasehold was granted for only as long as Russia remained in Port Arthur. Actually, Wei-hai-wei was retained by England until 1930.

pensated by America's grant of six million dollars in indemnity payments for "development of scientific knowledge in China."

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

At Washington the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Lansing-Ishii Agreement were superseded. China sat, for almost the first time, as a respected member of a Far Eastern conference, making substantial gains. The brusque behavior of Japan's representatives gave her a "bad press"; at the same time, naval jingoists in Tokyo decried that the pacts were a "beginning of war." They had actually little cause for complaint: Japan renounced only the fifth group of the Twenty-One Demands and remained entrenched in Manchuria; her navy was absolute mistress of the seas west of the International Date Line.

THE SOVIETS REACH THE PACIFIC

Japan's only strategic setbacks followed the Washington Conference. In September, 1922, following the fruitless negotiations at Dairen, representatives of Japan, the Far Eastern Republic, and Moscow met at Ch'angchun. Here Japan agreed to evacuate continental Siberia, though not northern Sakhalin. In November, the Republic entered the Soviet Union. Once again a monolithic land power, more threatening than the empire of Nicholas II, stretched between the Baltic and the Straits of Tartary, blocking the gateway to Asia.

Effects of World War I: Economic

No scars of combat were left anywhere in eastern Asia; every community felt the stimulus of war demand; plantation and mineral products from the southern lands sold at unprecedented prices. In the Philippines, for example, foreign trade tripled in value. Earnings of coolies in France greatly increased the flow of remittances to China, so that for a short time the Peking dollar out-valued the American.

JAPAN INDUSTRIALIZES

Agriculture and industry in Japan were in 1913 equal in production value. Manufacturing and mining nearly quadrupled during the war, and by 1930 accounted for over two thirds of the

national output. Export volume valued at ¥632,000,000 in 1913 rose to ¥2,300,000,000 in 1925;¹⁸ that of finished goods increased four and one-half times over. Manufactured goods now formed 90 per cent of all exports and only 20 per cent of imports. Cut off from European supplies in 1915, the manufacturers of Nippon formed their own Association for the Production of Domestic Products, which soon began to meet not only local demand but that of the Asian market.

Heavy industry was especially encouraged: when steel imports from England were embargoed, Japan exempted her mills from all taxation. Income from ocean carrying increased tenfold. Japan's war losses of shipping were replaced twelve times over; construction yards declared dividends of 25 to 100 per cent, and steamship lines averaged 90 per cent. Financial improvement was no less remarkable. The national debt rose by only \$350,000,000 (a hundredth of the American increase). Foreign indebtedness decreased, and the yen hardly fluctuated in value. After thirty years of unfavorable trade balance, Japan achieved huge export surpluses.

THE TEN-YEAR BALANCE SHEET

With the end of the war boom, agrarian and labor disorder was rife. Acute food shortages led to the most serious rice riots of the century, complicated by the new communist doctrines. The war that enriched Japanese land proprietors greatly weakened their authority; there were in 1921 unprecedented numbers of tenancy disputes, and in the next year, the Japan Farmers' Union was organized. Activities of the League of Nations International Labor Office speeded industrial unionization, and led to the establishment of a labor section in the Social Affairs Bureau of the Home Ministry.²⁰ The national Factory Code, hitherto a dead letter, became effective; and workmen agitated for wages more in line with Western rates.

As European manufacturers regained their former markets and tariffs rose against Japanese goods, prosperity leveled off. A ten-year balance sheet shows that Japan took a net war profit of a bil-

¹⁸ *Japanese Trade and Industry*, Mitsubishi Research Bureau (London: Macmillan, 1936), p. 208.

²⁰ Note that in the United States labor became a full executive department.

lion dollars; of this, perhaps seventy-five million dollars disappeared in the Nishihara Loans; four hundred million dollars was sacrificed in the equally fruitless Siberian Expedition.²¹ Most of the remainder was lost in the Tokyo-Yokohama earthquake disaster of 1923. Thereafter, imports once more surpassed exports, and by 1926 specie reserves were nearly exhausted. There was, however, much permanent benefit from the war boom. Japan's industrial skills advanced, and manufacturing capital increased steadily during the 1920's.

Within the industrial system, cartels multiplied. Cotton weaving was dominated by two firms only, insurance and banking by five. Mitsui owned a seventh of all corporate wealth, and three fourths of it was controlled in some way by the Big Four: Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda. A second notable trend was the construction of branch factories in Japan by American corporations. These increased national output and provided sympathetic business contacts in the strained political atmosphere of the postwar decades.

Effects of the War: Political

When Premier Okuma resigned in 1916, the Elder Statesmen conferred his post upon Count Terauchi, former military governor of Chosen. His Siberian fiasco was strongly opposed by Diet politicians; and his government collapsed altogether when Terauchi attempted to suppress domestic food riots by the methods he had used against refractory Koreans.

JAPAN: A LIBERAL MINISTRY

Saionji was personally instrumental in choosing the next prime minister,²² his own associate, Hara Takeshi, president of the Seiyukai Party. Two precedents were set: Hara was the first commoner to rule Japan, and he was the first premier to derive his power from the will of a party majority: 60 per cent of the Diet supported him.

²¹ Whose casualty roll of twelve thousand far exceeded losses in the war with Germany.

²² Three elder statesmen were so designated during the Taisho era: Yamagata, Matsukata, and Saionji, who was appointed imperial adviser after resigning the presidency of the Seiyukai Party; Yamagata and Matsukata died by 1924, leaving Saionji for nearly two decades the only elder statesman.

Entering office during the last weeks of the World War, Hara promptly terminated military rule in Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria. His program favored education, and rail and highway construction, though he insured himself with conservatives by making an aggressively nationalist stand at Versailles. He was killed by a patriotic assassin shortly before the Washington Conference.²³ Two admirals succeeded him: Kato Tomosaburo and Yamamoto Gombei (who had held the office briefly in 1911). Their policies were completely overshadowed by the earthquake emergency.

Yamamoto was followed in June, 1924, by the most enlightened statesman of the Taisho era;²⁴ Kato Takaaki, the twenty-fifth premier of the fiftieth Diet convened under the Meiji constitution.²⁵ Kato was a plain-spoken antimilitarist; he enjoyed the support of a triparty coalition and profited by the unification of national effort in the wake of the 1923 disaster.

UNIVERSAL MANHOOD SUFFRAGE

Kato's program reduced the bureaucracy by one hundred thousand; there followed national health insurance and other social welfare legislation. Its climax was the passage of the Universal Manhood Suffrage Law, which quadrupled the electorate.²⁶

Kato carried postwar liberalism to its high tide, bringing Japan into line with progressive political thought. "Dual government" had been repudiated in the Siberian withdrawal, the scrapping of half-a-million tons of capital ships, and the return of two thousand army officers to reserve status. The "emperor's uniform" no longer was flaunted in swaggering pride; the House of Peers was reformed to include members of the National Academy. Party politicians with a constructive business outlook dominated the Diet and the Cabinet. The premier's death early in 1926 precluded more comprehensive reforms.

²³ The reason given for the crime was that Hara showed "disrespect" to the Imperial Navy by serving as navy secretary ad interim during the conference.

²⁴ Period name for the reign of Yoshihito, 1912 to 1926.

²⁵ The constitution, having operated for only thirty-five years, the average longevity of a Diet was nine months and of a premier, eighteen months—less than the corresponding figures for governments under the French Third Republic.

²⁶ Only a fourth of potential voters paid the minimum \$1.50 of national taxes previously required for the franchise.

THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION ACT

The progressive trend was checked by passage of the 1924 Johnson Immigration Bill, which totally excluded the Japanese along with all other East Asians.²⁷ Resentment against the United States led to the opening of negotiations with Russia. In January, 1925, diplomatic relations were resumed after a lapse of seven years. The two powers accepted the Portsmouth settlement (1905) which returned northern Sakhalin to Russia; but they repudiated all czarist commitments signed after 1910. Further to appease indignant nationalists, Kato sponsored a repressive Peace Preservation Law which placed firm checks upon freedom of political assembly.

The Later Settlements

Japan played a cooperative part in the third series of settlements designed to relieve the postwar international tensions. Late in 1927 she met with Britain and France at Geneva for inconclusive talks on arms limitations; and in 1930 signed the London Naval Treaty extending the five-five-three tonnage ratios for a six-year period. She subscribed in 1928 to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, verbally outlawing war. Extremists insisted that its sanction "in the names of the respective peoples" was disrespectful to the emperor's authority; but liberals overruled them.

The Effects of Wilsonian Idealism

None of President Wilson's Fourteen Points applied specifically to East Asia. Nevertheless, his clarion demand for "self-determination of peoples" and the "rights of smaller nations" stirred subject peoples everywhere and shook the colonial system.

THE KOREANS DECLARE THEIR INDEPENDENCE

Japan emphasized cultural assimilation in its government of Korea after 1910: nearly all daily newspapers were printed in

²⁷ Application of the quotas allowed to white immigrants—2 per cent of the national origin of 1890—would have admitted only two hundred Japanese per year. Total exclusion seemed therefore like a gratuitous insult. The Diet met objections based on "dual nationality" with a new nationality law authorizing Japanese-Americans to renounce their fealty to the emperor.

Japanese, and the language was made compulsory in schools. Japanese teachers carried their swords into the classrooms; the government-general edited and published textbooks. At the same time, royal, community, and temple lands passed via the Oriental Development Company into Japanese ownership. Rights of protest and of free assembly did not exist. When, at Versailles, three Korean-Americans asked for permission to represent their ancestral land they were denied passports; Korea was not mentioned in the treaty.

While the conference was in progress, therefore, the conquered nation made its own courageous gesture. The deposed Emperor Yi Hyung died early in 1919, reputedly chagrined at the betrothal of his son Prince Kon to the Princess Nashimoto. National mourning rites were accompanied by anti-Japanese demonstrations; a declaration of independence was signed on March 1 by thirty-three Korean leaders—fifteen of them Christians. Response was nationwide and generally peaceful, though suppressed in some areas with brutality. The signers were imprisoned or driven into exile. Their action did, however, move the Hara government to reform the colonial administration and create an advisory council of native Koreans.

THE PHILIPPINES WIN HOME RULE

Early in his term of office, President Wilson appointed eight Filipinos to the nine-man governing commission in Manila. The Jones Act of 1916 dissolved it altogether, setting up a bicameral legislature of American type, with a franchise that included half the male population. The governor-general retained veto power, but Wilson's appointee, Burton Harrison, sympathized with nationalist aspirations. When, during the war, nearly all United States troops were evacuated, most of their duties were assumed by the native constabulary.

The Harding administration proved more heavy-handed. Its representative, General Leonard Wood, fitted the pattern of the nineteenth-century colonial administrator; Filipino politicians appealed without success for his recall. After Wood's death in 1927, Governor Henry Stimson proved more cooperative. Numerous high executive appointments went to native candidates, and living standards became the highest in Asia. Insular patriots did not

cease, formally at least, to lobby for independence—an aspiration fully indorsed by United States beet-sugar producers, who were anxious to shut cheap Luzon “coolie-grown” cane sugar from the American market.

Colonialism Retreats in Southeast Asia

INDO-CHINA

To make good her manpower losses, France trained one hundred thousand Annamese for service in Europe; not a few of their Chinese-marked tablets may be seen among the crosses in the war cemeteries of Verdun and Chemin des Dames. Four Annamite companies took part in the Siberian occupation. The wartime administration of M. Albert Sarraut won much good will in the colonies; its postwar successor gave the vote to tax-paying Annamites and included twenty-five Asians among the sixty members of the Colonial Administrative Council. Indo-China was developing into an administrative and distribution center for the French Pacific empire. Laborers from Annam worked the plantations of Tahiti and New Caledonia.

BURMA

Few Burmese saw war service abroad. After 1923, three fourths of the legislative council were elected by popular choice. The council had wide powers outside of the “reserved” areas—defense, law and order, finance and revenue. Householders voted, male and female, above the age of eighteen, enjoying the world’s most generous franchise. However, nationalists pressed for steadily enlarged self-rule. The influx of Hindu laborers caused an especially strong demand for total separation from India. The colony was administratively separated from India in 1937.²⁸

MALAYA

Malaya profited especially by the war boom in rubber and tin.²⁹ Economic affairs were paramount; rarely was there any disturbance of the smooth-working political relationship between sultans

²⁸ By the Government of India Act; see D. B. E. Hall, *A History of South-east Asia* (London: St. Martins, 1955), p. 624.

²⁹ The battleship HMS *Malaya*, donated by the colony to the Royal Navy, served with distinction during the war.

and British residents. The postwar slump reduced rubber prices by 75 per cent from their peak; it led to the Stevenson Act and other plans for marketing restriction. These proved temporarily beneficial, though they failed later because of the uncontrolled rise in Indonesian production.

THE EAST INDIES

Holland, a neutral in the war, had less need to make concessions to her tributaries. In 1916—the year of the Jones Act—Insulinde was granted the right of choosing local councils which in turn elected a *Volksraad* with advisory powers. Java received a special measure of autonomy, though there was little self-government in the Outer Islands. Dutch liberalism concentrated upon economic issues, social welfare, and the development of local crafts; if living standards failed to rise, a main cause lay in the unchecked increase of native population.

SIAM

In Siam, court opinion, based upon long cultural contacts, was pro-British; but the aggressions of the Third Republic on the Mekong frontier border made it also anti-French. Bangkok protested against German unlimited submarine warfare, and Siam's declaration of war closely succeeded that of China. Siam benefited by seizing Germany's interned ships and canceling her privileges.

The rising progressive tide brought America to surrender tariff and extrality concessions enjoyed since the Bangkok Treaty of 1856. Japan made a similar move four years later. Shortly after, in 1925, Mr. Francis B. Sayre, acting as special commissioner for the Siamese government, persuaded Great Britain, France, and Holland to follow suit. In turn, King Prajadiphok demilitarized the Indo-China frontier and gave Siam a judicial and legislative system of Western type.

Effects of the War: a Summary

A quarter of a million Orientals watched, in France, as Europe committed suicide on the battlefields; the spectacle was reported in every village of the Far East. During four years, white supervisors were removed and Asians were upgraded, while native police

maintained order. To assure cooperation, the colonial powers enacted the Jones Law, the Sarraut Reforms, the Government of India Act, and the *Volksraad*.

Postwar events did not restore the *status quo*. Forced prosperity was succeeded by economic recession, which further weakened the trust of native peoples. If the Treaty of Versailles left intact the structure of Allied colonialism, few doubted, as the period of the 1920's drew on, that a shock had been dealt to the white man's prestige. A world war had set the stage for world-wide revolution.

Japan, a familiar Oriental power, was moving into the vacuum left by the retreating overlords. The Rising Sun ensign was for years the only battle flag seen in the Eastern seas; Mitsubishi and Toyo Kisen Kaisha became household words. The whites returned to claim their privileges, but this interval of trusteeship for the Europeans was forgotten neither in Tokyo nor among the nationalist societies that had sprung to life in the colored lands.

Twenty Years of Communism in East Asia

☞ The force of the peasantry is like that of the raging winds and the driving rain. It is rapidly increasing in violence. No force can stand in its way. The peasantry will tear apart all nets which bind it and hasten along the road to liberation. They will bury beneath them all forces of imperialism, militarism, corrupt officialdom, village bosses and evil gentry. . . . Shall we stand in the vanguard and lead them or stand behind them and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to pick his answer. However, destiny will force us to pick and answer soon. . . . The democratic forces in the village have arisen to overthrow the feudal forces in the village. The overthrow of the feudal forces is . . . the aim of the national revolution. The revolution is . . . no banquet. It is not quite as dainty an occupation as writing books or painting flowers.¹

☞ A quasi-Marxist interpretation of history [was accepted] even among anti-Communists. . . . The fact that Soviet Russia carried [out] a planned development [in the] late 'twenties excited great interest [among] Asian nationalists seeking a formula . . . [for] rapid economic advancement. . . . Yet non-Communist nationalism [remained] the dominant form of Asian political activity . . . to the end of World War II.²

¹ Mao Tze-tung, *Report of an Investigation of the Agrarian Movement*, Mar. 20, 1927, quoted in Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 74.

² *Asian Nationalism and the West*, IPR Conference (New York: Macmillan, 1953), p. 27.

China

THE PHILOSOPHY of Karl Marx was hardly known to educated Chinese before World War I. During the Era of Subjection, national salvation was sought through democracy and Western science. Intellectuals turned to Mill and Huxley, even to Nietzsche, away from the passive and "stagnant" dogmas of Confucianism and Buddhism. They could not comprehend revolution through the despised working classes. The traditional four-class state³ differed totally from Marx's bipolar society, and there were in unindustrialized China neither pronounced bourgeois nor proletarian elements.

The Revolution of 1911 involved no real class struggle; to many patriots it seemed as abortive as the Taiping and Boxer movements. Hope of independence from foreign authority was quenched by the Twenty-One Demands. The Anfu government compounded servility to Japan with gross corruption, and the Treaty of Versailles ratified most of the land grabs of 1897.

What a *coup d'état* had accomplished for Russia, the Moscow Third International (Comintern) offered, at its organization in 1919, to the entire world. It denounced imperialism in language that was messianic and universal, and it offered cooperation without condescension.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

University professors, especially Li Ta-chao of Peking University, theorized that only such a global rebirth could regenerate China. Students began under their supervision—and not always favorably—the study of Marxism. A few had already encountered it directly in France. The convulsion of May 4, 1919, after the loss of Shantung, began as a student demonstration—a protest against Allies who seemed to have betrayed China. Thus, as an unfriendly critic has conceded—

from its beginning, the Communist movement was a product of Chinese conditions . . . one of several [popular movements] that emerged in China during the last fifty years.⁴

³ See p. 28.

⁴ David J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 117.

The Chinese Communist Party (or CCP) originated during July, 1921, in the Shanghai French concession. Twelve delegates attended its charter meeting. It published manifestoes calling for defeat of the *tuchuns* and distribution of their lands to peasants; it endorsed a labor welfare program and equality for women. International communism ignored it, for the Moscow hierarchy was interested in wooing war lords rather than obscure conspirators.

SOVIET RUSSIA ENTERS THE FAR EAST

When the Soviet Union absorbed the Far Eastern Republic in 1923, it inherited most of the interests of imperial Russia and a four-thousand-mile frontier with China which was certain to bring the young republic under bolshevist influence. Relations took a favorable turn when Sun Yat-sen conferred in Shanghai with Joffe, the Soviet representative. The agreement they signed renounced all special privileges and expressed a joint interest in China's struggle for unification.

Sun's *The International Development of China*⁵ invited the Europeans to finance and supervise New China's industrialization. When, late in 1923, he protested the continued remittance of Canton customs receipts to Peking, they replied with a threatening naval demonstration; only the Soviets expressed sympathy for the Canton nationalists. Sun Yat-sen concluded that "we no longer look to the Western Powers. Our faces are turned toward Russia." For the remainder of his life, he gave a Marxist interpretation to his "Principle of the People's Livelihood." At his death in 1925, the Comintern paid tribute to the Chinese liberator, and gave the name Sun Yat-sen University to the Moscow training institute for Asian revolutionists.

THE KUOMINTANG CONGRESS OF 1924

At the First Kuomintang Congress of January, 1924, the "three great policies" enacted were alliance with the USSR, alliance with the Chinese Communist Party, and support of the workers and peasants. Nine Communists were admitted as members or alternates to the Central Executive Committee—apex of an organizational structure patterned after the Russian Communist Party.

⁵ See p. 322.

When the military academy was established at Whampoa, thirty Russians, including Michael Borodin, were appointed to the technical staff. Chiang K'ai-shek, the superintendent, had held a liaison assignment in Moscow; the chief of the political department was an avowed young Marxist, Chou En-lai.

COOPERATION BETWEEN KMT AND CCP, 1924-27

If the Revolution seemed tinged with Marxian thought, communism itself seemed bourgeois, a fad of middle-class intellectuals, remote from both the industrial laborers (who hardly existed as a class) and the rural masses, "inert and sunk in superstition." Its communist members probably prevented the Kuomintang from becoming another military tyranny, and wrote its anti-imperialist propaganda and its promises of social reform.⁶

The factions jointly revered Sun Yat-sen, his will and his Three Principles, though the Kuomintang emphasized unification of China and abolition of unequal treaties. The Communists organized labor federations and directed strikes; these forced foreign owners to make wage concessions and provided recruits for the party. Both joined the 1925 demonstrations following the Nanking Road and Shameen massacres by the international police.⁷

Early in 1926, communist strength in the Central Executive Committee increased and party membership was estimated at twenty thousand. Chiang took alarm; preparing for his Northern March, he removed Communists from their offices and forbade Kuomintang members thereafter to join the CCP.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK OUTLAWS THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communists were strongly represented in the Wuhan government that convened in December, 1927; their agents instigated antiforeign rioting after the capture of Nanking and attempted to organize a commune in Shanghai before the arrival of the Nationalist Army. Chiang responded by crushing both Marxist and trade-union elements.⁸ A fortnight later (May, 1927), General Chang

⁶ During the revolutionary honeymoon, Chiang was recorded as saying that "the realization of the People's Principles means the realization of Communism." Edgar Snow, *The Battle for Asia* (New York: Random House, 1941), p. 124.

⁷ See p. 327.

⁸ See p. 330.

Tso-lin seized the Russian embassy in Peking, killing the founder of Chinese Marxism, Professor Li. In eastern, northern, and central China, the Reds were outlawed and Soviet consulates closed. They clung until December to their footing in the South; only after heavy rioting and massacres by Nationalist troops were they crushed in Canton. In Russia, bolshevism triumphed by holding a few key cities. If it had depended upon similar tactics in China, its cause was already lost.

FORMATION OF THE RED ARMY

Communist fighters in the Nationalist armies who escaped the general purge rallied in Nanchang, a provincial capital south of the Yangtze. Here, on August 1, 1927, they formed a Red army, marching under a hammer-and-sickle flag, in uniform caps emblazoned with the Red Star.

The army possessed neither supply bases nor industrial and financial resources; it was cut off by a thousand miles of enemy country from Russian assistance. The Nationalist government, recognizing a fundamental threat to the unification of China, mobilized its full power against communism. Nanchang was soon lost; an attempt to hold the port of Swatow was crushed, but the Reds would not concede defeat. They retreated, like folklore heroes of the Three Kingdoms Saga, deep into the Chingkanshan Mountains, a wilderness near the Kiangsi-Hunan border, and began to organize villagers into the first Chinese soviets.

Nationalist authority was at its height in the summer of 1928, when the capital was fixed in Nanking and the death of Chang Tso-lin removed the most obstinate of the independent war lords. It coincided with the lowest fortunes of the Chinese Communists; their Sixth Congress was held, for greater security, in Moscow,⁹ where Josef Stalin had been newly appointed Secretary of the Politburo. The Chinese were rebuked for their defeats; and the congress declared that though the "content" of its Revolution was agrarian, its program should be carried out according to Leninist formulae "under proletarian hegemony."

⁹ Russian hospitality afforded a means of screening the delegates; only those considered friendly to Russia received passes on the Trans-Siberian Railway.

THE RED HIERARCHY

This ambiguous pronouncement deepened the policy conflict between communist leaders, while retaining them in office. Li Li-san, former chief of the miners' unions, was chairman of the Executive Committee; he represented the orthodox, Lenin-Marxist viewpoint—that the party's mission was to arouse the urban working class, seize cities from within, and from them extend a dictatorship over the nation. His henchman was for a time Chou En-lai, the handsome diplomat born in 1898 to a mandarin family, who had studied in Paris and served as Chiang's subordinate at Whampoa. During the Shanghai commune, Chou had led three hundred workers in seizing the arsenal: he was captured in the Kuomintang counter-revolution but his life was saved through the intervention of a former academy cadet.

In opposition to the Li Li-san "line" stood Mao Tze-tung, honored as an old bolshevist veteran of the First Congress. Mao, born in 1893, was reared during the Boxer period in the antiforeign atmosphere of Hunan. Bred among peasants, he reached the lower rungs of the literary echelon; it was as library assistant that Mao encountered Marx in the book stacks of Peking University. He became a single-minded convert, following the law of the Comintern with but one reservation: he saw no further hope in a revolution led by the working classes, whose ill-timed outbreaks had been so often crushed.

After the Red disasters of 1927, Mao turned to the peasantry of his own Hunan countryside. His subsequent *Report on the Agrarian Movement* reversed the Marxist timetable: peasants were to form China's vanguard; the commune must begin in the villages, which would supply sinews for the capture of the cities.

Essentially a gradualist, Mao made common cause with agrarian malcontents, the Tax Resisters and the Red Spears, against local war lords. "Rich" and "middle" peasants should, he argued, be spared if they joined the movement; even "good" landlords could be saved.¹⁰ Mao's coalition of peasants, miners, and Nationalist deserters, which styled itself the First Division of the Workers' and Peasants' Army, was badly defeated in the Autumn Harvest Up-

¹⁰ At the same period, Adolf Hitler was drawing fine distinctions between "good" German capital and "bad" Jewish-tainted capital.

rising of 1928. Mao was expelled from the Politburo, though retained in the party.

Mao's closest supporter was Chu Teh, an army professional whose career had been ruined by opium. He broke the habit during some years of travel in Europe. There also he learned communism; when he returned in 1926 to his military career, he joined the CCP. Chu founded the Red Army in Nanchang; later, blessed with a charmed life, he survived the White Terror both in Canton and Swatow. Throughout a series of disasters his reputation grew; he was indefatigable in action and decisive in command. Yet his humility rebuked the luxurious *tuchuns* and the foppish bureaucrats of the central government. Chu Teh's salary was five dollars a month; he wore no insignia of rank, and he shared the enlisted men's rations. Some American correspondents compared him to Ulysses S. Grant.

The Sixth Congress accentuated the struggle between the leaders. Li Li-san, especially, faced slippery alternatives: should he follow a Fabian policy, husbanding his weak forces, he faced charges of passivity. He therefore chose the activist course and tried to communize Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province. The city workers proved apathetic, the Red Army being far too small for the undertaking. Li was promptly accused of "putschism" or recklessness and removed in August, 1930, from the Politburo. Subsequently, he left for Moscow, carrying with him the hope of a proletarian dictatorship.

There was a later revolt, against Mao's compromises with the rich peasants. Mao swiftly dispersed the rebels and executed their leaders; he emerged as chairman of the Soviet Provisional Government, with Chu Teh as military aide; Chou En-lai transferred his allegiance to them. Chinese Communism thus found the leadership most valuable to a revolution: a prophet, a field tactician, and a propagandist-negotiator.¹¹

KUOMINTANG ASSAULTS UPON THE KIANGSI SOVIETS

Kuomintang administration could mean little if, close to Nanking and in the heart of South China, a foreign-dominated community remained under arms. With the approval the Western

¹¹ The parallels of Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels—or of Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour—may be readily cited.

nations, Chiang K'ai-shek announced in December, 1930, an extermination campaign against the "communist bandits."

They had developed the slogan which has served them for thirty years: "The army is the fish; the people are the water." No effort was spared to win popular support at every level. Rents were cut in half, usury was forbidden, and a land law promised the expropriation of militarists and large landowners; but it was enforced only against refugees, and even Buddhist monasteries were spared if popular feeling favored them. Conservatives were further reassured by a tax system which abolished seventeen hundred different imposts in favor of an income tax not exceeding 35 per cent. The Reds made the gesture of passing model factory laws; these affected almost nobody in the Soviet areas, but formed excellent propaganda in the Nationalist-controlled cities. They promised also to protect farm prices against the "dumping of imperialist agricultural products."¹²

Their self-styled New Democracy functioned well among the hill farms and bamboo thickets. Arms and ammunition were seized from a trapped Nationalist division in 1929 and replenished by continuous raids. Villagers supplied food and intelligence to the Communists; and there were many desertions from the Kuomintang Army, whose soldiers proved vulnerable to Red propaganda.

THE COMMUNISTS DECLARE WAR UPON JAPAN

Most of the metropolitan communist cells in China were destroyed; but despite a series of paper victories, Nanking commanders could not in four successive campaigns defeat Chu Teh's guerrillas. Even so, the conservatives might have won over public sympathy but for the Manchurian Incident.¹³ When, in 1929, Li Li-san sided with the USSR in its recapture of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Reds appeared as lackeys of Moscow. But during the Shanghai fighting of 1932, the Nineteenth Route Army—a Nationalist corps withdrawn from Kiangsi after it had been dangerously subverted—dug in along the waterfront and fought heroically until overwhelmed by Japanese reinforcements.

¹² Referring perhaps to imports of American flour. For a fuller discussion of the Kiangsi soviets, see Conrad Brandt *et al.*, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 223.

¹³ See p. 380.

The Nineteenth was punished by the generalissimo for acting without orders, but all of China admired its fight. Japan had presented the Reds with a cause. Besides appropriating the rights of man, they became the champions of national salvation. The commune formally declared war against Japan; its slogans of "Drive the enemy from our country," "Chinese Must Not Fight Chinese!" made Chiang's call for an antibandit crusade seem irrelevant.

The communist gesture cost nothing; the Reds did not for five years meet or engage any Japanese forces. But the National government could not afford rhetorical patriotism. The generalissimo, lacking any navy or air force, would invite the destruction of his poorly trained army by challenging Japan to war. Appeasement (however regretted) was his only course, as mechanized enemy forces swept through the Manchurian provinces and across the mountains of Jehol.

The Tangku Truce of May, 1933, halted the invasion at the Great Wall by neutralizing a wide zone so as to make it virtually a Japanese sphere. Further concessions were forced two years later in the Ho-Umezu Agreement, which ended Kuomintang authority in all of northeastern China.

THE LONG MARCH

If he could not spare the nation from foreign attack, Chiang determined, during the winter of 1933-34, to dispose of the internal menace. His fifth campaign against the Communists was supervised by a staff of German military advisers; martial law descended upon all the soviet regions, enforced by a ruthless *gendarmerie*—the Blue Shirts. The Red Army was isolated from its peasant allies, compressed within a ring of blockhouses, and harassed by air attack. It escaped destruction only by breaking through the encirclement; but its territorial base was gone. Some fragments of the Kiangsi commune, formed into a Fourth Army, remained in the South. The main body began an epic retreat.

The communist Long March lasted for a year and covered nearly five thousand miles: first to the west, passing through Hunan, Kweichow, and Yunnan provinces;¹⁴ then northward, close to the

¹⁴ During a halt at Tsunyi in Kweichow, Mao Tze-tung was elected party leader; the only white people in the city at this time were the author's missionary parents.—A.C.

frontiers of Tibet and Sinkiang, crossing immense river gorges on rope footbridges. It would have been easy to desert en masse across the border of Soviet Central Asia. But Russia offered no haven to refugees; Stalin needed dependable satellites within China, available to sabotage the National government or block Japanese expansion, as the Kremlin might decide.

During the first months, pursuit by the Nanking armies was close, forcing a dozen pitched battles. Later there were lonely marches over plateaus as high as the summits of the Rockies. Half of those who left Kiangsi reached the end of the journey, but hardly a single survivor was physically fit.¹² Morale did not collapse. The march was a drawn-out propaganda sermon. Above the tramp and jingle of the military horde sounded the chant of the Red soldiers' catechism:

Are you afraid of the Red Army?

The Red Army is the army of the Peasants. It is the army of the Chinese people.

The disciplinary rules were sung in cadence:

Never fail to return borrowed articles.

Pay fairly for all requisitioned supplies.

Treat all prisoners with humanity.

Incredulous peasants wondered whether such an army had appeared since the time of the Three Kingdoms. It was affirmed, too, that every officer had risen from the ranks. Recruits joined as the casualties dropped out, so that the column renewed itself like a moving dust cloud on its way.¹³

THE YENAN SOVIET

Mao Tze-tung was clarifying Chinese communist objectives. Mass support must be won by land reform; there must be a powerful and freely mobile Red army based in an area self-sufficient in food and strategic materials.

¹² A medical check of CCP units in 1939 revealed 100 per cent incidence of trachoma, 30 per cent of malaria, 20 per cent of hernia. All would thus be rejected for United States Army service.

¹³ Edgar Snow's dramatic report, *Red Star Over China* (New York: Random House, 1938) based upon firsthand observation, fully reports the Long March and the border government.

Though the route was unplanned, the goal of the Long March had been predetermined: the far northwest, the loess hills of Shensi Province, part of the "cradle of the Chinese race," enclosed between the middle course of the Yellow River and an elbow of the Great Wall. It is a semiarid land and poor, but able to feed millions of extra mouths in a moist year—Yenan, its metropolis, a city of cave dwellings that formed natural air-raid shelters, far from the nearest railhead. The cities of Nationalist China were too far away to mount a strong offensive. Behind, desert highways led across Mongolia to the USSR.

There was time in Yenan for respite and reconstruction. Early projects were a university, a party indoctrination school, and a Red army academy able to train ten thousand cadets a year. Communist sympathizers trekked to the northwest from all parts of China.

THE KIDNAPING OF THE GENERALISSIMO

To blockade the Yenan Soviet, Chiang K'ai-shek chose the Tungpei, or Northeastern, Army; its headquarters were established in Sian-fu, once the Ch'ang-an of the T'ang emperors, 150 miles south of Yenan; most of the bomber strength of the Nationalist Army was stationed at the Sian airbase. The Tungpei consisted of Manchurians, expelled since 1932 from their homeland and still commanded by the Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang. Chang had spent three *Wanderjahre* in Europe, where he met the Axis chieftains and accepted the leader principle which seemed to be exemplified also in the generalissimo.

But his Manchurian soldiers had lost their homes through Japanese aggression, and seen their country reorganized as the puppet state of Manchukuo. Refugees themselves, they felt sympathy for the homeless Reds—the only Chinese, as Yenan agents reminded them, now formally at war with Japan. Kuomintang observers warned Nanking that Tungpei troops were clamoring for hostilities with the Japanese and might not follow the Young Marshal in any other operation.

Chiang K'ai-shek was scheduled to visit Inner Mongolia, where provincial forces had repulsed a serious Manchukuoan attack. En route, accompanied by only a small staff, he visited Sian. His arrival touched off a full mutiny. Striking before dawn on December

12, 1936, young officers seized Chiang and placed him in comfortable confinement where Madame Chiang, and his closest foreign adviser, W. H. Donald, flew from Nanking to visit him. Daily, his captors urged him to end the anticommunist war and lead a National Salvation movement; Chiang resisted threats and persuasion. This steadfastness might have cost him his life had not Chou En-lai come from Yen-an to plead for him.

Much blood had flowed between the two former Whampoa Academy colleagues. But the Comintern line was more important to Chou than any private revenge; it called for popular fronts of all parties against fascism. He knew that if China must be united, it could only be behind the generalissimo.

Chou's argument convinced the rebels; Chiang and his party were conducted safely back to Nanking, where presently the Young Marshal surrendered himself. The Tungpei units were replaced by reliable Kuomintang divisions. Yet, the Fifty-five Days' Revolt accomplished its purpose; pressure upon Yen-an slackened and an unofficial truce prevailed.¹⁷

THE CHINA INCIDENT AND THE UNITED FRONT

In February, 1936, the assassination coup staged in Tokyo by young army hotheads virtually ended civilian authority in Japan. Following the coup, the government of Hirota Koki, influenced by the Black Dragon Society, offered China a three-point program: cessation of all forms of anti-Japanese activity, recognition of Manchukuo, and joint action to destroy the Chinese Communists. Its rejection in Nanking led Hirota during November to join the European Anti-Comintern Pact of Hitler and Mussolini. At the same time the Sian kidnaping resulted in a Russo-Chinese orientation.

The outcome was the Double Seven fighting near Peip'ing on July 7, 1937,¹⁸ and the undeclared war called, in Tokyo, the China Incident. Before the end of August, a united front of the Kuomintang and CCP drafted the Ten Principles for Resistance

¹⁷ A less reliable version of the Sian affair was related verbally to the author by W. H. Donald's cellmate in the Santo Tomas internment camp during the war. Donald was reported to have said that Chiang was neither kidnapped nor threatened; he remained in Sian, though urged to leave, so as to compromise the Young Marshal.—A.C.

¹⁸ See p. 387.

against Japan. The Red Army became the National Eighth Route Army; survivors of the southern guerrilla forces were organized into a Fourth Route Army. Soldiers removed the Red star from their caps (but often pinned it inside their blouses). The Yen-an soviet was renamed as the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Regions government;¹⁹ it received a monthly stipend and a flow of war material. A few irreconcilables balked at fraternizing with the recent enemy, but most Yen-an commissars made the transition smoothly. In almost their first contact with the enemy, Eighth Army militia ambushed a division near the Great Wall and mauled it severely. Then, as the Japanese drove against weak opposition through North China, border regions guerrillas harassed their western flank or struck at their rear. Friends of China at home and abroad applauded the communist effort.²⁰

INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS

The Western powers failed to back up their censure of Japan with anything stronger than words. The United States was hamstrung by neutrality acts which allowed Japan to import in her own merchant fleet over half her military needs of fuel oil, scrap iron, transport trucks, and even much finished ammunition.²¹

The Ribbentrop-Molotov compact between Germany and Russia produced new cleavages in the Far East. Mao Tze-tung quickly adapted himself to the Moscow line by ceasing to denounce Hitler. Japan, as an ideological ally of the Nazi state, was no longer the sworn foe of communism. Chinese government leaders charged that the Eighth Route Army was slackening its campaign against the invaders, and set up a loose blockade of the Shen-Kan-Ning region. After only two years, the common front between the Kuomintang and the Communists was disintegrating.

TOKYO: NANKING: CHUNGKING: YENAN

After 1938, the Imperial Navy was unchallenged in the waters between Vladivostok and Haiphong; the army controlled the rail

¹⁹ From its location in the northwest provinces of Shensi, Kansu, and Ninghsia, Chinese fondness for syllabary designations has been noted.

²⁰ To this period belong favorable comments by Lin Yu-tang, Dr. Walter Judd, and numerous consular officials who later became critical of Red China.

²¹ See p. 392.

lines of China, the industrial cities, and the lower valleys of the Yellow, Yangtze, and West rivers. Five authorities had been set up in the conquered areas; it was time to resolve them into a single administration. Nanking was chosen as capital of the new Republic of China; its presidency was conferred upon Wang Ching-wei.

The puppet president had played a heroic part in the overthrow of the Manchus; he was Sun Yat-sen's political assistant and designated successor. As unstable as he was brilliant, Wang had flirted for eight years with the Japanese and the Marxians in turn—his one consistent motive being rivalry with Chiang. This impelled him in December, 1938, to desert Nationalist China altogether for peace talks with General Doihara; fifteen months later, his masters installed him in his Nanking office.

Wang's government raised armies from the riffraff of former *tuchun* levies, using Japanese equipment. The principals in the China theater—Imperial Japan and Nationalist China—had reached a stalemate; the invaders had seized as much territory as they could exploit, while the defenders lacked strength for a counterattack. Two communist armies, the Fourth and the Eighth, were restricted to operations in their respective zones; Anhwei Province and Shen-Kan-Ning. They made little attempt to set up a formal front; their object was to defeat Japan by attrition and sabotage her control of the occupied areas. Chu Teh's veterans repeated the tactics mastered in Kiangsi: they established rapport with the peasants, and mounted swift attacks on the enemy at times and on terrain of their own choice. Operating chiefly on broad, open plains, they learned to take shelter by day and cover long distances by forced night march.

Nanking puppet troops formed the fourth element in a military drama that was sometimes brutal war but more often its caricature. They could not be trusted in action against the Nationalists; they were used to keep order outside of the combat areas—especially, to fight the guerrillas. Their rate of desertion was high.

Relations between Chiang and the former Red command became increasingly bitter. The government charged that the Communists did not interfere with convoys moving against the Nationalist front, and that their operations consisted of little more than roaming the countryside making converts to their faith.

Yenan spokesmen retorted that 95 per cent of the puppet troops

and two thirds of the imperial divisions were pinned down by communist forces. This claim was supported by Japan's protests that her armies remained in China "only to fight communism."²² They asserted further that the best Kuomintang units were stationed facing the border regions; and that others were surrendering "on loan" to Japan for the purpose of fighting the Reds.

Open fighting flared in January, 1941, for the first time since the Long March. The Fourth Army's rear guard was attacked by Nationalists at a river crossing, with six thousand casualties. Chungking accused the Fourth of illegal activities outside of its assigned zone. Yen-an officials cried treachery: abandonment of the National Salvation War in favor of an anticommunist crusade. Their demand for a twelve-point apology was refused.

No open break followed. Chou En-lai, appointed as liaison representative in Chungking, worked for compromise. Chiang was severely hurt by Britain's closure of the Burma Road; still hundreds of planes and convoys of field equipment were reaching China from Soviet Russia. The generalissimo dared not risk offending Stalin by proscribing the Chinese Reds.

Though no further maintenance grants were sent to Yen-an, rifles and ammunition could be made in cave workshops by village cooperatives; further arms came from surrendering puppet soldiers. Survivors of the Fourth Route Army joined the Eighth, adding to its offensive power. Chu Teh's men had a new marching song:

We have no food; we have no clothes.
The enemy will send them to us.
We have no rifles; we have no artillery.
The enemy will make them for us.²³

Development of the Chinese Communist Party

A course of indoctrination through political mass meetings, posters, open-air plays, and pamphlet reading, took more than half the training time of the Eighth Army recruit. He followed the fortunes of the Popular Front struggle in France and Spain, and

²² The percentage claims are taken from a speech by Mao in 1943.—See Stuart Gelder, *The Chinese Communists* (London: Gollancz, 1946), p. 312, 313.

²³ Lt. Col. Evans F. Carlson, *Twin Stars of China* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1940), p. 77.

studied Hitler's march through the Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. England's resistance to the Nazis was, before the invasion of Russia, interpreted as the last stand of imperialism; thereafter, it was hailed as a triumph of democracy.

Communist Party cells in the border regions infiltrated the agrarian societies, the armed forces, and the bureaucracy. The party committee in each district possessed strong authority to expose and punish capitalists, or "deviationists," inflicting punishments up to death. Party legislative congresses were held every three years; between their sessions, absolute power was vested in a Central Executive Committee. The government of Shen-Kan-Ning advertised itself as a coalition in which Communists, Nationalists, and nonpartisan delegates were equally represented; actually the non-communist elements were a façade.

As the Eighth Route Army won successes in war, its leaders became more orthodox. Mao Tze-tung no longer approved of the Agrarian Red Lances. He warned that there could be no victory unless the archaic political system of China was abolished²⁴ in favor of a Moscow blueprint. "In no other nation," it has been noted, "did imitation of Russia reach the proportions [it] did in [China]." ²⁵ Mao adhered to the Stalinist faction and approved of its purges: Trotskyists in his bailiwick might be charged with treason. Party decisions were enforced unconditionally; freedom of speech and assembly pertained only to the orthodox, and obedience became the chief public virtue. A form of GPU had functioned in Red China since the early years of the Kiangsi commune.

PARTY TRAINING

Mao was cautious about enlarging party membership: 1 per cent of the population would suffice. Formal communist training began at the age of eleven, with enrollment in the Young Vanguard or the labor battalions. Primary education became almost universal. The curriculum emphasized Chinese problems rather than the cramming of Marx' works; yet school themes emphasized autobiographical self-analysis, and high marks went to those who denounced "bourgeois exploitation" by their own forbears.²⁶

²⁴ Snow, *The Battle for Asia*, p. 293.

²⁵ Dalin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East*, p. 126.

²⁶ Liu Shaw-tong, *Out of Red China* (New York: Little, Brown, 1953), pp. 10-14.

Self-indictment and public confession became routine procedures before the village committees; prudent citizens searched the bulletin boards to keep abreast of the party line; and the blizzard of directives from Yen-an reminded old men of the Ch'ing emperors' government by exhortation.

THE CCP AND WORLD OPINION

The Reds invited the hostility of Western business interests and the Chinese comprador class. They antagonized most missionaries, especially the Roman Catholic priesthood, sometimes treating them with violence.²⁷

A few missionaries within the border regions were friendly. Foreign idealists, such as the writers André Malraux, George Sokolsky, Agnes Smedley, and Edgar Snow, the Indian nationalist M. N. Roy, and the Toronto surgeon Norman Bethune, marched at various times with the Red armies.

Communism became more respectable when, after 1940, the USSR restored Sunday as a holiday and ceased to flaunt its godlessness. Asians were impressed with the manner in which successive Russian five-year plans achieved economic self-improvement, without concessions to the foreign powers. Throughout the 30's, as Western finance capitalism was mired in the depression, the socialist state appeared proof against unemployment. On the international scene, while the democracies appeased and temporized, Stalin made some show until 1939 of resisting the Axis. Thus, patriots as well as conspirators enrolled themselves in the Yen-an Soviet, and its creed bore a message to the hearts of even its enemies.

Communism Outside China

CENTRAL ASIA

Outer Mongolia remained under control of Soviet Russia after 1923; eight years later Japan spread through Manchuria. Inner Mongolia, a waste of grassland without defensible boundaries, became the stage for a show of strength between the two aggressors. After numerous minor incidents, a Japanese army probed westward

²⁷ Sixteen Protestant missionaries were martyred in China during 1929-34, in part by Red action; the average was about the same before communism.



COMMUNIST JUSTICE IN CHINA, 1940

This modern woodcut shows a rich peasant brought to trial by a village committee in the Communist zone. See page 370.—Courtesy of the Charles R. Stevens collection.



MISTRESS OF THE EASTERN SEAS, 1905-42

This night silhouette of HIM Battleship *Ise* typifies the power of the Imperial Japanese Navy, for thirty-seven years unchallenged west of the International Date Line. Foreigners seldom saw and never inspected its capital ships. The *Ise*, built in 1916, was lost in action at Guadalcanal. See page 409.

in force from Manchukuo during the summer of 1939. It encountered mechanized Mongol-Soviet troops with air support near Khalkal Gol. The ensuing battle was the most severe on Asian soil since 1905; it checked the Japanese decisively.

Sinkiang came under strong Russian pressure with the building of the Turksib Railway to its frontier in 1930. Later, Mao's Shen-Kan-Ning zone formed a second communist pincer. After one of the sporadic Moslem uprisings,²⁸ the governor of Sinkiang appealed for help to Moscow. Stalin responded with bomber planes and Russian infantry in Chinese uniform, under command of General Ma Chan-shan, a refugee who had led the anti-Japanese resistance in northern Manchuria. Sinkiang was conquered, policed by the NKVD, and closely integrated with the neighboring Islamic republics of the USSR.

JAPAN

Only 10 per cent of Far Eastern Communists lived outside of Chinese territory. Japan's minute prewar socialist labor union movement was succeeded by a small communist vanguard, most of whose leaders were killed by the Kempeitai *gendarmérie* under martial law during the 1923 earthquake emergency. The party was reorganized secretly, a few years later, with help from the USSR embassy staff. It remained inactive, though its leader, Katoyama Sen, was elected together with Mao and Chou to the Executive Committee of the Comintern.²⁹

Moderate leftists achieved most of their aims by 1925 under the Kato government: recognition of the Soviet Union, manhood suffrage, and growth of labor union membership. The university intelligentsia backed a number of splinter parties, most of them quickly suppressed, though the Social Mass Party survived fourteen years. It advocated reform by legal methods, and with labor support won a quarter of a million votes in the 1928 elections. When it denounced the invasion of Manchuria, it was rebuked from Moscow, since Stalin until 1935 maintained friendly terms with the Japanese militarists. Confused by the changes in the Comintern line, most Social Mass partisans turned in 1940 to outright fascism.

²⁸ Common since the days of Ch'ien Lung.—See p. 119.

²⁹ For a fuller account, see Robert A. Scalapino, *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), p. 326 ff.

Villagers formed, as for centuries past, the largest pool of discontent. Their 1918 rice riots were charged to communist incitation. Farmers' unions undoubtedly studied Marxist doctrine, and in the later 30's some of them still used the hammer-and-sickle emblem.³⁰ But the militarists of the extreme right were also champions of the peasant class; hence, agrarian protest more often channeled itself through the patriotic societies.

THE SOUTHEAST

Communist strategy recognized Southeast Asia as a single province when, in 1927, it organized a headquarters at Singapore. It won some following among educated natives who could not find government employment; and it spread through the Chinese colonies which provided a true proletariat in the port cities. Its eloquent onslaughts upon imperialism were discontinued when, in June, 1941, the colonial powers became allies of Russia.

In Indonesia the communist PKI Party appeared in 1920. As in China, the movement advanced on two fronts, establishing village soviets at the same time as it organized seamen's, miners', and sugarworkers' syndicates. After the failure of a general strike in 1926, the PKI withered for fifteen years; its leaders were exiled to prison colonies, and religious or nationalist societies—such as Sarekat Islam or PNI—became the organs of social protest.

There was no grass-roots communism in Siam among the well-fed peasantry; but, to Moscow, the small kingdom seemed an attractive base for infiltrating the near-by European colonies. Though local issues precipitated the constitutional revolution in 1932, its leader, Pridi Banomyong, was forced out of office on charges of fostering a communist economy. After 1937, refugees from the Japanese invasion increased the unrest of the Chinese communities.

In Burma, Marxist discussion, fostered by contacts with India or the English-language publications of the leftist Green Dragon Book Club occupied much of the time of students in Rangoon University. Its classrooms nurtured the Thakin, or Independence, Party, one of whose wings turned to communism of a somewhat watered

³⁰ William Henry Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), p. 15.

down form—since every national movement required some backing by the powerful Buddhist priesthood.

Singapore disseminated the communist tracts and ideas smuggled by seaman couriers from China. Here, as in the provincial sultanates, local Chinese resented the political privileges of the Malays; most of them preferred the Kuomintang, but nearly a hundred thousand were suspected of CCP membership. Britain therefore hesitated to arm a Chinese militia in 1942 until the fall of the colony was imminent. During the Japanese occupation, communist survivors carried their weapons into the jungle where they followed the tactics of the Red Army in China.

Communism reached Indo-China with the returning Annamite battalions after the First World War. The Revolutionary Party of Young Annam had strong affinities both with the Kwantung commune and with the traditional Chinese secret societies; some of its officers were trained at the Whampoa Military Academy. After failure of the Yenbay Revolt in 1930, it was forced underground.

Not more than 1500 Annamese became thorough Communists; one of them, Nguyen Ai-quoc, was appointed chief organizer for Southeast Asia, assuming the honorific name of Ho Chi-minh.³¹ The party declined while he served a three-year prison term, and suffered further from the Trotsky-Stalin split. When Ho resumed control, he followed Popular Front tactics, calling for redistribution of land and abolition of the labor *corvée*. In 1939 he founded the nationalist organ, Vietminh, "League for the Independence of Vietnam."

³¹ Both are pseudonyms, an affectation of most communist leaders: "John the Patriot" became "He who Shines."

Showa Japan Accepts the Divine Mission

Mother of Culture.

☸ War is the Father of Creation and the

Press Section, Imperial Japanese Army

☸ We must force the big landowners of the world . . . to make an equitable distribution of land in order to insure happiness to the peoples of the world.

Program of the Japan Production Party

The Showa Era Begins

THE regent Hirohito, acceding to his Imperial father's throne in 1926, selected the reign name of *Showa*, or "Enlightened Peace." The title seemed well chosen: the young sovereign himself set his subjects an example of integrity in the details of his duty and of thrift that enabled him to make generous grants for public welfare.

He ruled the most democratic state, as well as the most powerful, that Asia had known. Voting rights belonged to all adult males; dissenting opinions were tolerated to the degree that eight extreme radicals took their seats in the 1928 Diet. The armed forces were, for a brief time, subordinate to civilian rule. Many newspapers championed popular rights. New Men's Societies in the universities pondered the significance of the Fabian socialism that had recently

governed England under Ramsay MacDonald. The masters of industry, the Zaibatsu, were acquiring a cosmopolitan outlook; many accepted Western customs and sent their sons to college overseas.

DISTRESS OF THE PEASANTRY

But if the official Japan seemed prosperous, there were gloomier portents at lower levels. Japan was a nation of peasants—four fifths of Diet constituencies were rural—and agriculture was profoundly depressed: exactly as in the Meiji era, the majority of all families farmed less than two acres.

The agrarians, superstitious and reactionary, felt little confidence in party government. The liberals Hara and Kato were lampooned as Mitsui and Mitsubishi puppets; it may have been true that Seiyukai parliamentarians held stock in four fifths of the large business corporations, and that political campaign contributions of over ¥300,000 were fairly common in a land whose wages averaged hardly a yen per day. Political rights to tenant farmers meant little more than a chance for land redistribution.

Rural discontent influenced the urban laborer, usually a migrant from the country who returned to the family rice plot when factory work was slack, and who was largely unorganized. Eighteen years after the founding of its National Federation, labor had made little progress. And though the postwar business decline had been halted by earthquake reconstruction activity, the immense disaster brought tax increases and recurrent financial crises. There was enough weakness in the national economy to foster discontent—which was fed by a series of official scandals that involved leading party politicians.¹

A WEAKENING FOREIGN POLICY

The Foreign Office under Baron Shidehara Kijuro remained on friendly terms with the Washington Conference powers. Nevertheless, patriots were concerned about a series of alleged foreign slights: the most serious were Japanese exclusion from the United States under the Johnson Immigration Bill and the authorization by

¹ Especially some political stock-jobbing in the South Manchuria Railway, which recalled the Grant era in America, and a later scandal in 1927 dealing with licensed prostitution in Osaka.

Britain's Parliament in 1925 of a Singapore naval base to dominate the South Seas. The Chinese Nationalist government showed a rising spirit by moving its capital to Nanking, far from Nippon's sphere of influence.² In 1929, Foreign Minister C. T. Wang served upon Tokyo a note requesting the early end of extraterritoriality and special privilege.

THE PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

Extragovernmental agencies—some of them offshoots of the Black Dragon brotherhood—aspired to be the saviors of the nation. The Pawlonia Society, organized among rightist professors, attacked "subversive" doctrines in the schools and press. Movements, such as the Great Japan Production, National Foundation, and National Spirit Societies, attracted distinguished sponsors and dedicated themselves to national purification, Pan-Asianism, and anti-Westernism. The Jimmu Kai and Ronin Kai commemorated legendary heroes.³ The Blood Oath Association was little more than a nihilist assassination cult. These societies exerted critical pressure upon public opinion; they backed the Peace Preservation Law of 1925, which exposed to prison terms all who endeavored to "change the national policy"; they instigated the murder of Premier Hara and the earthquake emergency massacres. Journalists have traced their maleficent designs in every crisis that led to the Pacific war. However, after merging themselves into the National Council of Patriotic Societies (1931), they waned in influence. They were not needed: their program had been adopted by the Imperial Army.

REVIVAL OF THE MILITARY CULT

Half a century of almost unbroken victory had raised the prestige of the warrior caste. Behind the murky foreground of wrangling and corruption rose a peak of sacrifice and splendor: the crusade that had humbled mighty Russia a quarter century before at 203-Metre Hill, the Manlungshan Redoubt, and the Straits of Tsushima. Its leaders, gone now save for Admiral Togo, were semideified; but the junior officers who shared their glory still held active command

² Japan refused for four years to move her embassy from Peking.

³ The first emperor and the Forty-Seven Ronins, *see* pp. 44, 93. There is a full description of the societies in Hugh Byas, *Government by Assassination* (New York: Knopf, 1942), pp. 198 ff.

in the Imperial Armed Forces. To what better leaders could the nation turn?

Shrewd propaganda played its part. Full uniforms reappeared in the streets and the samurai sword, worn by every officer, became once more the Steel Bible of Japan. Shinto was steadily transformed from a congerie of folk myths to a military creed: after the Imperial Shrine at Ise, the most sacred spot in the Empire was the Yasukuni Shrine, southwest of the palace, dedicated by Meiji Tenno to fallen soldiers. Here annually the Son of Heaven himself came to honor the nation's heroes. In both of the services a cadre of humbly born younger officers was replacing the Satsuma and Choshu clansmen. The soldier-peasant bond was strong; it was to form the core of Showa nationalism—antiurban, anticommercial, and antiforeign.

The army offered the best hope of a career to thousands of impoverished farm boys. Officers adopted a Confucian "Father and Mother" attitude to young conscripts,⁴ whose hard life in the rice fields prepared them well for the bleak discipline of the fighting services. At the same time, young subalterns were less repressed than in Europe; they were permitted extraordinary privilege in political action or even in criticizing their own superiors. In 1930 many of them joined the *Sakura Kai*, or Cherry Blossom League, closed to officers above field grade and dedicated to "relief from capitalistic oppression, and resistance to foreign appeasement."⁵

Philosophy of the Divine Mission

The concept of a Divine Mission was familiar to Meiji philosophers. The canonized rebel, Saigō Takamori,⁶ was its major prophet. The Shinto paganism offered in all schools as history taught that Jimmu, primal emperor of the Land of the Gods, commanded:

Let the capital be extended so as to embrace the six cardinal points, and let the eight corners of the earth be covered so as to form one roof. Will this not be good?⁷

⁴ A United States Naval attaché was informed by a Japanese naval captain that only one breach of discipline had ever occurred on his cruiser. He punished it by sentencing himself to six weeks' confinement aboard ship for not setting a perfect example to his men.

⁵ Scalapino, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

⁶ See p. 164.

⁷ The doctrine was called *Hakko Ichin*—"Eight Corners, One Roof."

Blended with Confucianism which emphasizes cult reverence, harmony, loyalty, and obedience, it emerged as *Kodo*, the Imperial Way: submission to a unique divine emperor, whose sway must be extended, preferably by force, over all mankind. *Kodo* was the creed of every superpatriot.

It was clothed with economic and political theory after the World War in the writings of Kita Ikki and Gondo Seikyo. Kita's *Reconstruction Program for Japan*, perhaps the most debated book of the era, called for renunciation of Western liberalism and abolition of the Diet, with franchise restriction to military personnel and heads of families. Gondo idealized the agrarian village as the foundation of the state. Both glorified the role of the emperor and, seeking a first cause of national evils, located it where the Marxians had found it, in the inequities of wealth.⁸

Kita urged nationalization of key industries and a levy upon all private capital beyond half a million yen; Gondo held that "land is the gift of nature like air and water."⁹

KODO-HA AND TOSEI-HA

Though these works were officially proscribed to army personnel, they were widely read. Most younger officers accepted them with few reservations; they desired quick and violent achievement of the Imperial Way: a Showa Restoration which would eliminate the politicians and brokers who had interposed themselves between the August Person and his loyal subjects. Their faction took the name of *Kodo-ha*. Its rival, the *Tosei-ha*, or Control Group, pursued the same end of military predominance, but favored only legal methods. It was strongest among the senior officers.

EFFECTS OF THE WORLD BUSINESS DEPRESSION

After the Wall Street crash, industrial indices dropped as rapidly in Japan as in the United States. Factory employment fell by a third, per capita income from 200 to 144. In three years, the Bank of Japan lost over half of its gold reserve. Other states sought relief in economic autarchy; but Japan could neither feed herself nor con-

⁸ *Laissez-faire* could indeed be attacked as a dangerous foreign doctrine. Meiji lexicographers had failed to find a native Japanese term for "competition."

⁹ Byas, *op. cit.*, p. 84 ff.

sume her manufactures. Half her imports consisted of about three million bales of cotton, to be paid for in dollars or sterling rupees. Exports to Asia were largely cotton or rayon textiles; dollar accounts were balanced with silk—the Western woman's favorite luxury. Sericulture supplied a cash income to about half Japan's rural families. But as American housewives curtailed their spending, silk prices collapsed, and agrarian misery approached the disaster stage.

At the 1933 World Economic Conference, Japan championed monetary stabilization and free multilateral trade. The Anglo-Saxons repudiated their former doctrines: President Roosevelt's New Deal called for dollar revaluation; Britain's Ottawa Agreements had already planted a hedge of tariffs and quotas about the Empire.

Nevertheless, Japan was the earliest trading nation to recover her business volume. The giant trusts, unhampered by restrictive laws, absorbed weaker firms to control the manufacture, shipping, financing, and retailing of their products. Wages fell and new processes were developed: spinning operations that cost 372 yen in 1929 could be performed for 174 in 1934. Osaka undercut Lancashire prices by 40 per cent. Crowded operatives in ramshackle shops turned out wool shirts for 35 cents, bicycles for \$5, typewriters for \$12.50 FOB Capetown. In consequence, exports tripled from their low point, and less than 1 per cent of tied-up ocean tonnage was of Japanese registry.¹⁰

Foreign protest availed little. Inspecting delegations found farmers' daughters of teen age working for fifty cents a day in the cotton mills. Each received ample meals and two mats (six by six feet) of space in a company dormitory; after a five-year indenture service, she expected to return to her village with an ample dowry. Industrial power was based upon social discipline: the mill hand and her brothers in the army or the dreary student hostel were alike serving the emperor.

How could the West, emphasizing individualism and high consumption, compete with these methods? Sixty countries placed discriminatory trade quotas upon Japanese imports; only the minor commercial nations in South America, Africa, and the Near East left their doors open.

¹⁰ Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 ff.

The Army Seeks a Way

National interest became focused on an economic dilemma. Economic expansionists hoped, by steady improvement of techniques, to build a trade empire. Military thinkers pressed the encirclement theory: that Western nations, unwilling to resign their markets, would hold a peaceful Japan at their mercy. Her only secure outlet was a yen bloc. China could, for instance, be made to absorb most of Osaka's output—besides growing enough cotton to replace the American South. But only force, available through the army and the navy, could win and hold a monopoly trading sphere overseas.

Demographic pressure seemed once more to be critical; the annexation of Korea found homes for a few thousand families while the island population was rising by a million per year. Late in the 20's it stood at sixty-five million.

The Cherry Blossom League suffered defeat at the 1930 London Conference, which prolonged Japan's "position of inferiority" in naval tonnage for six years. But jingoism evened the score eight months later with the murder of Premier Hamaguchi, who was charged with pacifism, as well as with a deflationary financial policy which added to the hardships of the peasants. Next year, police intercepted by only two days a *coup d'état* of the National Council of Patriotic Societies: troops had plotted to seize the Diet building, dissolve Parliament, and install a military dictator.

THE INVASION OF MANCHURIA

Nothing miscarried in the program planned for September, 1931. A bomb, proved subsequently to have been planted by Japanese agents,¹¹ was exploded one night under the SMR rails near Mukden. Next day, General Honjo's Kwantung Army, a semiautonomous continental garrison force, crossed the Korean frontier into southern Manchuria.

Control of the area through war lord puppets was no longer feasible. The Young Marshal, Chang Hsueh-liang, had lost his northern province to the Soviet Russians, who were now as firmly

¹¹ The principals confessed during the war crimes trial in 1946: the bomb technique had been used only a few miles away to assassinate Marshal Chang Tso-lin three years before.—*See* p. 331.

in control of the Chinese Eastern rail link as the czars had been. He had furthermore cast in his lot with the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. Of the population of the three provinces, nine tenths were already Chinese, with shiploads of further immigrants constantly arriving; and a Chinese rail network, whose tariffs were payable in depreciated currency, was attracting trade away from Dairen. The Imperial Army was stirred by the arrest and execution of Captain Nakamura Shintaro while on reconnaissance near the Mongolian border.

Mukden, the ancient capital, fell almost without resistance. By the end of October, Honjo's lieutenants had seized Tsitsihar; they then pressed on the Amur River, forcing the wily Chinese commander, Ma Chan-shan, to take sanctuary in Siberia.¹² In the south, the Young Marshal withdrew to the Great Wall in January, 1932. For ten years his soldiers, exiled from their homes, were to form the core of anti-Japanese resistance. Within a half year Japan had seized territories over three times as large as the home islands, with unoccupied arable spaces greater than those of a dozen western American states, and the richest mineral resources in Asia.

REPORT OF THE LYTTON COMMISSION

The incident was well timed. The Western financial system was spiraling to lower depths of depression. Governments faced with bread lines in their own cities were unlikely to halt an Oriental putsch half a world away. China's delegate to the League of Nations, Dr. Alfred Sze, was prompt to report the violation of her frontier. In reply to a telegram from Geneva, the Tokyo Foreign Office stated in good faith that Japan had no territorial designs; it was, however, uninformed of the policies of the Kwantung Army. A League investigating commission under the chairmanship of Victor, second Earl of Lytton, reached Manchuria in March, 1932, some weeks after Honjo had presented a *fait accompli*. Its report, based upon a thorough investigation, held that "indisputably Chinese territory had been . . . seized . . . by the armed forces of Japan." It recommended that Manchuria should remain within the Republic of China, while granting to Japan certain defined treaty rights.¹³

¹² For his career as a Russian agent in Sinkiang, see p. 371.

¹³ Yanaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 562 ff.

The League Assembly without dissent indicted Japan of aggression as defined in the Covenant and the Nine-Power Treaty. Her response came a month later, on March 27, 1933, when Matsuoka Yosuke gave the required two years' notice of his country's resignation, and then marched in silence from the hall. Stock-exchange quotations fell sharply; it became plain in Geneva that the interval of Wilsonian peace was ended.

THE STIMSON DOCTRINE

The United States supplied a member to the Lytton Commission, but took no part in the League's debates. Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, who had recently served as governor of the Philippines, firmly protested Japan's action, but he could expect no backing from an isolationist Congress. President Hoover likewise refused to "go along . . . on . . . any sanction, either economic or military, for these are the roads to war."¹⁴ Inquiries in Whitehall led Foreign Secretary Sir John Simon to declare that "under no circumstances will the Government authorize this country to be a party to the conflict."¹⁵

Mr. Stimson could only formulate a declaration that the United States "would not recognize any situation, or treaty, or agreement entered into by . . . Governments in violation of . . . those treaties which affected the rights of America in China."¹⁶

President Hoover and his courageous secretary were about to be swept out of office. Many problems inherited by the Democratic government seemed more pressing than the power politics of the Yellow Sea Basin. The papers of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 contain almost no references to Japan; and New Deal legislation actually injured China when it raised the American price of silver, draining Asia of the metal and causing a deflationary crisis. Neville Chamberlain assumed the mantle of prophecy to predict that "nothing short of an attack on Hawaii" would ever cause United States armed intervention in the Far East.¹⁷

¹⁴ C. A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making* (New Haven: Yale, 1946), p. 156.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133. Major responsibility for the failure is usually placed upon Great Britain. A persistent report, never officially endorsed, states that Sir John promised to sign a strong note of protest provided that one British and one American battleship escorted the document to Tokyo.

¹⁶ Yanaga, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

¹⁷ F. C. Jones, *Japan's New Order in East Asia* (New York: Oxford, 1954), p. 39.

JAPAN'S FURTHER CONQUESTS

Nippon's reply to Western protests was a series of new adventures. Boycotts resulting from the Manchurian Incident seriously reduced Japanese trade. When the Mayor of Shanghai refused to dissolve local sponsoring organizations, the Imperial Navy, late in January, 1932, bombarded the Chinese city and landed marines and infantry on the Whangpu riverfront. These were engaged by General Tsai Ting-p'ai's Nineteenth Route Army in street fighting that lasted for five weeks, and caused half a billion dollars' destruction and fifty thousand casualties, but greatly stimulated Chinese morale.

Some months after a truce was obtained in Shanghai and during the League's Manchurian debate, the Kwantung Army overran the province of Jehol, carrying its conquests westward to the Great Wall.

Manchukuo and the Kingly Way

It was time to organize Manchuria for full-scale exploitation. Outright annexation was out of fashion; Tokyo strategists preferred to erect an "independent" state within their empire.

It received the name of Manchukuo. Its emperor—granted the title of K'ang Teh—was Henry Pu Yi, the baby dethroned in Peking after the Revolution of 1911, who had, since 1926, enjoyed Japanese consular asylum in Tientsin. His powers of government were theoretically as broad as those of Hirohito, subject to ministerial "advice," and directed through six bureaus resembling the boards of the Ch'ing empire. The Japanese retained control of a central planning agency, the General Affairs Board, and filled most of the highest *chokunin*¹⁸ posts in the bureaucracy; their consular agents were spread over the land.

Pending the construction of Hsinking, the new capital, the emperor was installed in a shabby compound in Mukden. He was accorded the full dignities of a banner prince, including sunrise serenades by a chorus of eight singing eunuchs; but guards screened this latter-day Son of Heaven from all vulgar contacts. Reality of

¹⁸ *Chokunin*, *sonin*, and *hannin* are the three grades in Japan's bureaucracy.

power was vested in General Muto Nobuyoshi, who filled the triple offices of commander of the Kwantung Army, governor-general of the Kwantung territory, and ambassador to Manchukuo. He was responsible in Tokyo only to the Manchurian Affairs Board; neither the Foreign Office—the Gaimushō—nor any other civilian agency shared his authority.

Turning away from "Republicanism, democracy, and Marxism" the new state reverted to primitivism. Though it adopted a five-races flag, it was ruled in the name of the Manchus only; their language, though almost extinct, was prescribed in the primary schools. The Chinese, who formed 90 per cent of the population, were excluded from politics. The state rested upon the Confucian ethics. Manchukuo was to be a pattern for later military governments and a twentieth-century proving ground for the Kingly Way of Confucius—the Wang Tao—almost identical with the *Kodo* of Nipponese patriots.

Western and Chinese Nationalist influence withered. International customs' control was first to go; rival rail systems, including the Chinese Eastern, were incorporated into the SMR.¹⁰ In 1935 Manchukuo entered the yen bloc; two years later a five-year plan disposed of all free business enterprise. Under the plan, Manchukuo was scheduled to supply 15 per cent of Japan's raw cotton requirements, together with large quantities of rice, sugar beets, and vegetable oils.

Nearly two billion dollars of monopoly capital was invested in the plan; its largest manufacturing complex was the Manchurian Heavy Industries Group, a strip-mining and steel trust built upon the ore and coal of Fengtien. Military dislike of the old Zaibatsu led to the development of new corporations in partnership with Kwantung Army officers and the government of Manchukuo.

Kodo in Domestic Politics

The Kingly Way disposed of domestic opposition in Japan much as it treated the "bandits" on the continent. Its agents were young officers and *soshi*, malcontent ruffians resembling the *ronins* of the

¹⁰ The Russians disposed of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan in 1935.

feudal age. Inouye Junnosuke, former president of the Bank of Japan, and Baron Dan Takuma of Mitsui were assassinated early in 1932. Shortly afterward occurred the May Fifteenth Incident, in which the prime minister, Inukai Tsunayoshi, who had opposed the Manchurian policy, was shot within his own modernistic official residence; the conspiracy, imperfectly carried out, called for further attacks on banks, police headquarters, and government buildings. Of fifty-four conspirators, only five were above the age of forty, and twenty-one were in uniform; the latter had smuggled the necessary arms from an arsenal. Another insurrection, the October Incident, was discovered before the stage of action. Such gunmen as were tried used the courtroom as a pulpit to extol their own patriotic motives. A few light sentences were imposed.

With the failure during the same year of the London Economic Conference, both politicians and financial classes lost face and the prestige of the new samurai grew greater. The surviving parties, Minseito and Seiyukai, ceased to oppose the Manchurian adventure; numbers of their Diet representatives entered the Political Party Dissolution League. War Minister Araki was emboldened to say, ". . . our *Kodo* . . . should be expanded all over the world, and every impediment brushed aside . . . even by the sword."

The armed services' budget, under half a billion dollars in 1931, rose eightfold within the next six years—to exceed 70 per cent of all national expenditure. Heavy industry, the basis of armament, rose from 38 to 58 per cent of the national output.

The Foreign Office was contemptuously referred to as a branch of the War Ministry. The Education Ministry was brought under subjection when, in 1935, the Military Club conducted a formal bookburning of the works of Dr. Minobe Tatsukichi. Minobe, for thirty years professor of law at Tokyo Imperial University, was the intellectual father of a generation of bureaucrats. He defined the emperor as "an organ of the State," thus ranking the divine as part of a human institution, an effrontery which cost him his chair at the university and his membership in the House of Peers. The Diet quickly passed legislation drafted by the War Office. A notable instance was the Petroleum Reserve Law, requiring foreign oil companies to keep a six-months' supply of fuel constantly on hand.

KODO STRIKES AT THE ARMY AND IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

The process of purification was directed in turn toward the army command itself. Officers of the *Tosei-ha* were entrenched in the War Ministry, controlling promotions and personnel assignments; men of similar conservative views held the household offices closest to the Imperial Person.

When, after the plots of 1934, a number of young *Kodo-ha* firebrands were retired from the army, they attacked their superiors in a published pamphlet.²⁰ Next summer, Major General Nagata Tetsuzan, director of the Military Affairs Bureau, was cut down in his office by one of the "unreliable" younger officers, who had received orders to Formosa.

During the trial of Nagata's assassin, there erupted the most formidable rebellion since the Satsuma Revolt. On February 26, 1936, an unseasonably snowy morning, Tokyo awoke in a state of siege. Companies of the First Division had seized several of the ministries of state west of the Palace Moat, including the War Office. Soldiers distributed leaflets excoriating persons guilty of "the amassment of wealth regardless of the . . . welfare of the people . . ." as well as "the Elder Statesmen, the financial magnates, the government officials, and the political parties."²¹ Machinegun squads found and killed Finance Minister Takahashi Koreikiyo, Admiral Viscount Saito, keeper of the privy seal, and General Watanabe Jotaro, director of Military Education. They failed to identify the two admirals, Prime Minister Okada and Grand Chamberlain Suzuki Kantaro, as well as Elder Statesman Saionji and his colleague at Versailles, Count Makino.

Fourteen hundred infantrymen took part in the uprising, led by company officers. The navy proved unsympathetic. The emperor was filled with dismay; had the plot prevailed, he might have been forced to abdicate in favor of a new shogunate. Terrorism had, for a time, overreached itself. Punishment was swift after the rebels' surrender: a court-martial exacted the death penalty from seventeen leaders of the uprising, including the philosopher Kita Ikki.

²⁰ Yanaga, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

²¹ Byas, *op. cit.*, p. 119-ff.

COLLAPSE OF CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT

The *Kodo-ha* was crushed, though the public admired its foolhardy chieftains, comparing them to the Forty-Seven Ronins. The victorious Control Faction shared the universal army contempt for civilian government, and reinstated the requirement that only active-duty officers could serve as war and navy ministers. In March the War Office ordered the dismissal of two members of Hirota Koki's new ministry, and it forbade General Ugaki to succeed Hirota; he was "too close to the politicians." The army declared for "clarification of national policy," a euphemism for controls which would place the nation on a war footing; generals known to disfavor them were placed on the retired list.

The China Incident

Continued continental expansion surely followed the army's triumph. The Chinese government, advised by the German strategist von Falkenhausen, was deploying its small strength in the Yangtze Valley. Little defense could be spared for the northern marches; by the Tangku Truce of 1933 much of the old metropolitan province around Peip'ing was demilitarized. Two years afterwards, the Kwantung Army insisted that another tier of five provinces, extending from Suiyuan (in Inner Mongolia) to Shantung, be placed under puppet political councils. An immense and populous area seemed about to suffer the fate of Manchuria.

But when General Tojo Hideki moved into Suiyuan to "suppress banditry," his thrust was sharply defeated. Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek, flying to lead the fighting, was kidnapped in Sian by Chinese officers and urged to discard his anticommunist campaign in favor of a full-scale resistance to Japan.²²

Next June a nonpolitical cabinet under Prince Konoye Fumimaro, supported by the army, sought to unify the nation: United Japan faced United China. Only a month later, on the Double Seven (July 7, 1947), patrols of the two powers became involved in a skirmish at the Lukouchiao (Marco Polo) Bridge near Peip'ing. Despite sincere truce proposals from both Tokyo and Nanking, fighting became general. The huge port facilities of Tientsin

²² See p. 364.

soon fell to the Japanese; assault troops, moving by motor convoy with tank support and uncontested air superiority, won easy victories against the provincial militia of North China. The new incident seemed headed for a quick, victorious solution.

THE BATTLE FOR SHANGHAI

With little further delay, a sea-borne thrust was aimed at the Yangtze Valley. Chiang K'ai-shek's elite divisions held their lines so firmly along the Whangpu River that landings became necessary in Hangchow Bay, turning the Chinese right flank, before Shanghai could be captured. The Japanese pressed on by land and river to Nanking; the Nationalist capital fell on December 17, in an orgy of looting and massacre.²⁵ But the generalissimo had removed his government to Hankow, three hundred miles upstream, fighting on although he had lost his modern armies and his entire air force among the bloodsoaked trenches of the delta. During the spring of 1938 in another sacrifice move, he flooded the Yellow River plains to halt the northern invasion. Experts had assured the emperor that the incident would be disposed of in three months; after a full year there were victories to report, but no offers of submission.

Japan's Totalitarian Leaders

In November, 1936, Japan associated herself through the Anti-Comintern Pact with the group of powers whose fascistic aggressions paced each other across the Old World. All defined themselves as totalitarian, a term used by Benito Mussolini to imply subjugation of the individual to the state.

Japan seemed monolithic. But she had no government press; liberal editors continued to write despite raids by the *soshi*. There was no Duce or Fuehrer; Japan's rulers were compared to pigeons wheeling above a city square: the birds, indistinguishable from each other, alternate between front and rear rank as the flock turns.

Among men of good will, perhaps the most eminent was Saionji, honored since 1924 as the last of the Elder Statesmen; confident of three emperors since, during the Restoration of 1868 he donned

²⁵ For which commanding General Matsui Iwane was hanged in 1947 as a war criminal.

a suit of antique green armor to lead his retainers against the shogun. A true dilettante, he versified in French as well as in classic Japanese. At lavish functions in the home of his brother, the master of the house of Sumitomo, he sought to reconcile soldiers to politicians; a wit credited Saionji with intelligence, indolence, and indifference.

His protégés included the younger statesmen, Nomura Kichisaburo and Konoye Fumimaro. Admiral Nomura typified the moderate navalists; as attaché in Washington he had once been friendly with Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt; in politics he was sufficiently liberal to have lost an eye in a bomb attack. Konoye, hereditary chief of the ancient Fujiwara clan and prince of the Royal Household, was honorary president of the House of Peers. As a lesser divinity, he was politically acceptable to all factions. Golf was his hobby, though Konoye often felt too bored to finish the course. He sent his son to Lawrenceville and Princeton University.

Opposed to these men of reason were others who expressed the growing rage of Japanese nationalism. Matsuoka Yosuke had been president of the South Manchuria Railway. Educated in Oregon, he remained bilingual and was "American" in his air of bluster and self-assertiveness. A savage critic of the democracies, Matsuoka found satisfaction in leading Japan out of the League and into the Axis.

The Machiavellis of the Kwantung Army were Doihara Kenji and Tojo Hideki. Colonel Doihara, born of poor parents, won honors as a Chinese linguist in the war academy. Living abroad on intelligence duty, he was to subvert a generation of Chinese politicians from the Anfu clique to the Cabinet of Wang Ch'ing-wei; his talents were an urbane manner and an eclectic feeling for culture. In contrast, General Tojo, nicknamed "The Razor," despised the foreign world, convinced that the defeat of Russia in 1905 would befall every enemy of *Dai Nippon*. He was a leader in the Army Control Faction and friendly with the Zaibatsu, who looked to him for supply contracts. But his greatest power came as director of the Kempeitai, the feared secret *gendarmérie*; he was said to keep a dossier on every Kwantung army officer. Though beaten in Suiyuan, Tojo rose steadily from field commander to inspector-general of aviation and vice-minister of war.

The power of such men was formidable; but it was probably less than that of the Black Dragon pope, Toyama Mitsuru, spokesman of the superpatriots, who had never held rank or office, delivered a public address, or owned a bank account. Soft-voiced and white-bearded, he was revered as no other subject of the emperor; a suggestion from Toyama might bring down a cabinet or hold more menace than the army's saber-rattling. He was suspected of organizing forty years of violence; yet he refused, in respect for Buddha's Law of Life, to disturb the mosquitoes that sucked his blood on summer evenings.

Opposing Toyama, and no less enigmatic, the Marxist Mao Tse-tung personified the intransigence of China. Visitors to his cave retreat in Yen-an were impressed by this "humble, kindly, lonely genius"²⁴ who had dismembered Nationalist China. Toyama, Mao, and their contemporary, Mohandas Gandhi, represented an Oriental mysticism that challenged the Philistinism of the twentieth century. Chiang K'ai-shek reluctantly accepted the gage of a battle which Prince Konoye attempted to terminate. Neither was master of his nation. Behind each were irrepressible forces: the raw communist power spreading eastward across the Eurasian steppes—and the Shinto blood cult of Yamato Damashii, derived from misty legends in the Days of the Gods.

Relations with the West

While Japan's internal revolution was proceeding, the New Deal government of the United States remained indifferent to Asian affairs. Secretary of State Cordell Hull allowed the Stimson Non-Recognition Policy regarding Manchukuo to stand. He inherited an able ambassador in Tokyo, Joseph Clark Grew, and retained him for a decade.²⁵ At the London Economic Conference, Secretary Hull agreed with Japanese demands for the unshackling of world trade.

JAPAN'S BELLIGERENCE

Stimson's rebuke to the Divine Mission drew a number of stinging semiofficial retorts from Tokyo. Amau Eiji, assistant

²⁴ Carlson, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

²⁵ The title of Mr. Grew's diary, published in 1944, is *Ten Years in Japan* (New York: Simon and Schuster.)

foreign secretary, warned all non-Oriental nations against supplying China with arms, and announced regarding the agreements of 1922: "If you wish to know what we are doing about the Washington Conference . . . look . . . at what Germany is doing about the Versailles sanctions."²⁶ Before the end of 1934, Japan had abrogated the five-power naval ratios, refusing to accept any disparity in tonnage. Members of the Hirota Cabinet two years later drafted certain principles of national policy designed to "correct . . . the aggression" of Britain and the United States.²⁷

AMERICAN NEUTRALISM

America remained unconcerned; by passing the Tydings-McDuffie Act in 1934²⁸ the Congress favored withdrawal from the Philippines and thus presumably from Asia. It then ratified by strong majorities a series of neutrality laws. In 1935, the president was required to embargo arms sales to belligerent nations; a year later, to isolate the United States from the conflict in Spain, the same doctrine was applied to civil wars.

In its final form the Neutrality Act empowered the president to recognize a state of war as he saw fit. Should he do so, American-made weapons could neither be sold to the belligerents nor transported in American ships. The embargo must be uniformly applied: there could be no distinction between aggressor and victim. Strategic materials such as raw steel and oil were not affected; these remained freely available to any power possessing its own arms plants and merchant marine.

The Neutrality Act was designed to remove certain impulses toward war in 1917. It did not embarrass the Italian invaders of Ethiopia, and it probably encouraged the war lords in Tokyo: the China Incident followed its passage by only two months.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S QUARANTINE SPEECH

No formal declarations of war followed the Double Seven; President Roosevelt therefore declined to invoke the act, which would

²⁶ Hall, J. W. (Upton Close, pseud.), *Behind the Face of Japan* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1942), p. 266.

²⁷ Quoted in M. A. Aziz, *Japan's Colonialism and Indonesia* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1955), p. 54, from records of the International Military Tribunal of the Far East.

²⁸ See p. 400.

have sealed China from effective aid. Japan was meanwhile ordering war supplies in immense volume. This traffic alarmed the president; he chose a bridge dedication ceremony in Chicago to declare that "when an epidemic . . . starts to spread . . . the community joins in a quarantine of the patients." This mild hint of international sanctions against war makers found little sympathy from the Midwestern audience, the Department of State, or the national press.²⁹ At the Brussels Conference, convened to debate the Far Eastern crisis, American delegates supported a spineless resolution "that hostilities be suspended."

AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE CHINA INCIDENT

Japan was directing a barrage of pamphlets upon American journalists and teachers. College classes or garden clubs crossed the Pacific on escorted tours to return protagonists of the Divine Mission; numbers of prominent Americans, together with a number of American ex-missionaries to Japan, admired it on principle.³⁰ To these, the incidents appeared as a continuing crusade against communism. The Republic of China seemed to them incapable of self-rule, requiring firm outside control. *Dai Nippon* was as justified in her contemporary "expansion" as the Anglo-Saxons had been in the nineteenth century. More cynically, Japan was a threefold better business customer than China!

Many firms were realizing prosperity after the long depression by filling Japan's orders for metal scrap, petroleum, cotton, shipping tonnage, or even fabricated war materials. The Pacific Coast director of naval intelligence commented:

Even on the eve of the Pacific War, [manufacturers] displayed their misplaced zeal for business by selling the Japanese everything, including our latest airplane designs.³¹

²⁹ See W. S. Langer and S. Everett Gleason *The Challenge to Isolation 1937-1940* (New York: Harper, 1952), p. 19.

³⁰ Especially William R. Castle, U. S. ambassador to Tokyo in 1930; see Morse and McNair, *op. cit.*, 778. Boake Carter, one of the best-known early radio commentators, repeated most of the Tokyo War Office clichés in his book, *Why Meddle in the Orient?* (New York: Dodge, 1938).

³¹ Rear-Admiral E. M. Zacharias *Secret Missions* (New York: Putnam, 1946), p. 94. It has been charged that every piece of war equipment used in the capture of Nanking had at least one American manufacturer's stamp somewhere upon it. For comment on this traffic, see Edgar Snow, *The Battle for Asia*, pp. 105-10; Carlson, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

Nevertheless, public-opinion surveys show overwhelming sympathy for China. Former Secretary Stimson sponsored a Society for Non-Cooperation with Japanese Aggression; violent protests were made by U. S. Representative Walter Judd, a former medical missionary to China, by Rear Admiral H. E. Yarnell, formerly of the Asiatic Squadron, and Lieutenant Colonel Evans Carlson, China observer for the Marine Corps. Picket lines attempted to discourage the loading of Japan-bound freighters, or even the purchase of Japanese consumer goods. But Congress continued to avoid war by ignoring its existence, when a silk boycott alone, by cutting her dollar income in half, might have paralyzed Japan's war potential.

Army hotheads attempted in December, 1937, to force a crisis by bombing the American gunboat *Panay* near Nanking; but the Tokyo Foreign Office apologized promptly, paying reparation. Next June, Secretary Hull called for a "moral embargo" upon shipment of aircraft material to Japan, though a strong note which he drafted, reaffirming the Open Door, was bottled up by his advisers. For five years after the Washington agreements had lapsed, Congress refused to fortify Guam; and the Chiefs of Staff advised against naval concentration in Hawaii. Not until July, 1939, when President Roosevelt denounced the commercial treaty with Japan, did the United States government officially take sides in the Asian struggle.

THE ATTITUDE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Britain's national government was concentrating, like the contemporary New Deal, upon domestic problems. Measures were taken to reduce Japanese inroads into imperial trade. The racial policies of the three Pacific Dominions and the strengthening of the Singapore Naval Base led Tokyo jingoes to regard their former ally as a principal enemy.³²

Invasion of the Yangtze Valley extinguished a British trade hegemony dating back for seventy years. Following the Munich surrender, Japan's army overran the Canton Delta, sealing it from Hong Kong, and her navy seized the Spratly Islands off French

³² See the volume *Japan Must Fight Britain* (New York: Telegraph Press, 1936). Authorship was entrusted to reserve Lieutenant Commander Ishimaru Tota, IJN, and of course disclaimed by his superiors.

Indo-China. Gross insults were inflicted upon Europeans by Japanese occupational forces in Tientsin, Amoy, and Shanghai; and HBM ambassador's official motor car was machine-gunned near Nanking.

HITLER AS PEACEMAKER

Adolf Hitler adopted for a time the unusual role of peacemaker; the Fuehrer inherited Kaiser Wilhelm's concern about Japanese expansion into Eurasia and he had won for Germany a strong place in the Chinese market. While General von Falkenhausen continued to advise the Kuomintang staff, Ambassador von Trautmann tried to evolve peace terms which would unite Japan, China, and the Third Reich in a common front against bolshevism. But no treaty acceptable to Tokyo would restore to China complete sovereignty in Manchuria and the northern provinces, and the generalissimo demanded nothing less.

Japan Faces the USSR

Stalin's Republic during the first five-year plan proved as opportunistic as the czarist empire. While the League was condemning Japan for her Manchurian invasion, Russia remained friendly and negotiated the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchukuo despite the protests of China.³³ After its loss, Vladivostok and the Maritime Province retained only a circuitous single-track connection with Central Siberia, and this was threatened for six hundred miles along the Amur and Ussuri frontiers by Japanese armies. Russia was forced to strengthen the flanks of the Manchukuo salient; on the east, Vladivostok, three hours' flight from Tokyo, began to bristle with fortifications, submarine pens, and airfields. On the west, the Soviets relied upon their reinforced Mongolian garrison and the Red Army of Northwest China. The Far Eastern military command was given independent status.

As Japan snubbed the League of Nations, Soviet Russia entered it, and Foreign Minister Litvinov became an eloquent spokesman for collective security. A circle of enemies—Germany, the Danubian dictatorships, and Japan—were about to sign an anti-Comintern pact. Hundreds of clashes took place in 1935-36 along the

³³ Bargaining lasted for a year in 1933-34; the extremely low price of seventy million dollars, was largely paid in Japanese goods.

Siberian border—patrol actions, which had they encountered a soft defense, would have led to full-scale invasion.

The Stalin purges, which decimated the Far East Command,²⁴ encouraged Tokyo's army chieftains to launch the 1937 China Incident. Once her rival was committed in China, Russia's interest lay in prolonging the struggle. A Sino-Soviet treaty guaranteed the Nanking government \$250 million in war credits, repayable in tea, wool, and tungsten. Six squadrons of Russian planes served for a year with Chiang's armies, slowing Japanese operations without halting them.

The main Russian effort went into rebuilding its own Far Eastern forces, which in 1939 decisively defeated the Kwantung Sixth Army at Khalkal Gol in Inner Mongolia. Thereafter, Soviet diplomacy took a firmer tone; Japanese fishing rights in the sea of Okhotsk were allowed to lapse, then renewed on less favorable terms. Finally, the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact relieved tensions along the Amur frontier.

The Stalemate in China

After the Shanghai battles, the Chinese generalissimo never again exposed his armies to the mincing-machine of Japanese artillery and air bombardment. His orders, imperfectly carried out, were for slow retreat, exchanging space for time, surrendering only "scorched earth and broken tile."

Japan's advance along the main communication routes was irresistible. When Hankow fell, late in 1938, the Nationalist government had already moved five hundred miles upriver to Chungking, within the mountain ramparts of Szechuan Province. No navy could force the Yangtze gorges. Chungking was vulnerable only from the air. Some industrial plants were dismantled and millions of patriots joined the exodus to Szechuan. There universities re-established themselves, and, with foreign help, notably that of the New Zealander Rewi Alley, workshops set up in mat and cave shelters began to turn out clothing and tools of war. China's total steel consumption was less than that of an average American city; but, by hoarding materials and expending men, the Nationalists struggled on.

²⁴ And included Marshal Galen Blucher.

Japan took over nearly all of China's rail network along with every industrial center, and sea outlets to the world were blocked by the Imperial Navy, though smugglers transshipped a few war cargoes from Hong Kong through the Pearl River waterways. Tongking had rail connections with southwest China; and Rangoon with Lashio in the Shan states, from which the precarious Burma Road truck highway ran across immense river canyons to Yunnanfu—now called Kunming.

There was no formal fighting front. Postal and wire services and much trade passed between the free and occupied zones. Where towns were unsafe, the invaders ruled their conquests from airfields and blockhouse cantonments. Intelligent administration might have won over the Chinese masses, who knew little of patriotism, and had lost faith in their Revolution. In some command areas, life and property were respected by the Japanese and living standards raised. General Doihara himself was well versed in art and history; his genuine love for Peip'ing led him to restore its imperial name of Peking, and embellish the city to make it the cultural capital of the Orient.

Such areas were too few; more often the Divine Mission borrowed the tactics of the old Kyushu corsairs. Possessed of the ports of entry, the Japanese seized customs revenues and passed through their own imports free of duty while vexing Western traders with heavy dues and currency discrimination. Monopolies took over wool and tobacco, telecommunications, internal steamship transports, and stevedoring. Composite trusts, the North China and Central China Development companies, absorbed entire areas of the captive economy with the design of siphoning China's wealth to Japan and enriching their military stockholders. The Zaibatsu were encouraged to build new plants, especially in booming Tsingtau, where wages and welfare costs were far below the minima at home.

At the lowest levels, uniformed hoodlums requisitioned their loot with blows or bayonet thrusts. Soldiers and their agents—often homeless Koreans forced to serve as the jackals of imperialism—rode the railways free, bringing in opium and carrying out bullion and bronzes, porcelain or carved jade.³⁵ The effect was to stir the fury of a patient people. Revolts led to mass reprisals and

³⁵ See Snow, *The Battle for Asia*, p. 12.

further exploitation, paving the road of communism; Japan had begun to "ride the tiger." She could no longer extricate herself from the continent with profit or with honor. Three years of fighting had cost as many casualties and ten times as much wealth as the victory over Russia. The incident was planned as a summer campaign; now army spokesmen hinted that half a century might be required to "rejuvenate Asian civilization."

The End of Party Politics

No Diet elections were held after the launching of the China War. Prince Konoye resigned, when he found himself unable to conclude the "Incident" or to impose full war controls upon the nation, giving place to Baron Hiranuma Kiichiro, backed by the patriotic societies, who forced through the General Mobilization Law. An Asia Development Board took over the administration of the conquered lands.

Japan's isolation after the Russo-German pact carried Hiranuma and two weak successors out of office. In January, 1940, Konoye resumed the premiership, bringing with him Matsuoka as foreign minister and Tojo as secretary of war; all were prepared to give parliamentarianism its *coup de grâce*. In midsummer of 1940 (while Hitler was liquidating democracy through his New Order), all political parties merged themselves into an Imperial Rule Assistance Association, organized in paramilitary village units.

The Total War Research Society and Science Mobilization Society studied how to adapt the techniques of the Third Reich to Asia. Censorship was imposed on the press and radio broadcasting. In schools, grades were abolished and the search for knowledge gave way to "moral" training and calisthenics. Movies and stage plays ridiculed the westernized cockney and glorified the virtues of the clansman. Romanized writing was frowned upon; when used, it followed an official new form.⁸⁰ The hoardings were smeared with antiforeign broadsides; pamphlets rehearsed the duplicity and oppressions of the white nations; Christianity was compelled to defer to older faiths—to the Wang Tao of Confucius and to Shinto, the Way of the Gods.

⁸⁰ *Fuji* became *Huzi*; *Chosen* was *Tyosen*.

The Imperium of Greater East Asia

☞ The Countries of East Asia and the region of the South Seas are geographically, historically, racially, and economically very closely related to each other. They are destined to cooperate and minister to one another's needs for their common well-being and prosperity and to promote the peace and progress of their regions. . . . The system presupposes the existence of a stabilizing force. . . . Japan [has] responsibility as the stabilizing force in East Asia.

Foreign Minister Arita, June, 1940

☞ Japanese spokesmen . . . talked of the "new Order in Eastern Asia" and then the "Co-prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia." What they really intended was the enslavement of every nation within their power, and the enrichment, not of all Asia, not even of the common people of Japan, but of the war lords who had seized control of the state.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the U. S. Congress,
December 15, 1941

Japan's Monroe Doctrine

THE EASTERN continental coastlines of both Asia and North America trend southwest from the Arctic to taper away in the tropics. Each has its insular Indies, rich in plantation spices, sugar, and petroleum—prizes dear to European colonizers.

In North America it was the New Englander, a hill farmer or fisherman of the Grand Banks, who integrated the economy of the western Atlantic and the Caribbean, exchanging furs and timber and whale oil for rum and Black Ivory. When he had undermined the trade of the Europeans, he defied their political authority and helped to expel them from their holdings. The pioneer industrialist in the New World, he used his technology to exploit a continent, to defeat agrarian rivals south of Mason and Dixon's line, and reduce the indolent mestizos of the tropics to a dependent status. A New England philosopher, John Quincy Adams, drafted the Monroe Doctrine, creating a national sphere of interest protected by a Yankee navy too powerful to be challenged in its own waters.

To Japanese students of geopolitics, such precedents were tantalizing. Why should not their race, the tough seamen of the middle latitudes, emulate the achievements of the New World vikings? A Japanese Monroe Doctrine was allegedly suggested by Theodore Roosevelt and implied in the "special interests" recognized by the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of 1917.¹ General Honjo, seizing Manchuria, proposed that thereafter his country would "share with the United States the good things of this world."² As his government withdrew from the League of Nations, Foreign Minister Hirota openly declared for a "Monroe Doctrine in East Asia," giving Japan as much authority in the China seas as the United States claimed in the Caribbean.

There was no immediate military implementation. The advance guards of Nippon's power were ocean-going fishing fleets that cruised from the Gulf of Alaska to the Solomon reefs, and, ashore, smiling barbers, photographers, and dentists.³ There followed freighters with the sun-circle ensign, loading out the local products and bringing in brittle, unbelievably cheap factory merchandise: a warehouse of Mitsui Bussan Kaisha and an Osaka bazaar; finally (where immigration laws permitted), a tight Nipponese community. Whole industries moved into Japan's orbit: the iron-ore mines of Malaya or the Mindanao hemp plantations, among which Davao came to resemble a little Tokyo.

¹ See G. H. Blakeslee, "The Japanese Monroe Doctrine," *Foreign Affairs*, XI, 4 (July, 1933), 671 ff.

² Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York: Holt, 1950), p. 809.

³ The author speaks from personal observation of them in eastern Asia and on the West Coast of Mexico.—A.C.

As they became more venturesome, the Japanese closed their strategic zones to foreign inspection: the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands, Formosa and the Ryukyus. There was no thought of surrendering the mandates when Japan left the League; rumor spoke of air and submarine bases among the atolls and of a Gibraltar at remote Truk Island in the Carolines.

Decline of European Colonialism

During its final decade, European colonialism faced multiple problems in repairing the damages of the world depression, strengthening the loyalty of subject peoples against the influence of communist and Japanese propaganda, holding its protected markets, and building military defenses.

SIAM STAGES A REVOLUTION

In Siam, heavy financial difficulties led to a palace coup in 1932 and later to King Prajadiphok's abdication. The dominant People's Party was led by Pridi Banomyong, a left-wing economic planner, and the conservative militarist Pibul Songgram. Its policy was nationalistic: there was tightened control of Chinese schools and newspapers, and a shift in taxation from agriculture to foreign-controlled commerce. State Buddhism was strengthened at the expense of Christianity. Siam, alone of League members, failed to cast a vote of censure against Japan after the Lytton Report. As a protective gesture toward tribal Thai enclaves in surrounding countries, Siam in 1939 assumed the name of Thailand.

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR REACHES THE PHILIPPINES

The Tydings-McDuffie Act created a Philippine commonwealth with an American high commissioner and organs of government like those in the United States. President Manuel Quezon took office as president in May, 1935. The retiring United States Army chief of staff, Douglas MacArthur, was appointed field marshal of the Philippine defense system. The general knew the islands well; his father, Arthur MacArthur, had been their first military governor over thirty years before. The son had risen steadily in the

army, winning a general's star in the First World War and becoming superintendent of the West Point Military Academy. Douglas MacArthur was, for a soldier, outspoken on public affairs, respected rather than personally popular. His defense plan, designed to "give pause to the most ruthless" aggressor, called for a conscript army built around the core of the Philippine constabulary, an air force of 250 planes, and a navy of motor torpedo boats.

SINGAPORE DEFENDS THE SOUTH SEAS

Malaya became the bulwark of colonial East Asia and the Anzac Dominions when, in 1938, its Singapore Island Naval Base was completed at a cost of one hundred million dollars. A disastrous fall in rubber prices during the 30's slowed down immigration but also accentuated labor unrest. The government encouraged palm-oil and copra production to escape the hazards of a one-crop economy; it also developed processing industries in Singapore. These in turn provided a laboring proletariat that received steady communist indoctrination from China. In government, Britain continued to recognize the Malayan sultans; Chinese immigrants had no political privileges.

RISE OF THE THAKINS IN BURMA

Separation from India, completed in 1937, caused intense satisfaction in Burma. Outside the reserved areas of religion, finance, and foreign affairs, the former colony became self-governing. Unfortunately, the collapse of its export economy during the depression deepened the internal friction between delta rice farmers, Hindu landlords, and Karen hill folk. Nationalism was strongest among the native Burmese; it found expression among the liberal arts graduates of Rangoon University, most of whom, despising the soil, earned a meager living from journalism or political office. Their leaders, Aung San, Ba Maw, U Saw, and Than Tun, addressed each other as *thakins*, or chiefs.

Only in Burma, among the colonies, did Japan gain strong political support: a Revolutionary Party, organized by 1939, was supplied with arms and subsidies, and thirty "national heroes," including Aung San, proceeded to Tokyo for training. Throughout

the Irrawaddy Valley, party units "grew like mushrooms." ⁴ U Saw, elected premier in 1939, visited London to press for immediate independence; when the Pacific War broke out, he was sent to exile in South Africa.

Indo-China, sealed against other types of subversion, was vulnerable to direct Chinese influences on the land and sea frontiers of Tongking. Unrest became increasingly personified in Ho Chi-minh, chief agent of the Comintern. The income of the Netherlands Indies fell to about half the figure for bonanza years. Land was already in the hands of small proprietors, and Dutch welfare programs and respect for native custom slowed down the main force of nationalism. Nevertheless, Asian members of the *Volksraad* petitioned in 1936 for home rule, and independence within a decade. The Communist and Nationalist parties—PKI and PNI—were quiescent during the decade, though a noncooperation movement somewhat like Gandhi's in India led before 1940 to the formation of a United Front against Holland.

THE STATUS OF COLONIALISM

Colonialism was weakened, in its final decade, by a series of impacts—most damaging of all, the distress of the world-wide depression. The promise of independence to the Filipinos by 1945 set sympathetic currents in motion among other subject peoples. Japan's rising strength encouraged hope of a Pan-Asian victory won by force, and Comintern propaganda harped upon the evils of imperialism.

These forced numerous concessions: Burma's voting franchise was almost as liberal as that of the Philippines; there was more freedom of thought and political action than in the totalitarian states of Europe. Yet no strong labor movement existed, and, while one fifth of all Japanese were enrolled in schools, the percentage stood at three for the European colonies. When facing threats of invasion, the master groups hesitated to arm a native militia with weapons that might be used against themselves. The bulwarks of the rich South consisted of small garrisons of white soldiers, some Annamite legionnaires, and a Philippine defense plan that almost naïvely underestimated Japan's aggressive power.

⁴ V. M. Thompson and R. Adloff, *The Left Wing in Southeast Asia* (New York: Sloane, 1950), p. 85.



DECISIVE WEAPON OF THE PACIFIC WAR, 1944-45: THE SUPERFORTRESS

The American B-29 Superfortress bombers based on the Mariana Islands overwhelmed Japanese cities with incendiary and, eventually, atomic bombs. See page 440.—Photograph courtesy of the United States Air Force.



SABRE JETS OVER NORTH KOREA, 1952

The jet-propelled fighter plane came of age during the Korean War. United States F-86 Sabre jets, outfighting Russian-built MiGs, played a significant role in checking Communist military aggression in Asia. See page 499.—Photograph courtesy of the United States Air Force.

Hedgkott -
Atomic Bomb Command
August 9, 1945

To: Prof. R. Sagane

From: Three of your former scientific colleagues
during your stay in the United States.

We are sending this as a personal message to say that
you see your influence as a reputable nuclear physicist,
to convince the Japanese General Staff of the terrible
consequences which will be suffered by your people
if you continue in this war.

You have known for several years that an atomic
bomb could be built if a nation was willing to pay
the enormous cost of preparing the necessary
material. Now that you have seen that we have con-
structed the production plants, there can be no doubt ^{in your mind}
that all the output of these factories, working 24 hours a
day, will be exploded on your homeland.

Within the space of three weeks, we have professed to bomb
in the American desert, exploded as in Hiroshima, and
just this third this morning.

We implore you to confirm these facts to your leaders,
and to do your utmost to stop the destruction and
waste of life which can only result in the total
annihilation of all your cities of continued existence.
We deplore the loss to which a beautiful discovery has been
put, but we can assure you that unless Japan
surrenders at once, this rain of atomic bombs will
be repeated in fury.

LETTER TO PROFESSOR R. SAGANE OF TOKYO IMPERIAL
UNIVERSITY FROM AMERICAN SCIENTISTS,
AUGUST 9, 1945

This letter was dropped from the U.S. bomber carrying the A-bomb to Naga-
saki. It was later delivered to Professor Sagane, who showed it to the author,
A. Crofts, and permitted a photostat to be made. The American author is
unidentified. See page 442.

Japan Joins the Axis

Before Hitler's blitzkrieg shattered Europe, the Japanese Army had established itself in the coastal Shanghai-Nanking-Hangchow triangle and along the main communication lines; it was considering partial evacuation of its outlying China conquests and even bidding for American good will by sending Admiral Nomura to the Washington embassy.

Germany's victories were not altogether welcome: Hitler might reassert claims to the kaiser's South Pacific empire when his triumph was complete. But for the time, metropolitan Holland and France no longer existed, and the British Navy stood on the defensive in its own narrow seas. America, now the arsenal of democratic Europe, could spare little assistance for Asia.

Japan, therefore, reactivated her program of conquest; she broke off negotiations with Chungking, and combined five pro-Japanese regional authorities into the Nanking government of Wang Ching-wei in April, 1940. An alliance followed, by which Wang accepted "close economic cooperation" with Japan, retention of her troops until peace was fully restored, and indefinite use of Chinese waters by the Imperial Navy. The Nanking regime recognized Manchukuo and became its fellow satellite.

Japanese demonstrations near Hong Kong persuaded Britain to close the Burma Road in July. And, on September 26, Japan signed a ten-year compact with the Axis nations, Germany and Italy. The allies pledged fullest joint assistance to any of their number who might be attacked by any "power not involved already in the European or Sino-Japanese conflict"—a circumlocution for the United States. Japan, however, insisted that the conveying of weapons and other indirect American participation in the Atlantic war must not be considered "attacks."⁵ The dynasts of the Third Reich foresaw a Europe integrated into Hitler's New Order, while Japan enjoyed a free hand in Asia.

The Birth of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

There developed "a new political, economic, and cultural structure" designated as Greater East Asia. The phrase recurred in

⁵ See Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 197; also Grew, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

public utterances of Prime Minister Konoye and Foreign Minister Arita. It was euphonious, and elastic enough to comprehend the scope of chauvinistic ambition. China, Japan, and Manchukuo were its heartland; army jingoes spoke of annexing the continent eastward to Burma, navalists of pushing southward to New Caledonia.⁶ The continent and its archipelagoes were to be knitted into a single economic "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

EXPANSION NORTHWARD

The northern radius of the sphere was never defined. The Manchurian Incident had forced back the Soviets to the Amur. They were consistent allies of Chiang; Moscow was the home of the Comintern, and Vladivostok threatened Tokyo across the home waters of the Empire. Powerful elements in the General Staff favored a revival of Terauchi's plan for annexing trans-Baikal Siberia, but the defeat at Khalkal Gol discouraged further northward penetration after 1939.

Foreign Minister Matsuoka, after concluding the Axis alliance, laid plans for a four-power totalitarian coalition against the shattered democracies, with Russia as the link between Greater East Asia and the New Order in Europe. Matsuoka himself traveled to Berlin in March, 1941. The Fuehrer advised him to make a treaty with the Russians—although it is now known that Hitler had four months before begun the planning Operation BARBAROSSA, his invasion of Soviet Europe.⁷

Revisiting Moscow on his homeward journey, Matsuoka assured Stalin that the people of Yamato were "spiritual" Communists, opposed to Western "liberalism, individualism, and egotism." A convention was signed in April providing that each nation would remain neutral if the other became involved in war; mutual interests in Manchukuo and the Mongolian People's Republic were "respected," if not fully recognized.

Matsuoka was immensely chagrined by the outbreak of the Russo-German War two months after his return to Tokyo. He promptly called for an attack upon Russia, but the Inner Cabinet declined to act before Stalin's tough Far Eastern Army should be

⁶ Ellis M. Zacharias, *Secret Missions* (New York: J. P. Putnam, 1946), p. 194.

⁷ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

withdrawn. The foreign minister had indeed given an exhibition of naïveté and bad faith. Cynically hoodwinked by the Nazi high command, he had in turn sabotaged his neutrality pact with the Bolsheviks, and implanted suspicion and enmity in the minds of Western democratic statesmen. The Konoye Cabinet soon reorganized itself for the purpose of relieving Matsuoka of his office.

THE DRIVE SOUTHWARD

By September, 1940, government presses in Tokyo were secretly printing military occupation notes for the Philippines, Burma, and Malaya.⁸ On July 2, 1941, an imperial conference fixed Japan's "fundamental policy" of immediate southward expansion. The first area of pressure was Tongking, the principal route into western China. The Vichy authority in France could do nothing to defend its faraway Indo-China colonies, but by evasion it postponed until September any large-scale arrival of Japanese troops. Their deployment along the railway severed the remaining overseas supply line to Chungking. Some Tokyo authorities hoped to bring Nationalist China without further delay into the Co-Prosperity Sphere—granting her Tongking as compensation for the loss of Manchukuo.

THAILAND'S IRREDENTISM

During the early months of 1941, Pibul Songgram, the Thailand dictator, was demanding the return of provinces lost to France in 1909.⁹ Matsuoka offered arbitration; and, after a series of land and sea skirmishes accompanied by protracted negotiations, France, on March 11, retroceded to Thailand her former Cambodian territory, together with all lands west of the middle Mekong.

THE NETHERLANDS INDIES STAND FIRM

Up to 1929, the relation of Japan to the Netherlands Indies were those of a valued commercial customer. In the islands, Japanese had the status of Europeans (a privilege pointedly refused to them in the United States); they required most of the products of the Indies and built a stable market for their cheap wares.

⁸ Mark Gwyn, *Japan Diary* (New York: Sloane, 1948), p. 258.

⁹ See p. 219.

During the depression, Japan's aggressive export drive brought on Dutch quota restrictions; in turn, her imports of Javanese sugar and tapioca had by 1939 almost disappeared.

The fall of Holland in April, 1940, brought almost immediate pressure upon the Indies. A mission arrived in Batavia asking guaranteed deliveries of strategic materials, especially ores, scrap metal, and petroleum. It met with polite refusals. The government of Holland was not captive, like that of France: from London it was conducting war against Germany; its agents in Batavia refused to deliver products which might be transferred to Europe for use by the Axis. It shared the prestige of Winston Churchill, who was winning the air battle of Britain and gaining open support in the United States.

A second mission, in 1941, bluntly proposed to incorporate the Indies into the yen bloc. There was little mention of reciprocal trade: the Indies must deliver thirty-five enumerated strategic products, and surrender mines, fisheries, cable communications, and coastal shipping. There was almost panicky emphasis on petroleum: in 1939 half a million tons sufficed Japan from the Sumatra and Borneo fields; the requirement went up in successive demands to four million tons annually. The mission left in June with only vague assurances; when it sailed, Japanese business houses began to repatriate their employees.

The United States Takes Action

American isolationist doctrine was directed toward Europe rather than eastern Asia. Opinion polls during the summer of 1940 showed that nine tenths of Americans favored an embargo upon war materials for Tokyo. That archcritic of foreign entanglement, Senator Edgar Borah, approved the cancellation of the Japanese-American trade treaty. Decades of diplomatic and racial tension conditioned this public attitude toward the militant "Japs."

Lack of a treaty did not prevent the exchange of commodities after 1939 on a month-to-month basis. But in the aftermath of the blitzkrieg, Congress replaced its neutrality laws with a Lend-Lease Bill designed to strengthen military resistance to the Axis. England was the chief beneficiary; but the invasion of Russia entitled the Soviets also to aid. In March, 1941, a joint American-

British-Canadian staff conference decided that, in case of general war—

the concentration of force should be on Germany first while a containing war of attrition was to be waged against Japan pending Germany's defeat.¹⁰

THE HULL POLICIES

Secretary Hull defined his Asian policy in four principles:

1. Respect for the integrity and sovereignty of all Pacific nations.
2. Noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries.
3. Equality of opportunity, especially in commerce.
4. No disturbance of the *status quo* except by peaceful means.

These restated the doctrines of John Hay, Charles Evans Hughes, and Henry Stimson; but they left little maneuver space to Japanese governments trapped between Washington's intransigence and the chauvinists' program of Greater East Asia.

Swift American reprisals followed Konoye's adherence to the Axis. The Selective Service Law conscripted men up to the age of thirty-five. Shipments of aviation fuel, iron and steel products, and nonferrous metals were successively embargoed. State Department experts counseled against complete oil sanctions, fearing that they would precipitate an attack upon the East Indies.

The navy's 1939 maneuvers were held in the Caribbean; at their conclusion, almost all units proceeded to stations on the West Coast. Next spring, they took place for the first time on the Hawaiian sea frontier; afterwards, the main fleet remained at Honolulu, whose Pearl Harbor base was enormously developed. Prime Minister Churchill invited it to occupy Singapore, releasing the entire British Navy for duty in the Atlantic; Mr. Hull and the Chiefs of Staff declined this offer.

AMERICA IMPOSES OIL SANCTIONS

Optimists predicted a better understanding between Japan and the West when Matsuoka resigned and the moderate Admiral Toyoda inherited the Foreign Office. But it soon became apparent that not only Tongking but Cochin-China, midway between Manila

¹⁰ Robert E. Sherwood, *The Hopkins Papers, Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Harper, 1950) p. 273.

and Singapore, were to be absorbed into Greater East Asia. Seeing his principles utterly defied, Hull secured the freezing by presidential order, on July 26, of all Japanese assets in the United States. The British Empire followed suit. Ninety per cent of the petroleum imports needed for industry and war had come from America. These were now shut off. Sumatra oil could not be purchased for lack of dollar exchange. Sakhalin and the yen bloc could not supply a tenth of the five-million-ton military requirements during war. Only a year's supply was held in storage.

The United States had imposed the ultimate sanction short of war, and, as their oil stocks dwindled, time was running against the planners of Greater East Asia. Toyoda pressed for a personal conference in Alaska between the emperor's prime minister and the American president; instead, Mr. Roosevelt met Winston Churchill off Newfoundland to formulate the Atlantic Charter.¹¹

Diplomacy was reaching an impasse; stronger men than Konoye, Fujiwara grandee, were clutching at the reins of power. General Tojo already held the portfolio of war. And there was Yamamoto Isoroku, admiral of the Combined Fleet, chess¹² champion of the Imperial Navy, among American friends a renowned poker player who displayed proudly, as he shuffled cards, the stumps of two fingers lost at Tsushima. As attaché, intelligence chief, tactician, and now vice-minister of the navy, Yamamoto had mastered the secrets of sea power. The eighteen-inch batteries of the *Yamato* and *Musashi* were about to join his line of battle; and the aircraft carrier had been for twenty years Yamamoto's obsession; eleven carriers flew the Rising Sun ensign, equipped with the Aichi 99 divebomber and the Zero interceptor plane.¹³ Pilots and crews had received remorseless training in northern waters, accepting casualties as a matter of course. On one occasion thirty planes were said to have been expended in landing practice during a storm. American maneuvers, held in pleasurable warm seas, tended to be as exciting and innocuous as football games; Congressional economy forbade the expenditure of "live" torpedoes in training, and forced

¹¹ The charter called for equality of opportunity in trade, the abandonment of force in international affairs, and general disarmament. Konoye could not have subscribed to these and remained in office.

¹² More properly go, a game of strategy like chess.

¹³ Nineteen forty was the 2600th or "zero" year of the Empire. Nineteen thirty-nine was the "99th."

a navy-minded president to build the newest of his carrier fleet, USS *Enterprise*, as a PWA relief project.

Yamamoto hoped for a year of victories if hostilities began; he saw no chance of dictating terms in Washington during this period or of winning a struggle of attrition. He therefore cast his vote against war. But Tojo admitted no alternative. His emphasis was placed upon intangibles: the "spirit" of *Dai Nippon*, undefeated in twenty-six centuries, which had overthrown the ponderous Chinese and Russian empires within living memory. Was not America another slovenly giant, encumbered with moneybags and ready to be cuffed about by his nimble Oriental adversary? After fighting began, softness and sentimentality (what else was portrayed in those decadent Hollywood films?), chronic labor trouble, and the outcries of pro-Axis pacifists would quickly cause America to sue for peace.¹⁴

FINAL NEGOTIATIONS: PLANS A AND B

The council which met with the emperor early in September decided not to press for a peaceful settlement beyond October 12. Four days after this deadline, Konoye resigned. Tojo succeeded him as premier, retaining also the post of war minister.

While convoys crept southward toward the Mekong Delta and torpedo-plane squadrons were practicing low-level runs, efforts at compromise continued. Early in November, the Foreign Office drafted two proposals; that labeled A called for resumption of freer trade, quick evacuation by Japan of Indo-China, with retention for "perhaps twenty-five years" of strategic positions in China. Should this fail, a stopgap proposal B would "freeze" the *status quo* of November 5 and guarantee oil supplies to Japan while she concluded a peace with China. Both proposals minimized the obligations of the Tripartite Axis Pact.¹⁵ A special commissioner, Kurusu Saburo, accompanied them to Washington.

On November 26, Secretary Hull submitted a list of counter-proposals. Some of these, confirming his four principles, restored full sovereignty in China to the Nationalist government but omitted

¹⁴ The guilt of individuals in forcing the war was determined by the International Military Tribunal of the Far East. Secretary Hull, in his *Memoirs*, regards all branches of the Japanese government to be jointly culpable; this chapter agrees with Captain Zacharias, ONI, and most other authorities that an army clique, backed by civilian superpatriots, was at fault.

¹⁵ They are more fully discussed in Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

mention of Manchukuo. Others re-established normal trade between the two Pacific powers.

Neither government could accept the other's offer without forfeiting its allies or its popular support. The Imperial Army would not abandon conquests which had cost so much blood and prestige. Hitler encouraged Japan to fight; he desired no Asian peace which would concentrate the strength of the Anglo-Saxon nations against himself. On the other hand, Nationalist China warned that if a "Far-Eastern Munich" sacrificed her territory, she would make her own peace; and neither Britain, Holland, nor Vichy France wished to leave Japan paramount in their colonial sphere. Already ABD staff conferences had decided that Japanese advance west of the Bangkok meridian or south of the Kra Isthmus should be considered an act of war.¹⁶

The Greater East Asia War

In January, United States Naval Intelligence broke the Japanese wireless code. Each morning, the American and British general staffs read the monitored text of secret dispatches from Tokyo. But this Operation MAGIC could not probe the mind of Tojo nor hear the consultations in the Imperial Audience Hall, and it did not alter the Allies' two main premises: that, first, an army unable to conquer China would not assault four white nations simultaneously; second, that any attack which did come would be directed toward the South.

Warning alerts went to the Philippines. Canadian reinforcements reached Hong Kong and the two Cunard *Queens* brought Australian divisions from North Africa to defend Malaya. Early in December, a task force led by HM battleships *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales* entered the Singapore Naval Base.

A DIE IS CAST

The Department of State did not regard the Hull note of November 26 as an ultimatum, nor build any hopes upon the proposals of Kurusu and Nomura. Their offer partially to evacuate China, in return for renewed oil supplies, was held to be another

¹⁶ S. E. Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948), p. 55, ABD were American-British-Dutch forces. Japan crossed the lines on December 5.

of the subterfuges that accompanied each move in Japan's expansion: *reculer pour mieux sauter*. For five decades, the course of Imperial conquest had been strewn with euphemisms: "self-defense," "stabilization," "co-prosperity," had come to mean assault, enforced submission, and exploitation.

Japanese intelligence was at the same time aware of the disposition of Anglo-American naval and air fleets, and the weakness of their Pacific bases. In the packed quarters of Oahu barracks or the Pearl Harbor battle fleet, homesick conscripts grumbled at their service discipline. Their home newspapers too often ridiculed the decree of "unlimited emergency" which kept them in uniform. During August, in Washington a resolution repealing selective service failed by one vote; draftees still hoped to go "over the hill" in October. Flag officers risked censure in Congress by "running a taut ship" or "bearing down on the kids."

Tojo invoked the decision for war, instructing Yamamoto to execute the navy's Pacific battle plan. During November, the Combined Fleet, under Vice-admiral Nagumo Chuichi, rendezvoused at Hittokappu Bay, shrouded in the dense Kurile fogs. On the eighteenth, a force of submarines put to sea; nine days later the main squadron of six carriers and seventeen escort ships slipped its cables to steam eastward. Aviators were being secretly briefed on the installations of Oahu, but seamen foresaw only another comfortless North Pacific training cruise. After a week's steaming, Nagumo executed a sharp turn toward warmer waters, and at noon on December 7 (Tokyo time) he hoisted the code flag of four colors carried by Togo at Tsushima, whose message was understood by every living Japanese: "Conquer or Die."

THE PEARL HARBOR ATTACK

The morning attack, favored by clear weather and total surprise, crippled the United States Pacific fleet: one battleship was destroyed, four rested on the shallow harbor bottom, three more were rendered nonoperational. Two destroyers and five tenders were lost, with about one hundred shore-based navy fighters and a larger number of army planes. Three thousand Americans lost their lives.¹⁷

¹⁷ Debate on the disaster has been drowned in recrimination. Admiral Husband Kimmel was warned by Captain E. T. Layton of the "disappear-

Japan had struck for the third time in sixty years without warning. China and Russia had in turn suffered "sneak" attack;¹⁸ the same tactic, adapted to the Air Age, sufficed again. A Japanese pilot-diarist queried with amazement, "Have these Americans never heard of Port Arthur?"

But if the United States Navy lost a battleship fleet, its four Pacific-based flattops were at sea. Fuel and repair facilities were intact; throughout the nation there was unprecedented unity. Discipline tightened; the people rallied behind their war leaders in a fury against Japanese "treachery."¹⁹

War in the South Seas

The Pearl Harbor attack was a screening operation to protect the left flank of Japan's southward offensive. It left only three battleships in the Pacific under Allied flags; the number was reduced to one when, on December 10, the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* were sunk by torpedo planes in the South China Sea. The Rising Sun flew over ten battleships—two of them the most powerful ever launched—and a million tons of lighter combat vessels.

Yamamoto's plan called for a three-pronged sea offensive: on the west, supporting the invasions of Malaya and North Borneo; in the center through the Makassar Straits menacing Java; east of the Philippines, from island bases crossing the equator to capture New Britain, whose splendid harbor of Rabaul became a staging point for threats to Australia. Fighting ships escorted troop convoys; Allied garrisons were isolated by amphibious attacks and

ance" of the four Japanese carriers from monitored broadcasts; he knew from MAGIC that Japanese consuls were burning their confidential papers on December 3.—See Zacharias, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 252. Secretary Hull warned on November 7 that "war may come anywhere, at anytime"; on the 27th, a Washington alert opened with "This is a war message." None of these notices indicated specific danger on the Hawaiian frontier. Kimmel's carrier search missions were operating W and SW on December 7—the only expected directions of attack. His radar sweep, admittedly inefficient, was manned. He had not ordered air patrols in the "safe" directions, N or E, nor dispersed his capital ships.

¹⁸ See pp. 182, 256.

¹⁹ Zacharias, *ibid.*, p. 251. Apologists for Japan cite that Admiral Halsey was already sailing to Wake Island with orders to engage any Japanese ships he should meet. Ministers Nomura and Kurosu were instructed to deliver a war message to Secretary Hull before the attack; because of decoding difficulties, it was presented an hour afterward.

by-passed. There was air cover at all times from naval carriers or newly constructed landing fields.

General MacArthur's Far Eastern Air Force, only half trained, though it included squadrons of Flying Fortress bombers, was largely destroyed on the ground eight hours after the raid on Pearl Harbor. The ABD Asiatic fleets under Dutch over-all command included seven cruisers and twenty destroyers, many of 1917 design, with one fiftieth the fire power of the Imperial Navy; they had never held joint maneuvers. After a few brilliant sorties, notably at Balikpapan in Borneo, nearly all were sunk in a series of running fights in the Java Sea.²⁰ Submarine operations were crippled by loss of all American torpedo stocks during the bombings of Cavite in Manila Bay. In all, Allied air and naval resistance did not slow the invasion timetable by as much as a week.

NAGUMO'S SWEEP

Admiral Nagumo halted his Pearl Harbor striking force briefly in home waters before continuing southwest. In February he reached the Indian Ocean; there his bombing planes, operating at extreme range, sank HM aircraft carrier *Hermes* and most of her task force near Ceylon, while his surface raiders scourged Allied shipping in the Bay of Bengal.

Returning to Yokosuka after four months of action, Nagumo claimed the destruction of five Allied battleships, one carrier, seven destroyers, numerous auxiliaries and merchant vessels—and damage to as many more—without injury to one of his own ships.²¹ His victory was as one-sided as that of Tsushima thirty-six years before: if Togo had ushered in the age of the armored and turreted dreadnaught, Nagumo wrote its finish. Control of the oceans had passed from the "battle wagon" to the mighty flattop.

Triumph of the Guntai

If the Allies' sea defense was poorly coordinated, their land armies fought with no joint strategy whatever. Trapped on islands or in peninsular cul-de-sacs, they could neither escape nor rein-

²⁰ Loss of the USS *Houston*, once used as a presidential flagship, was especially felt.

²¹ See Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 386. The estimate includes the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*, sunk while Nagumo's main force was in mid-Pacific.

force each other. Guam fell to the Imperial land forces—the *Guntai*—immediately; Wake Island, after three weeks' resistance; Hong Kong at Christmas, the same day as MacArthur evacuated Manila to entrench his men on the Bataan Peninsula.

Thailand hesitated for only three hours before striking hands with the invaders; early in 1942 she became Japan's full military ally. The defection of Pibul Songgram presented Tojo's forces with large food supplies, land frontiers with Malaya and Burma, centralized airbase and administrative facilities for Greater East Asia.

General Yamashita Tomoyuki, newly returned from Europe, adapted Hitler's blitzkrieg to the jungle terrain of Malaya. Its British and Australian defenders were forced into a series of tactical retreats that ended in rout. Every defense line was outflanked by coastal landings to its rear, or infiltrated by lightly armed, camouflaged patrols often disguised as Malay peasants or conducted by native spies through the forest. The hope of a stand on Singapore Island proved vain; its fortress guns, pointing to seaward, were never fired. Winston Churchill declared that the city's surrender on February 15 to be the greatest disaster ever suffered by British arms.

Its fall breached the Malay barrier and doomed the East Indies. The Sumatra oil installations were seized, little damaged, by parachute attack; and soon Nipponese infantry were landing in the surf of Javanese beaches, to converge by bicycle upon Batavia. The Dutch tricolor was hauled down over the Indies on March 5.

Yet, far to the north, an almost forgotten Allied army fought on in the forests of Bataan. There were Filipinos graduated with the first class of the Baguio Military Academy on Pearl Harbor Day; National Guardsmen who in August had been New Mexico farm boys; a core of regular United States infantry—dominated by the personality of Douglas MacArthur, whose skill at arms was illuminated (like Napoleon's) with a gift for the heroic phrase.

Without hope of victory, the defenders of Bataan struck back in repeated counterattacks, winning local successes that relieved the gloom of the Asian debacle. MacArthur himself, an indispensable symbol to the United Nations, was evacuated on March 11 to Australia; resistance continued until April 6, when the last defenders of the Rock of Corregidor surrendered to General Homma Masaharu.

THE CAPTURE OF BURMA

The entire Imperial expeditionary force became available after the Philippine campaign for the invasion of Burma. Moulmein and the Salween River Delta fell to the Japanese shortly after their occupation of Thailand. Further advance was slowed by the resistance of two British Army divisions and the brilliant fighters of Claire Chennault's American Volunteer Aviation Group, organized to hold open the Burma Road; nevertheless, Rangoon was captured on March 10. So important to Chungking was the threatened supply route that the Nationalist Fifth and Sixth armies crossed the Yunnan frontier to join the defense. Their commander was an American, Major General Joseph Stilwell; sardonic but fearless and dedicated, "Vinegar Joe" had spent much of his interwar service at China stations and become the army's leading Sinologist.

The Allies' best hope lay in holding an east-west line across Central Burma until the monsoon rains drowned overland communication; it failed in large part because of mutual distrust between Chinese, British, and Burmese. Aided by Revolutionary Party cells, a swift Japanese northward thrust close to the Thailand border seized the Lashio terminus of the Burma Road before the end of April. On the central plains, the Allied armies disintegrated. Stilwell accompanied a rout of soldiers and refugees, British, Hindu, Chinese, and Burman, marching afoot for two weeks over mired-down mountain trails from the Chindwin Valley to Assam.²² The *Guntai* reigned supreme over East Asia.

China and the Pacific War

The Burma fiasco had cost China her best fighting men and left the nation a backwater, isolated from the currents of the Pacific War. After the Japanese had interned Allied nationals in the occupied zones and formed a new front on the Burma border, the China Theater became quiescent. Critics have called December 7, 1941, "China's Armistice Day"; the war she had fought alone for four years belonged now to America.

If military movements in Central China were, for two years,

²² See *The Stilwell Papers*, ed. Theodore White (New York: Sloane, 1948).

hardly more than rice raids to seize harvested crops, political warfare was intensified. There was ceaseless pressure upon Chiang to break his Western ties and enter the Co-Prosperity Sphere. A 1943 treaty of "permanent amity and friendship" with Wang Ching-wei, promising restoration of Chinese territory, was beamed, in reality, toward Chungking.

After Pearl Harbor, the generalissimo declared war upon Japan, to become a full ally of the West; but his treatise, *China's Destiny*, composed as a textbook for Kuomintang officials, betrays little affection for the white man. Chiang was a realist who foresaw that Japan must lose the war, carrying down her associates. America was repealing all anti-Chinese legislation; her victory would mean the restoration of not only Manchuria but Formosa, and the ranking of China with the great powers. By "waiting out" the war, Chiang could accumulate sufficient lend-lease war equipment to insure the destruction of his internal communist enemies.

Greater East Asia

The monsoon returned to East Asia in May, 1942, flooding the rice terraces, filling the water courses with brown torrents and, in metaphor, dissolving the white man's rule into memory. Since the autumn drought, a cycle of Asian history was reversed, ending the rule of the sahib and the taipan. The Greater East Asia War had, according to its victors, cost the Allied armies three hundred thousand casualties—one third of them white prisoners of war.

Japan had not signed the Geneva conventions for humane warfare and the code of *bushido* made no provisions for surrender. Prisoners forfeited their honor; death marches, starvation, and massacre were the lot of many white captives; at least ten thousand died in the construction of the Burma-Thailand Railway, and most of the remainder were dispersed through East Asia in work camps under Oriental taskmasters, exhibited as dollar aristocrats stripped of privilege and unfit to do a woman's work under the Asian sun—the butts of contempt or, more corrosive to their pride, of gentle pity.²³

²³ On the other hand, the American POW's in his camp subscribed after the war to send a wristwatch in token of gratitude to Mr. K. Domoto, an Amherst graduate. The Japanese were always generous to white administrators of leper asylums—the empress' favorite charity.

GREATER EAST ASIA DEVELOPMENT 1895-1942



Asians who could not witness these spectacles were deluged with printed and broadcast propaganda. Few documentary films ever played to larger audiences than *Victory of the East*, which exhibited the Corregidor capitulation and the fall of Singapore.

Kublai Khan grasped the concept of a Greater East Asia;²⁴ Hideyoshi dreamed of it; Buddhist missionaries coveted it as a spiritual empire. The European trading companies had tried to knit together its economy. Now, in six tempestuous months, Showa Japan made it a political and military reality.

Its imperium in 1942 covered a fourth of the world's population. All first-class citizens were native Asians; hardly a European could be found outside of internment. In resources it fulfilled, like the United States, a geopolitician's dream, offering a bonanza of the materials for rich life and national power.

ITS HIERARCHY

Like its Gothic contemporary, the New Order in Europe, Greater East Asia set up its own racial hierarchy. At the apex, replacing the dethroned white administrators, were the Japanese. Japan possessed, statistically, 95 per cent of Asian technologists (the East Indies produced none at all; Burma, about twenty-five a year). Beneath the Land of the Gods, the Yellow Sea nations formed a lesser elite (as Hitler regarded the Baltic nations). South China formed an outer circle with the Thai and Vietnam races; the Malays were peripheral. White men became, like the Jews in Europe, cosmic pariahs.

Territorial changes were never fully worked out. A draft plan dated December 14, 1941, was quoted in the war crimes trials.²⁵ Thailand received, in addition to her Cambodian concessions, four "lost provinces" in Malaya. The important resource or strategic areas, including Hong Kong, Sumatra, Sarawak, and Malaya, were marked as Japanese protectorates. Independence in varying degree could be earned by other states, according to the measure of their "cooperation."

²⁴ See p. 41.

²⁵ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-32.

ITS ECONOMY AND POLITICAL CONTROLS

The economy must be integrated with Asian needs. Luzon plantations, for instance, replaced sugar cane with cotton in order to replace fiber imports from America. Iron production, discouraged by the Europeans, was ranked in importance only below that of petroleum; rice surpluses in the Southeast would feed the workshops of the North. The "plutocracies"—prime targets of propaganda—had created disparity of wealth, impoverishing the masses to support their henchmen in luxury. Co-prosperity called for the enrichment of all. Communism was never attacked, for Russia was a neutral neighbor whose good will must be cultivated; Karl Marx could have found little to criticize in the manifestoes of Greater East Asia.

After some months' planning, a Greater East Asia Ministry was erected in Tokyo with three regional bureaus: one for China affairs, one for Manchukuo, the third for the Southern Regions. The ministry's main efforts were cultural. Nippon the Liberator became *Asia no Hikari*, "The Light of Asia." The New Order commonly manifested itself in Japanese language classes held in the warm southern sunlight ("Study the soul of Nippon, and you will discover your own!"). Processions of students went to Japan; there were literary, scientific, and Pan-Buddhist conferences. An anthem was composed: "The Blue Skies of East Asia." Vivid propaganda brochures were distributed, captioned in seven languages; colonial names disappeared²⁶ and English writing became in 1943 interdicted through the mails.

The ethics of the imperium was Confucian, modeled after the Imperial Way; Tojo himself expounded it during a tour of the southern regions. From Tokyo (as formerly from Peking) a benevolent prince "swayed all things under Heaven"; *Hakko Ichiu*²⁷ was institutionalized as a sphere of Harmony through Obedience. The Oriental family was re-established.²⁸ The GEA Ministry inherited the national government's struggle between civilian and military personnel, in which the latter generally prevailed.

²⁶ Singapore became *Shonan*, and southern Asia *Nampo* just as, earlier, Port Arthur had been renamed *Ryojun*.

²⁷ "For Eight Corners Under One Roof," see p. 377.

²⁸ Tojo derided with especial feeling Western attempts to elevate the weaker sex above her appointed status.

At least one assembly of the Co-Prosperity Sphere was held, but Japan never succeeded in planting a strong sense of Asian supernationalism. There was initial support from such Filipino leaders as Emilio Aguinaldo, Manuel Roxas, and José Laurel; Sukarno and Mohammed Hatta in the Indies; Ba Maw and other thakins. An *Azad Hind* ("Free India") army was recruited among Hindu war prisoners, and commanded by the Bengal nationalist, Subhas Chandra Bose. The Concordia Society in Manchukuo, *Hsin Min Hui* in Wang's China, *Kalibapi* in the Philippines, and *Poetera* in Java, were regional versions of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.

GEA REPLACES THE AXIS

For a time, the Allies feared that Nagumo's fleet might thrust across the Indian Ocean to effect a junction with Rommel's desert warriors; or that Tojo might join with the Third Reich to crush the Soviet republics. Actually, the confederates made no common staff plans, and fought independent wars (in contrast to the United Nations planning conferences at Quebec, Casablanca, Teheran, and Cairo). Greater East Asia superseded the Axis by excluding non-Asians. Adolf Hitler, hardly less racist than the kaiser, spoke of lending divisions to help Aryan Britain to defeat this new Yellow Peril.²⁹ Throughout the West, pessimists reread the works of Oswald Spengler and Homer Lea.³⁰ Allied soldiers shrank from combat with the invincible Asian horde. Even Americans broke a long tradition of fair play by interning their fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry.

Among the emperor's subjects, the new conquests called for victory parades, shouts of "*Tenno Heika Banzai*" vistas of wealth and splendor. A lavish commemoration volume published in 1942 concludes with a painting of Mitsubishi bombers above Manhattan Island.

Greater East Asia on the Defensive

The "stolen empire" might have been organized in a few decades of peace. But there could be no respite. Fortress Japan was sur-

²⁹ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

³⁰ Spengler's well-known *Decline of the West* and Lea's *Valor of Ignorance*, which forecast Japanese invasion of the United States.

rounded by an ocean moat of twenty-five-hundred miles' radius, rimmed with islands. It was not enough to hold these passively; a dynamic defense called for further screening operations; the Imperial Navy seized the British-owned Gilbert and Ellice chains in the Central Pacific and bombed Port Darwin.

BATTLES OF THE CORAL SEA AND MIDWAY

A stronger move was in preparation. Australia, the obvious staging ground for an American counterattack, might be neutralized by a quick assault. Forces from Admiral Nagumo's command proceeded early in May toward Sydney. They were intercepted in the Coral Sea by American carriers which had escaped the Pearl Harbor disaster. In their first air-sea action, the Yank naval pilots showed skill and fortitude; though their own *Lexington* was sunk, they destroyed a Japanese carrier and damaged much of the task force, driving it back to Rabaul.

Yamamoto was not discouraged; he was preparing the most powerful invasion fleet ever assembled, for the capture of Midway Island and, eventually, Hawaii. Near its destination, it encountered the much smaller force of Rear Admiral Raymond A. Spruance. The resulting battle covered an ocean area larger than California; Spruance lost the *Yorktown*, but his torpedo planes and bombers sank Nagumo's four carriers with nearly all of their experienced pilots. This Battle of the Fourth of June changed the navy's confidence to "indescribable cheerlessness." Premier Tojo later testified that even he was not informed throughout the war of the magnitude of the defeat.

The screening operations continued: in a face-saving move, units of the Midway force went on to capture the bleak and unfortified Aleutian islands of Attu and Kiska. A more important objective was the British Solomons, two parallel chains of volcanic ridges, averaging the size of Long Island, and separated by a two-hundred-mile-long channel, the Slot. A few mission stations ministered to Negroid Melanesians a generation removed from cannibalism. On Guadalcanal, the coastal jungle had been converted into a copra plantation; as early as May, 1942, Japanese labor squads were clearing the palms to prepare a coral airstrip, the southeastern sally-port of Greater East Asia.

The Contemporary Far East

*Tokyo: The first year of MacArthur.**

The American left his jeep at the great gate, and crossed the dark, flagstoned alley. Where the temple had been, there was rubble raked smooth and stonework marked by fire. Close by, faint light shone through the chinks of a mat-walled shed. He lifted a flap of matting and entered, setting by a musette bag comfortably filled with packaged food—and cartoned cigarettes, the currency of rice dealers. The gray-haired priest greeted him, kneeling.

"Again you are welcome, *shoya-san*." †

A boy acolyte, appearing from beyond a partition, bowed and removed the gifts.

"Perhaps for the last time," the visitor replied. "My orders are here. Soon I return to America."

"To your classroom," mused the old man, "and to students who have carried arms and served ships in war. Will it not seem strange?"

"For all of us, a new world has come."

"Some whom you knew will have no part in it. For them, have no fear. In a thousand temples, services are sung, so that Americans and Japanese who died together may find entrance into the Western Heaven, where there is no more hate."

He continued after a pause: "You have not told me, *shoya-san*, what brought you first to this ruin that was once the shrine of Sengakuji, where I keep vigil alone with the spirits of the Forty-seven Ronins." ‡

* The time is April, 1946.

† A title of military rank corresponding to lieutenant commander or major.

‡ The historical account of the feat of the Ronins is found on page 93.

"All my life," the American admitted, "I have known of the Ronins. I came here first, long ago, a white child among thousands of your race. There were parades and naked weapons and shouts of *Banzai*. I was afraid."

"Even so it was," added the priest. "And in war, how many came to learn of the *Chushingura* and take vows of loyalty—regiments in column—before they sailed for China and the South Seas. Then in the fifth month a year ago came the great planes with their fire bombs. When they had passed, there were ashes only. Since then no worshippers have come; even the streets of Sengakuji are silent."

He clapped his hands, calling a brief instruction. The acolyte re-entered laying a sword on the floor mat and removing its wrapper of flowered silk. The scabbard, slim and beautiful, was lacquered in rose and carved with sprays of cherry blossom.

"You have brought food. Graciously accept this sword which is the spirit of Old Japan. Warriors have proved its temper through centuries that have not dulled its edge. Now have the people of Yamato followed too long the ways of war, that lead to death; we seek now rest for our wounds and rice for our hunger. We return to the Eightfold Law of the Buddha that is older than the code of the samurai; to America only belongs the way of *bushido*—the search for glory. May it not betray you also. And if your countrymen ask the story of the sword and those who drew it, spare us nothing—but speak justly! *Sayonara*." His forehead touched the floor in a final greeting.

The American did not speak, but lines jumbled and half-forgotten were taking form in his memory:

Absent thee from felicity awhile,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
To tell my story.

Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate
Nor set down aught in malice. . . .

The rest is silence.

The Collapse of Greater East Asia

*Despite the best that has been done by everyone—the gallant fighting of the military and naval forces, the diligence of our servants of the state and the devoted service of our 100 million people, the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage. . . . Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb. . . .

Should we continue to fight, it would . . . result in an ultimate collapse [and] obliteration of the Japanese nation and the total extinction of human civilization. . . . We have resolved to pave the way for a grand peace for all the generations to come by enduring the unendurable and suffering the unsufferable.

Surrender Rescript of Emperor Hirohito, August 15, 1945

J OAK's ironical query, "Where are the American marines?" was answered at dawn on August 7, 1942,¹ when a convoy of transports discharged the Third Marine Division at Red Beach on Guadalcanal. Against light resistance, they occupied the airstrip, renaming it Henderson Field; but before their beachhead was secured, a night counterattack by Admiral Mikawa Gunichi's Eighth Fleet sank the entire Allied cruiser escort off

¹ Dates are given in local time, usually that of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Savo Island, dispersing the supply column and leaving the marines isolated.² For many days heavily reinforced ground troops attempted to force them into the sea, but every assault was repulsed.

GUADALCANAL

Japan was massing naval and air strength five hundred miles northward at the top of the Solomons "ladder." Yamamoto had decided to fight to the death for the islands. American forces were gathering closer by, across open water at the Santa Cruz Islands, under the command of Rear Admiral William S. Halsey, commander of flattops on Pearl Harbor Day.

The prize of the contest was the Southwest Pacific; its key was Guadalcanal. The island had not been forecast for a decisive strategic role; American navigators in its reef-strewn water were forced to rely upon eighteenth-century chart surveys. Its rotting fecaloid smell spread far to sea; the jungle, "voluptuous, dripping, and sinister,"³ flowed steeply to high volcanic peaks, the vertebrae of the Solomon chain. The weather was a suffocating, oily calm, broken by drifting rain squalls.

By day, there was dog fighting in the air; ground patrols clashed in brief, close combat, neither expecting nor giving quarter. Here, for the marines, was revenge after Pearl Harbor and Bataan, as cruel as the conflict other Americans had waged against dark-skinned men in the forests of the Ohio. The night had its own macabre life. From the north, fast-striking forces of the Tokyo Express ran down the Slot, unloading troops and swinging close to Red Beach to bombard the Henderson runways. They were intercepted by American destroyers and motor-torpedo squadrons in blind melees that gave Savo Channel its nickname of "Iron-Bottomed Bay." By sunrise, sharks, following the scent of blood, circled the floating life rafts.

Aircraft carriers, too valuable to risk in the narrow straits, traded punches at bomber range. Within eight weeks, the USS *Wasp* was torpedoed, and the *Hornet* hunted down by Imperial "sea eagles."⁴ For a time, only the *Enterprise*—Halsey's "Big E"—

² American radar warning functioned no better at Savo Island than at Pearl Harbor.

³ An expressive phrase used by Lieutenant General Clark Eichelberger.

⁴ The *Hornet*, which carried the Doolittle raiders, was regarded as the prime target in the United States fleet.

survived of America's Pacific carrier fleet. Though the Japanese carriers remained afloat, they had suffered crippling damage and were able to give little help to the Imperial full-scale assault launched from Rabaul in mid-November. It was defeated with heavy loss, including ten escort craft (two of them battleships) and eight crowded transports. Japan never regained the initiative. By January, 1943, powerful reinforcements, including four heavy flattops, joined Halsey's fleet, and in February, exactly six months after D day on Red Beach, the last Japanese were evacuated.

Much fighting remained before the northern Solomons were captured: at Rendova, Vela la Vella, and the Treasury Islands. Admiral Yamamoto was himself, while directing operations in April, shot down by American fighters. Not until November, 1943, were the Stars and Stripes flown above Bougainville; fifteen months of fighting had cleared less than a tenth of the sea road to Tokyo.

The Balance Sheet: Arms and the Man

But far more had been lost than a malarial island chain. The finest Japanese ground forces had been engaged in defending the Solomons; thirty-two thousand men were sacrificed on Guadalcanal⁵ and the Imperial Navy had suffered tonnage losses which could not be replaced, while American yards were launching four units for each vessel lost. Guadalcanal was the anvil on which Greater East Asia was shattered.

In 1905, a year of victories resulted in offers of mediation and an advantageous treaty. But the successes of 1942 brought no peace feelers—only a crescendo of war production by American workshops and airplane factories.

The Divine Mission presupposed the superiority of the Japanese warrior—approved in twenty-six centuries of unbroken victory. For a year it had been put to the test; the American fighter seemed light-hearted and whimsical.⁶ He did not wish to die, but his fortitude matched that of the suicidal samurai, and he excelled the world in handling the tools of warfare.

⁵ As against fewer than three thousand U. S. Marines.

⁶ "Heigh-ho, Silver!" were the last recorded words of an American seaman astride a capsized lifeboat in a shark-infested sea.

PEACE MOVEMENTS

The Imperial government was, in fact, a prisoner of its own mythology. Divinely sanctioned, the conflict must bring victory; to report defeat was sacrilege. Generals and War Office clerks alike conspired to ignore the threatening realities of the war, ordering victory parades to celebrate disasters. Faulty intelligence was added to the liabilities of the General Staff, and Tojo himself retired to a fool's paradise. At the height of Nippon's success, early in 1942, sober counselors called for an immediate peace.⁷ Konoye, backed by most of the Imperial princes and the *Jushin*—the ex-premiers—favored an armistice during the summer. Admirals Yonai, Takagi, and Nakamura warned that the navy could not win a war lasting beyond December, 1943.

To all compromise appeals, the Cabinet turned an indifferent ear. In part, it had become convinced that the United States would never negotiate for peace. There was more hope of accommodation through Josef Stalin. Togo Shigenori, always the protagonist of Soviet Russia, worked ceaselessly for a new Nazi-Communist *rapprochement*. With Russia once more a friendly neutral, the three Axis powers, fighting back to back and drawing upon the resources of the Soviet heartland might hold Fortress Europe and Greater East Asia against the Anglo-Americans.⁸ But at Casablanca in January, 1943, Stalin covenanted with Churchill and Roosevelt to fight on until unconditional surrender.⁹

The Pacific War was becoming a contest of attrition, less of men than of weapons. Greater East Asia yielded after its conquest only a sixth of its peacetime volume of strategic materials; and these were difficult to transport after the net loss of half a million tons of merchant shipping in the Battle of the Solomons. Japan opened a second year of war with twelve months' stockpile of fuel, six of bauxite, and four of iron.

⁷ The most noteworthy was Nakano Seiko, who, to end the war, threatened Tojo's life before himself committing suicide.

⁸ See Jones, *op. cit.*, 409-22, based upon fuller reports in the records of the International Military Tribunal of the Far East.

⁹ Translated by Radio Tokyo as "annihilation and enslavement."

U.S. COUNTEROFFENSIVE IN THE PACIFIC WAR 1943-45

Note areas "bypassed"

(Note superimposed map of United States)

BOVIN
2/45

IWO JIMA
6/45

OKINAWA
4/45

MANILA
2/45

LEYTE
10/44

SAIPAN
6/44

GUAM
7/44

MARIANAS IS.

WAKE

ENIWETOK IS.

U.S. Naval Assault

KWAJALEIN IS.
2/44

TRUK

CAROLINE IS.

PALAU
9/44

ULITHI

U.S. Army "Jungle Road"

HOLLANDIA

GUINEA

NEW GUINEA

RABAU

SOLOMON IS.

GUADALCANAL
8/42

CORAL SEA
5/42

ELLICE
11/42

TARAWA
11/43

GILBERT IS.

BAKER

JOHNSTON

MIDWAY
6/42

SCALE IN MILES
0 200 400 600

170

160

150

140

130

120

110

100

90

80

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

0

10

20

30

40

50

60

70

80

90

100

110

120

130

140

150

160

170

The Naval War Plan (map, p. 429)

The United States Navy's plan of operation, directed by Admiral Chester Nimitz from Pearl Harbor, called for preliminary expulsion of the enemy from the mandated islands—atolls or volcanic peaks studding a tropical ocean the size of the United States.¹⁰ Tactics called for the closest cooperation of sea, ground, and air forces, but especially of the aircraft carrier and the Marine Corps commando.

Continuous neutralizing air strikes at the landing strips over a five-hundred-mile radius were followed by intensive divebombing of the target island to silence its batteries, and naval bombardment to penetrate the deep coral-and-coconut-log personnel shelters before the beachhead assault. Huge naval strength became available; Rear Admiral R. A. Spruance's Task Force 58¹¹ counted sixteen carriers and more fire power than was mustered in the entire struggle for Guadalcanal.

After heavy losses, the Second Marine Division captured Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands by amphibious assault in November, 1943. Kwajalein Atoll fell on January 31, Eniwetok three weeks later. To screen these operations, Spruance's carriers attacked Truk, Japan's supposedly invulnerable South Seas bastion, almost annihilating its air power. In June, operations were centered upon Saipan in the Marianas, no fringe of coral but an extensive island where runways a mile long could be constructed. By early August, 1944, Guam was restored to American sovereignty. Capture of the two islands brought Tokyo, less than fourteen hundred miles away, within flight range of the "Big Birds"—new B-29 Super-Fortress land-based bombers.

¹⁰ See p. 429. Superimpose the United States upon the area with Key West resting upon the equator at 175° east longitude. Miami would overlie Tarawa; Florida, the Gilbert chain; the Marshall atolls, with Kwajalein and Eniwetok, would be scattered through the Ohio Valley. The Carolines would extend from Memphis due west, with Truk at Albuquerque and Palau considerably west of Santa Barbara. The Marianas will lie along the Bitter Root Range of Idaho with Guam not far from Boise, the Philippines one thousand miles west of the Pacific Coast.

¹¹ The task force is any naval detachment designated for a specific mission. TF 58 would be the Eighth Squadron of the Fifth Fleet.

The Jungle Road to Tokyo (map, p. 429)

It was not possible for the American Army forces to launch a full offensive after their Guadalcanal victory. Despite strong protests by General MacArthur, the Allied Chiefs of Staff held to their 1941 decision, that Europe must have priority of land troops and materials—no more being dispatched to the Pacific than would suffice for a "poor man's war" in a secondary theater.

MacArthur's "Jungle Road to Tokyo"¹² followed the major islands of the Southwest Pacific, beginning with New Guinea, along whose outer coast the Japanese had hacked out fifty airstrips. Throughout 1943, Australians bore the brunt of clearing their own frontiers in Papua. Not before the spring of 1944 were the newly organized U. S. Sixth and Eighth armies ready to storm Hollandia and the Biak cave redoubts, thirteen hundred miles up the "ladder" in Dutch New Guinea. During the advances, MacArthur's flanks were protected by paralyzing air blows against the Bismarck and Admiralty Islands as well as, to westward, the airfields of Celebes and the Moluccas. In mid-September, MacArthur's and Nimitz' spearheads were joined as the Eighth Army went ashore at Morotai and marines of the Third Fleet made landings close by in the Palau Islands.

ISLAND-HOPPING

Had the slow tempo of the Solomons campaign been maintained, indefinite time might have been lost in reducing each dug-in and fanatically defended Japanese position. Instead, American strategists carried through a series of selective island-hopping attacks. Enough islands were captured to serve as "unsinkable aircraft-carriers" dominating the surrounding seas. Strong bases, including Truk, Rabaul, and the entire East Indies, were by-passed, their garrisons blockaded by sea and air—left to "wither on the vine." Over 135,000 enemy troops along MacArthur's route had been thus sealed away.

As American pincers were about to close on the Philippines, an interservice conflict of strategy developed. The Pearl Harbor planning group, favored by the General Staff, wished to by-pass the

¹² The phrase is the title of Lieutenant General Eichelberger's book of war and occupation reminiscences, published by Viking, 1950.

entire archipelago, seizing Formosa as the final staging base for the attack on Japan. MacArthur strongly objected, citing his famous promise to the Filipinos on Bataan in 1942: "I will return."¹³ At a top level conference in July, 1944, the general won President Roosevelt to his view.

INVASION OF THE PHILIPPINES:

THE END OF IMPERIAL SEA POWER

Ignoring Mindanao, MacArthur landed on October 20, 1944, on the Visayan island of Leyte, supported by Halsey's and Spruance's entire naval power. The Imperial Navy, attempting to save Saipan, had already been severely handled in the Battle of the Philippine Sea. The loss of Leyte would sever the route between Japan and her South Seas empire. Tokyo therefore ordered the Sho Plan: a strike by carriers from Japan, coordinated with a two-column attack by the Singapore fleet (including nearly all the emperor's remaining battleships), upon the American beachhead. It was spectacularly defeated; the entire carrier squadron was engaged and sunk off Formosa. The southern columns, though they brought American positions briefly under fire, were trapped without air protection in narrow waters with the loss of three battleships and twenty small craft. The Battle of Leyte Gulf inflicted threefold revenge for Pearl Harbor, eliminating the Japanese Navy from the war. Unopposed by sea, MacArthur made new landings off central Luzon at Lingayen Gulf. Despite a bitter defense by General Yamashita, the "Tiger of Malaya," and units of the Kwantung Army—the best troops remaining in the Empire—Manila fell in March, 1945.

The Continental War

After May 8, 1942, Southeast Asia was cut off by sea from the free world, and China remained accessible only across the Burma Hump, a spur of the Himalayas whose summits reach eighteen thousand feet. To keep China supplied, General Stilwell favored

¹³ See Eichelberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff. Characteristically, MacArthur emphasized a "solemn promise to 18 million Christian Filipinos" to reoccupy their country. In fact, a Formosa campaign would have spared enormous damage to Leyte and Luzon and perhaps strengthened American postwar policy in China. On the other hand, Formosa, encircled by a "nest of enemy air-bases," might have proved untenable.

the construction of a highway from the India railhead at Ledo to connect with the old Burma Road. General Chennault, whose volunteer aviation group had been absorbed into the Tenth Air Force, believed that an airlift would be adequate.

Both projects were activated. The Ledo Road, a triumph of American engineering, was bulldozed eastward across water-logged mountains. To screen the builders, bombers from India flew round-the-calendar raids on the Mandalay and Goteik-Gorge railway bridge, and Merrill's Marauders¹⁴ fought the most perilous marching campaign of the war, penetrating the Shan wilderness "like a band of Iroquois" to throw roadblocks and harass Japanese supply lines. In November, 1944, Stilwell's Y force, forty-five thousand Chinese trained by American officers, took the road from India, as a Z force fought west from Yunnan.¹⁵ They effected a junction at the fortress airbase of Myitkina (pronounced *Mich'-in-aw*). Meanwhile, General William J. Slim's British divisions fought through the summer monsoon of 1944 to clear the Japanese entirely from Upper Burma.

THE WAR IN CHINA: OPERATION ICHI-GO

Air-transport service proved adequate to supply the bases in South and West China from which Chennault's Fourteenth Air Force, now equipped with a few heavy bombers, was able to raid the coast from Hong Kong to Manchuria and cripple commerce on China's inland waterways.

Japan was suffering defeat in Burma and the Marianas; to rebuild morale, she drafted Operation ICHI-GO, planned to win a decision in China. Over half a million troops were involved, the main force striking south in May, 1944, along the Hankow-Canton rails while another column moved north from Canton. Effecting a junction, they overran Kwangsi and much of Kweichow, capturing every advanced American airbase. Kunming, terminus of the airlift and the Burma Road, was threatened. Tokyo predicted the fall of Chungking itself and the end of the Nationalist government.

¹⁴ Whose feat is brilliantly described in *Harpers*, CCXIV, 28 (January, 1957).

¹⁵ A highly critical attitude toward the value of the Ledo Road is taken by Joseph Alsop: "Why We Lost China," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXXII, 27 (January 7, 1950). Alsop argues that the vehicles using it barely carried their own gasoline supply.

Inflation and misgovernment had brought Chinese morale "to a new low."¹⁴ The peasants, sunk in misery, watched indifferently as Japanese armies pressed forward by forced night marches against little opposition save the sorties of American airmen,¹⁵ while the best Kuomintang divisions were immobilized opposite the Red armies on the Yellow River.

The China-Burma-India Theater (CBI), as set up at the inter-allied Quebec Conference, was an organizational nightmare. Supreme authority in the Southeast belonged, for political reasons, to Admiral Louis Mountbatten; in China, it was vested in Chiang K'ai-shek. American air operations, the most vital in the theater, were subject to no less than eight mutually distrustful and sometimes contradictory authorities.¹⁶ Stilwell seized upon the ICHI-60 emergency to demand unrestricted control over all ground forces in China; his action exploded the bitterness that had smoldered for two years between himself and the generalissimo.

At Chiang's peremptory request, Stilwell was recalled on October 19. His successor, Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer, secured the transfer of twenty-three thousand Nationalist troops from the northwest blockade to the fighting front. Japan's drive lost momentum; by March, Chennault had reoccupied the captured airbases.¹⁶

DISPOSAL OF THE EMPIRE

At Cairo in December, 1943, where Chiang met Churchill and Roosevelt for the only time, it was decided that Japan should be stripped of all territorial acquisitions since 1894. Stalin, a neutral in the Pacific, did not attend, but at Teheran late in November he

¹⁴ F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 219.

¹⁵ General Stilwell had warned that air raids from China would bring on a counterattack which Nationalist armies could not repulse.

¹⁶ The situation is illustrated by a cartoon published in W. P. Craven, ed., *The Army Air Forces in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1950), IV, 438.

¹⁷ Stilwell had continuously protested the alleged unwillingness of Chiang to fight the Japanese or release American supplies to the Communists, who offered to serve under his command if the Nationalists would do the same. Alsop, *op. cit.*, argues that, but for his tactlessness, Stilwell could have had the China command he desired. Certainly the language of *The Stilwell Papers*, *op. cit.*, betrays a lack of elementary courtesy toward Chiang, his command superior. But see "Betrayal in China," *True*, January, 1958.

agreed after the defeat of Germany to erect a "common front" against Japan. At Moscow in October, 1944, Stalin branded Japan as an aggressor and fixed a date of three months after Hitler's fall for Russian intervention in the Far East—but on condition that the United States provide equipment for one and a half million men.²⁰

The conference signed at Yalta in the Crimea on February 11, 1945, was the last attended by Franklin Roosevelt. It raised further the payment of Russia's services, guaranteeing her in a secret protocol "the . . . rights violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904" in Manchuria. The president was under pressure to make whatever concessions were necessary to save "a million American casualties" in the invasion of Japan; he was aware, realistically, that Stalin could retain anything he wished in territory which he conquered. Yet the agreement hardly fitted Roosevelt's plan to treat China as one of the five great powers.²¹ Final disposition of Greater East Asia was made at Potsdam late in July, when President Harry Truman joined Churchill and Stalin in directly addressing the Japanese government, calling for the unconditional surrender of its armed forces, to be followed by an Allied military occupation. Japan would not, after surrender, be "enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation," though, if resistance continued, "the alternative . . . is prompt and utter destruction."

JAPAN AT BAY

In a form of election in April, 1942, the Tojo government succeeded—by donating military funds to its candidates—in winning four fifths of the seats in the Eighty-Fourth Diet. It promptly placed local authorities under the Home Ministry and set up all-powerful boards for prosecuting the war. Conscription was applied even to skilled labor, and mass patriotism encouraged through the

²⁰ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 428. At Teheran Stalin attached no conditions. The Japanese did not know of his promise and counted until August, 1945, upon Russian friendship. They hoped that the Cairo Declaration was intended only to bolster Chinese resistance.

²¹ The president had no foreknowledge that the atomic bomb would preclude the need of invading Japan. He assumed that the full Kwantung Army would, unless engaged by the Russians, join the defense, enormously increasing American casualties. Actually this army was only a shell, having been transferred to the Philippines and the mandates; the fact was known to Russian intelligence, which guarded the information as closely as Americans protected their atomic secrets.

endless propaganda activities of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.²²

Austerity became stringent. Civilian consumption of cloth fell by 95 per cent; the rice reserve disappeared, and rations were cut to eighteen hundred calories—the equivalent of a single American meal. Yet as long as its claims of victory could be believed, the Tojo government remained in power. It fell only after the loss of Saipan in July, 1944. The new premier, General Koiso Kuniaka, was rated as an army selection, but he included compromisers in his Cabinet and transmitted to the Allies an offer to resume the 1930 *status quo* (before the Manchurian Incident) as a basis of peace.²³

REVOLT IN THE CONQUERED LANDS

Four hundred million Asians were meanwhile becoming restive under the tyranny of the GEA Ministry. In Hong Kong a major reduction in population was effected by limiting the issuance of ration cards and allowing nonholders to emigrate or starve.²⁴ Labor unions were encouraged to provide parade marchers for GEA celebrations and audiences for anti-imperialist lectures. Schools could not meet the requirement that Japanese be the principal language of instruction. Though they tolerated Christian worship, the military masters forced Protestant and Catholic leaders to make declarations favorable to Japanese rule—which were thereupon widely publicized.²⁵ Bribery was the sole method of circumventing the licenses and regulations which strangled economic life.

Throughout East Asia, the first duty of military government was to extract strategic materials; the fate of the people mattered little. Japan's shrewdest appeal, of Co-Prosperity (meaning, to the Asian, adequate food), became bitterly ironical as, in Tongking, a million starved; Java and Malaya fared little better, and there was chronic

²² The most widely distributed tract was Professor Chikao Fujitawa's *The Way of the Subject*, a mystical hodgepodge calling for chastisement of nations which obstructed the sacred undertakings of the Sun Goddess. See Peter de Mendelssohn, *Japan's Political Warfare* (London: Allen & Urwin, 1944).

²³ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-29.

²⁴ A full account of Hong Kong military government is found in R. S. Ward, *Asia for the Asiatics?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).

²⁵ The same policy was used in Korea to discredit almost every native leader who had been trained in the United States.

hunger not far from the rich ricelands of the Irrawaddy Delta. When Burma and Thailand declared war on the Allies, they were forced to supply conscript laborers, who died in the jungle by thousands building the "Death Railway" across their lower border. Occupation currency had become printed waste paper, and Japan could neither produce nor transport the consumer goods promised to her satellites.

Resistance grew strong, especially among the Filipinos, the Malayan Chinese, and the Burma Karens. The organ of Japanese control was the Kempeitai, a secret police *gendarmérie* similar in procedure to the Himmler *SS Korps*. As its methods became more heavy-handed and rumors of Allied victories were confirmed, populations turned against Japan: thakin leaders merged the Burmese Independence Army into the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), which cooperated with General Slim. The fall of Tojo carried down Premier Pibul in Bangkok; his successor, Pridi, protected American SOS agents parachuted into Thailand; Hukbalahap fighters harassed Yamashita's armies from Leyte to Manila.²⁶

Military Collapse of Japan

THE UNDERSEAS WAR

From the later months of 1942, American submarines threatened the security of Japan's entire system of sea communications. Based around the perimeter of East Asia—Ceylon and Australia as well as Pearl Harbor—they shadowed the Imperial Navy (supplying intelligence that contributed to its Midway, Philippine Sea, and Leyte Gulf disasters), supplied resistance forces, and levied toll upon almost every convoy. Prime targets were tankers from the Indies; by 1944 only 5 per cent of the petroleum from Sumatra and Borneo reached Japan. Imports of bauxite had fallen by 90 per cent and of coal, by 92 per cent, before the war ended.²⁷

United States submarine losses were replaced fourfold; but in thirty months Japan's merchant marine lost 650 ships, three times

²⁶ Yamashita's savage reprisals against the civilian population led to his trial and execution as a war criminal in 1946.

²⁷ *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on Japan's War Effort*, U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Army, 1946), pp. 30 ff.

the tonnage that her yards could build. During the last year of war, operations were conducted from Majuro Atoll, only two thousand miles from Tokyo; they accomplished the destruction of five aircraft carriers and a battleship, with over 20 other naval units and 450 merchant vessels.²⁸ In the final weeks of fighting, submarines were assigned only to the Sea of Japan, leaving the Pacific to air and surface blockaders. The Imperial submarine fleet served efficiently in naval actions through the Battle of Guadalcanal. Thereafter, it was needed to supply by-passed island garrisons; credited with less than a hundred sinkings, it was almost ignored by 1944 as American ships crossed the Pacific without convoy.

THE AIR WAR

Greater East Asia became a military fact after the destruction of Allied air power in Hawaii and throughout the Far East. Turning of the tide at Guadalcanal followed the ascendance of United States air forces.²⁹ At the outset of the war, skill of the opposing pilots was equal, as was the quality of the planes. A year later, Japanese offense was deficient in long-range bombers while America operated, chiefly in Europe, thousands of four-motor Flying Fortress and Liberator types. Land-based bombers dramatically showed their striking power by sinking an entire Japanese convoy during May, 1943, in the Bismarck Sea. Meanwhile, over the continent, giant C-47's of the Military Air Transport Service and China National Aviation Corporation were ferrying supplies over the Hump—the most dangerous route in the world—at a rate that reached eighty thousand tons a month.

By giving fullest priority to airplane construction,³⁰ Japan was able to level off at the rate of twenty-four hundred units per month. Had these fought the Americans on even terms, the war might have been indefinitely prolonged. Actually there was a wide disproportion of losses: no fighter Japan could build matched the

²⁸ Japanese patrol craft were able to sink only one enemy submarine for each thirty to forty merchant ship casualties. In the Atlantic from mid-1944, the Germans lost one submarine for each Allied vessel sunk.

²⁹ Both Japan and the United States had separate army and navy air services throughout the war.

³⁰ Neither the U. S. nor Japan laid a battleship keel after 1942; during the next thirty months Japan launched 12 carriers as against 104 fleet or escort carriers added to the U. S. Navy. The Imperial Navy received lower priority than the army in filling of plane orders.

carrier-borne Hellcat or the land-based Mustang and Thunderbolt.

Over China, Chennault, using obsolete planes, claimed a four-to-one ratio of air victories, besides enormous destruction of enemy shipping.³¹ In the Truk fighting, Japanese losses were thirty-two times those of the Americans; during the "Marianas Turkey Shoot," thirteen times as large. Combined United States air forces at Leyte sank 149 ships and shot down 1657 planes at a cost of 201 of their own.³²

Defeat in the air led to destruction of bases and supply facilities in an accelerating downward spiral. In January, 1945, Vice-admiral Marc Mitscher's Fifth Fleet carriers dominated the South China Sea (comparable in size to the Gulf of Mexico), while its shores were entirely in Japanese hands. The Army Air Force realized its ultimate mission at Saipan and Guam, whose huge runways were, in August, 1944, launching B-29's. Their first targets were the Kyushu steel mills; by the end of the war, Japanese airplane factories and arsenals were under attack.

The Final Campaigns

IWO JIMA

The final land campaigns of the war were incidental to the air assault. Five hundred miles due south of Tokyo lies a volcanic archipelago,³³ whose largest island, Iwo Jima, consists of a cinder cone with seven square miles of lava sand. Iwo's airstrip served the warning patrols along the route to Tokyo; in American hands, it could provide fighter escort and emergency repairs for the Fortresses. The island became, in February and March, the setting of the Marine Corps' bitterest struggle of the Pacific War, before the Stars and Stripes was hoisted, in a historic gesture, above Suribachi Crater and the last of twenty-three thousand defenders died fighting.

³¹ Liu, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

³² American planes were far more sturdily constructed, Japanese Zeros being likely to disintegrate after a few .50 calibre hits. The U. S. air forces, with unlimited gasoline, could give far more precombat training; American pilots were far more carefully selected. Still, it is possible (according to investigation made by the author—A. C.—in 1946) that a Japanese Ace racked up the highest score of victories: forty-one Allied planes, including three Superfortresses.

³³ The name means, in Japanese, "uninhabited"—the condition still of most of its thirty islands. Iwo was first settled, largely by whites, in 1830.

OKINAWA

And there was little doubt where the army's last steppingstone to Tokyo would be. Okinawa, largest island in the Ryukyu chain, is equidistant from Formosa, Kyushu, and Shanghai; of substantial size (five by sixty-five miles), it has wide valleys separated by transverse coral ridges, and good typhoon anchorage in the lee of its trailing peninsulas. Japan gauged its importance by placing a garrison of ninety thousand men on the island and building cave defenses that honeycombed the ridges.

The new Tenth Army's landing of April 1, covered by Task Force 58 and Britain's Pacific Fleet, went almost unopposed; but six weeks of fighting failed to carry the stubbornly held defense lines of southern Okinawa. The *Yamato*, still most formidable warship afloat, leaving Japan to engage the blockade fleet, was destroyed by American air interception.³⁴ And every report brought grimmer news from the homeland. Air targets had been shifted from military workshops to urban populations. On March 9, three hundred "Superforts" scattered thermite and jellied gasoline fire bombs over Tokyo, burning fifty square miles of crowded paper-and-wood-splint houses. Seventy-eight thousand died in the holocaust; a million and a half were rendered homeless.³⁵ The pattern of attack was repeated for five months, against almost every city in Japan. By May, German armies were surrendering; on the seventh, the Third Reich passed into history.

Ultimate Weapons

THE DIVINE WIND

The defenders of Okinawa did not despair; the American Navy had, Radio Japan exulted, been lured within the sweep of a "divine wind" (*Kamikaze*) that would shatter it as the Mongol armada

³⁴ The war had begun with a similar futile sortie by the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* against the Japanese beachhead on Singora.—See p. 412.

³⁵ No explosive was used. The steel and concrete structures of the Murunouchi district remained undamaged for use by the U. S. occupation forces. Tokyo had no civilian air raid shelters, though there were sand buckets and water reservoirs. Charms were painted on the earth as safeguards and sometimes the side walls of buildings were painted black.

³⁶ See p. 49 fn.

was destroyed off Kyushu in 1281.³⁶ At Leyte Gulf six months before, planes had exploded themselves against the hulls of American ships; the maneuver had been repeated in the battle for Manila. At Okinawa it became standard procedure. There was no longer time to train pilots in air tactics or gunnery; but a few hours sufficed to teach a Kamikaze to hold an obsolete plane, loaded with explosives, on its one-way flight "trading a man for a ship."

The human bombs wore robes of priestly white as they wrote their death verses ("If you would capture the Tiger's Cub—you must enter the Tiger's Den!") and pledged reunion at Yasukuni, the shrine of warrior spirits. Often they carried a clan sword at their feet. They came by hundreds, singly or in ragged formations, not flinching as the Hellcats dived among them; they flew low, often skimming the China Sea, to soar in a single plunge upon their targets. One in five penetrated the antiaircraft defense; these sank twenty-six small naval units and killed five thousand Americans, a seventh of the navy's war casualties—but at a cost of a thousand pilots and planes.³⁷

The Okinawa garrison, compressed within a narrowing perimeter on Shuri Ridge, saw the pageant played out and knew that the Kamikazes had failed. Though almost every capital ship suffered damage, none was sunk, and the ring of American and British power remained unbroken. For the first time, there was a mass Japanese surrender as the last defenses fell.

In June, 1945, the Empire stood at bay in its home islands; a battleship and a carrier remained afloat, their oil tanks empty. One destroyer survived from the Pearl Harbor flotilla. Motor fuel for the few remaining planes depended largely upon pine-root distillation. United States flyers contemptuously announced their bombing schedules in advance, as they consigned Japan piecemeal to the flames. On the plea of American artists, the shrine cities—Kyoto, Nara, and Ise—escaped destruction. Electric power grids were left intact and rail communications spared for use during the invasion. Operation OLYMPIC was already drafted, calling for landings in the autumn on Kyushu.

³⁷ Figures are variable on the kamikaze raids. These are taken from Captain J. Creswell, RN, *Sea Warfare* (New York: Longmans Green, 1950), p. 325.

THE ATOMIC BOMB

If Japan found an ultimate weapon in the heart of the samurai, the United States plucked hers from the primal energy of the universe. Oriental scientists knew the awesome significance of the Einstein formula $E = Mc^2$; some had split atoms with Dr. Ernest Orlando Lawrence in Berkeley.³⁸ None knew the secret, however, of "Manhattan District," housed in the project city of Los Alamos, east of the Rio Grande. From here, early in July, 1945, a truck convoy rolled through old Santa Fe, south toward the wastelands of New Mexico. Before dawn on the sixteenth, a flash lit the Tularosa Desert, briefly eclipsing the stars, raising an incandescent cloud taller than the San Andres peaks.

The Japanese did not, ten days later, grasp the significance of the "utter destruction" threatened by President Truman. The Cabinet found the Potsdam "unconditional surrender" terms attractive, since they applied only to the armed forces, leaving the Imperial system intact. But, perhaps because of a misunderstanding, the period of grace was allowed to pass.³⁹

The future lay with Colonel Paul W. Tibbets, Jr., pilot of the Superfortress *Enola Gay*. Rising without escort on August 6 from the Tinian airfield, his bomber flew in darkness across the open Pacific. Light was breaking as Tibbets made his landfall on Shikoku. From there, the course lay across the Inland Sea, passing the islet of Miyajima, where Death may not come, to the garrison depot of Hiroshima, above which a parachute bomb was released. A minute later enormous light and a hammerheaded dust column blotted out the city. The crew watched, spellbound until the bombardier whispered, "My God!"

³⁸ The formula states that energy released in atomic fission equals mass multiplied by the square of the velocity of radiation. The letter reproduced in the plate facing page 403 indicates Professor Sagane's part in prewar experimentation. For a discussion of Japanese atomic experiments, see Yanaga, *op. cit.*, p. 623.

³⁹ W. J. Coughlin, in "The Great *Mokusatsu* Mistake," *Harpers*, CCVI, 38 (March, 1933), p. 33 ff., argues that Premier Suzuki's term *mokusatsu*, referring to the Potsdam terms, was intended to imply acceptance; Radio Tokyo translated it to mean that the terms would be "ignored."

The Surrender

Admiral Suzuki Bunjiro, a survivor of the Massacre of 1936,⁴⁰ took office as premier on April 9 with the mandate to restore peace. Early in May, American terms were spelled out from Washington in a series of Japanese-language broadcasts by Captain Zacharias of Naval Intelligence.⁴¹ Japanese responses in June and July were routed through Soviet Russia, still believed to be a friendly neutral. But Stalin was seeking a pretext to enter the war rather than to end it, and the dropping of the Hiroshima bomb forced him to act in haste. On the pretext that Japan had not accepted the Potsdam terms, Foreign Minister Molotov notified Ambassador Sato Naotake that, as of August 9, their governments were at war. Brushing aside a cobweb of defense, Russian armies overran Manchuria.⁴²

On the same day, the darkest in Japan's history, a second atomic bomb fell—on the Nagasaki shipyards. The War Council (War Minister Anami Korechika dissenting) acceded in full to the Potsdam demands, begging only that the Imperial institution be preserved. The emperor waived the issue of his personal fate and recorded, late on August 14, a rescript of full surrender. In a final putsch, army officers attempted to seize the disc, but it was broadcast the next morning. For the first time, his subjects listened to the Divine Voice—urging them to accept the inevitable and “endure the unendurable”;⁴³ four Imperial princes carried the rescript throughout East Asia.

Over fifty leaders, including Anami, Marshal Sugiyama Motojiri, and Admiral Onishi, patron of the Kamikazes, chose the “happy release” of *hara-kiri*. Tojo blundered his suicide shot; Konoye aimed truly, sparing himself the ordeal of a war crimes trial.

⁴⁰ He was grand chamberlain at the time; the admiral was actually shot by a conspirator, but survived.—See p. 386.

⁴¹ See Zacharias, *op. cit.*, p. 359. The fourteen broadcasts are reprinted in the Appendix.

⁴² Stalin wished to preserve diplomatic niceties by having the Allies “call for” his aid. After discovering the atomic bomb, they were no longer willing to do so; Russian aid became only an embarrassment.

⁴³ Some listeners, not understanding the court forms of language, thought that they were hearing a victory message.

Twilight of Greater East Asia

Douglas MacArthur, on September 2, awaited a frockcoated Japanese surrender delegation on the forward deck of the USS *Missouri*. On Okinawa, General Stilwell, transferred to the Tenth Army Command, (perhaps recalling Burma) ignored the Japanese as they waited for fifteen minutes on his headquarters parade ground. Amenities were drowned out by the thunder of low-flying Fortress squadrons. Radio Tokyo conceded before closing down that Nippon had lost the initial fight in her "Hundred Years' War."⁴⁴ But a jauntier note was struck in the unconquered zones. A Singapore broadcast warned that Japan was sacrificing no honor—merely grounding arms to save the Asians from "American horror-weapons"; the Shanghai commandant promised, "We will be ready for the next war in twenty-five years."⁴⁵

The conflict for Greater East Asia had covered an area unprecedented in warfare; its active theater was circumscribed by Australia, Hawaii, Alaska, Mongolia, and Ceylon—a space far larger than the land block of Eurasia. The Western Allies suffered 150,000 military casualties, two thirds of them American, inflicting nearly one and one half million on the Japanese—an even larger number of whom found honorable death in the China Incident. Atomic bombs killed 140,000 civilians—a fraction of all who perished by fire or explosion in the strategic air war. Sunken merchant ships carried down 150,000 of their seamen and passengers. China's human losses are estimated at twelve million, with half as many more apportioned through the rest of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. Hardly a building stood in old Manila, and, across the Pasig River, steel-framed skyscrapers were bent or scattered like jackstraws. In Rangoon, vultures roosted in the casements of gutted business blocks.

American Eighth Army occupation vanguards rolled through an Oriental Twilight of the Gods. Osaka, "workshop of the East," was a level waste; Yokohama and Tokyo were fields of lunar desolation. In the villages, peasants crouched in their huts of dripping rice-straw thatch or knelt speechlessly before the shrine of Kwanon, the Queen of Compassion; in the fields, their eyes had the

⁴⁴ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

⁴⁵ Leo Margolin, *Paper Bullets* (New York: Froben, 1946), p. 89.

blank gaze of working oxen. The Americans watched in pity mixed with wonder: "What made these people think that they could lick the world?"⁴⁶

The Odds of Battle

The cause of defeat was found by Tojo in lack of confidence in the Divine Mission among the people of East Asia. A careful historian has listed "decadence of the . . . bureaucracy," "irrational thinking" of Shinto philosophers, interservice rivalries.⁴⁷ In fact, the losers suffered from a massive and broad-gauge inferiority in the materials of scientific combat. The war added no names to Japan's military Valhalla—though Nagumo and Yamashita should be ranked with the ablest of the Meiji commanders.

Mechanization leveled down the soldier and made him anonymous (no Richthofen or Rickenbacker created a legend). Yet the Pacific War personalized command: the general officer—almost a myth during the First World War in his rear-echelon GHQ—returned to the field of action. The fighting man knew his leader: Mitscher—scorning cover on the carrier-island deck as the kamikazes "splashed"; the salty Stilwell or the courtly Eichelberger—asking no favors on the jungle trail; "Bull" Halsey—promising to lead the victory parade on Hirohito's white horse;⁴⁸ Walter Krueger, who ordered his meals from the enlisted men's mess and filled every army grade from private to lieutenant general; MacArthur himself, florid in his public utterances, bitter in interservice feuds, anathematized⁴⁹ and lampooned, but close to his men during their hardest-fought actions.

L'envoi

The Greater Far East Asia War has become the stuff of history and of dreams. What were Massacre Bay and Salamau and Wood-

⁴⁶ Descriptions are based upon both authors' personal observations and notes.

⁴⁷ Yanaga, *op. cit.*, p. 622.

⁴⁸ The horse, Shirokan, could not have resented an American rider; it had been foaled in Nebraska.

⁴⁹ For example, Chester Wilmut finds that "MacArthur's ambition and egotism prevented him from seeing any war but his own—and he used every political maneuver to secure the abandonment of the Europe-first strategy," *The Struggle for Europe* (New York: Harper, 1952), p. 100.

lark Channel—or Operations SEXTANT and RECKLESS—or Clifford's Cowboys and the Mud Rats of Leyte? No battles have been so quickly forgotten: typhoons have scoured the landing beaches; goonies nest on the coral airstrips; creepers are matted over the junkyards of war, and polyps grow on sunken turbines in Iron-Bottomed Bay.

The war survives as the common fate of four million Americans or Japanese, that brought them from their northern homes to lands beyond the Line and left memories they can neither erase nor fully communicate: of death that came on Beach Scarlet or Beach Yellow, between the shattered palm groves and the sea; of bombers that dived from the sun—or torpedoes that struck at sunset with the changing of the watch; of the lethargy of infinite blue distances—long stillness broken by the air alert or the sea barrage; of ward-rooms sweltering in tropical heat and shore leaves drowned in "bullfight brandy"; of the quagmire of clay trails drenched by the southwest monsoon. Perhaps, of the ageless Buddha, smiling from grotto or twilit joss house, whose silence speaks of vanity and of nothingness.

The Occupation of Japan and Korea

✻ You never had it so good

Notice posted in U. S. Army barrack-room, Japan, 1947

✻ May the love, gentleness, and care you . . . lavished on the unwanted little children of Japan return to you a thousandfold, and may your countrymen always remember the part which you . . . played in carrying the real Spirit of America . . . into the Land of Cherry Blossoms.

Testimonial from the Sisters of the Holy Family Orphans' Home in Osaka to Sgt. Hugh F. X. O'Reilly upon his detachment from duty in the Occupation of Japan.

Wartime Policy-making

A JAPAN, imperial in name only, shorn of her conquests, defeated in her home skies and waters, and threatened with starvation, signed the surrender document.

Three years earlier, the Department of State had initiated studies of the problems involved in a military occupation of Japan.¹ In 1944 and 1945, these were coordinated under the Inter-divisional Area Committee for the Far East. Final planning was entrusted to

¹ Edwin M. Martin, *The Allied Occupation of Japan* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1948), p. 5.

a subcommittee for the Far East of the State-War-Navy Coordination Committee (SWNCC).²

A basic directive for the occupation of Japan was formulated by SWNCC in July, 1945, following patterns already established in Germany. These were somewhat modified after the Potsdam Declaration, which perpetuated a Japanese government under close Allied supervision.

Military Government of the Japanese Empire

A brief period of military administration followed the reconquest of each part of Greater Asia; it was then, as soon as possible, restored to its prewar form of government. The former mandates—the Marshall, Caroline, and Marianas Islands—assigned by the United Nations to United States trusteeship, were administered for some years by naval military government with headquarters in Guam.³ The army was, after some interservice controversy, given responsibility for the government of Japan, and during 1944 numbers of Civil Affairs Training (CAT) schools prepared officers for their specific duties in the theater. General Douglas MacArthur was, before the surrender, designated as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) for the Japanese Islands and Korea. The detailed Basic Initial Post-Surrender Directive, issued to SCAP on November 8, 1945, set forth policies for the Occupation.

The Far Eastern Advisory Committee (FEAC) of the Allied Powers, proposed by the United States in August, counseled Japan in meeting the surrender terms. The Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow during December established permanent organs of administration. United States forces assumed authority throughout the main islands with the exception of Shikoku and the Hiroshima area, which became British occupation zones. All the Pacific Allies participated in the Far Eastern Commission (FEC) and Allied Council for Japan.⁴

² This committee's name changed November 4, 1947, to State-Army-Navy-Air Coordinating Committee (SANACC).

³ And subsequently turned over to civilian administration by the U. S. Department of Interior. Okinawa alternated between naval and army administration, and is currently an air force base.

⁴ The USSR demanded, but was refused, administration of the island of Hokkaido—despite her "great contribution toward Japanese defeat." China declined, because of her internal difficulties, to accept an occupation zone.

The FEC⁵ met in Washington as a policy-making body. It was empowered, in theory, to review any directive issued by the United States to the supreme commander; it had no control over military affairs or territorial adjustments.⁶

The Allied Council for Japan convened in Tokyo to advise SCAP. It was made up of four members: the supreme commander as chairman, with a Soviet, a Chinese, and a British Commonwealth member. This group met every two weeks.⁷ The paramount position of the United States appeared not only in the continuous issuance of Washington directives to SCAP, but also in MacArthur's domination of the council despite General Derevyenko's efforts to convert it into a soapbox for the utterance of Soviet protests. Though it could delay action on three reserved subjects,⁸ pending decision by the FEC, it left the authority of SCAP basically unhampered and had little influence upon the occupation.

SCAP

On September 6, 1945, Douglas MacArthur was authorized by President Truman to enter upon his duties as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. His role was dual: as SCAP he was an international administrator; as general he commanded United States Army forces in the Far East, including all the Pacific Islands.⁹ His instructions stated that "the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State is subordinated to you. . . ." These might continue to govern only "to the extent that such an arrangement produces satisfactory results."

Such a grant of authority enabled the supreme commander to personify the occupation; and this Douglas MacArthur proceeded

⁵ Members included China, United Kingdom, USSR, France, the Netherlands, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Burma, and the Philippines.

⁶ *Selected Data*, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (Tokyo, 1950), p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ These reserved subjects included "questions concerning a change in the regime of control, fundamental changes in Japanese Government as a whole. . . ." Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁹ Lawrence H. Battistini, *Japan and America* (New York: John Day, 1954), p. 142. In February, 1946, contingents of British Commonwealth troops began to arrive and administered the Kobe-Hiroshima area. These troops never numbered more than forty-five thousand and most of them were withdrawn by the spring of 1948.

to do. He came new to Tokyo fresh from eight months' experience in reorganizing the Philippine Republic. In government, as in war, he had shown forthrightness and a measureless self-confidence which imposed absolute loyalty upon his subordinates but made him intolerant of any criticism. He stood now in the position of a shogun,¹⁰ not superseding the emperor, yet himself ruling in the name of Hirohito and the Imperial Diet. Inflexibly correct in his behavior and filled with a deep compassion for the people he had defeated, MacArthur clearly condescended toward them; during his five-year tenure of office, not a dozen Japanese were admitted to conference in his sixth-floor office suite overlooking the palace enclosure. Thus he transmitted to the midcentury some of the attitudes of his father, the military governor of the Philippines in 1900.

TOKYO GHQ

SCAP operated through the Japanese government rather than as a direct military administration. It could function either by appointing new Japanese leaders or by using existing Japanese governmental personnel, purged of their extreme nationalist elements.¹¹ Since there was no machinery available for the quick selection of new leaders, the first possibility was ruled out; hence, at least on an ad interim basis, SCAP turned to the second alternative.

MacArthur set up two general headquarters, one as supreme commander and another as Far East commander—the former responsible for the civilian occupation, the latter for defense. The chief of staff and his section heads served in both headquarters; below this level the two commands were distinct. SCAP's organization, concentrated almost entirely in the undamaged business section of Tokyo, included a planning staff of about two thousand civil affairs officers, gradually replaced by civilian experts and divided into twelve sections.¹² These prepared directives which

¹⁰ As under the Tokugawa shogunate, access to the emperor was forbidden without SCAP permission.—See p. 90.

¹¹ T. A. Bisson, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p. 18.

¹² Including Government, Economic and Scientific, Civil Information and Education, Natural Resources, Civil Transportation, Public Health and Welfare, Civil Communications, and Civil Intelligence sections. For the sections in full see *Occupation of Japan* (Department of State Publication

were implemented by the Military Government teams of General Eichelberger's Eighth Army were distributed through all the prefectures as well as the principal cities of Japan. Army personnel, including an airborne division in Hokkaido and squadrons of the Fifth Air Force, totaled by 1946 over 150,000 Americans and about 40,000 British troops.

Little was changed at first in the form of the Japanese state: the Diet continued to function; of the prewar secretariats, the Foreign Office ceased to exist together with the Naimusho—the Home Office, agency of the police state. Other departments worked closely with their opposite numbers in SCAP, preparing legislation in accordance with American directives. Gradually, however, formal instructions yielded to informal memoranda and verbal advice, with GHQ offering friendly guidance rather than dictation.

The Era of Reform

The Basic Initial Post-Surrender Directive ordered SCAP to—
foster conditions which will give the greatest possible assurance that Japan will not again become a menace to the peace and security of the world and will permit her eventual admission as a responsible and peaceful member of the family of nations, as set forth in the Potsdam Declaration. [Necessary] measures include the carrying out of the Cairo Declaration . . . ; the abolition of militarism and ultra-nationalism in all their forms; the disarmament and demilitarization of Japan, with continuing control over Japan's capacity to make war; the strengthening of democratic tendencies and processes in governmental, economic and social institutions; the encouragement and support of liberal political tendencies in Japan.

DEMILITARIZATION

Immediate effect was given to these orders by the destruction of Japan's army; at the same time, ultranationalist societies were dissolved and their members purged from public office. The War and Navy ministries were converted into demobilization agencies and later entirely abolished. General Order Number One called for the seizure of war materials by Allied theater commanders, and the

No. 267, "Far Eastern Series 17"), p. 15. The programs of five are discussed in later pages; the other seven may be called organs of internal American administration rather than control over Japan.

Japanese were forbidden to manufacture munitions, aircraft, and naval units, or to continue military research. Destruction of the Imperial war machine required only four months; and by March, 1947, SCAP had repatriated two and a half million soldiers and over three million civilians from overseas.

A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

On the nonmilitary side, SCAP ordered the removal of all restriction on civil liberties and encouraged democratic organization in labor, industry, and agriculture. The effect was a supervised "revolution" in Japan. Its agents, the staff of GHQ, though hampered by ignorance of Oriental ways, were honestly dedicated to their task of making good Americans out of Japanese. MacArthur found mystical sanctions for the crusade in his surrender declaration.

A new era is upon us. . . . Men since the beginning of time have sought peace. We now have our last chance. . . . The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.¹³

The Japanese people responded with a friendly and apparently sincere enthusiasm. For twelve hundred years they had adopted what seemed best in other cultures, and they were well accustomed to accepting higher authority. The disciplined behavior of their conquerors quickly dispelled such fears of plunder and atrocity as survived from their war indoctrination.

SCAP'S GOVERNMENT SECTION DRAFTS A CONSTITUTION

As soon as the occupation began, a Japanese state committee was directed to draft a new constitution. Its proposals, presented early in February, 1946, proved to be a watered-down version of the Meiji constitution of 1889. They were summarily rejected by General MacArthur, who thereupon instructed SCAP's Government Section to supervise the writing of a more liberal constitution. The document was ready for acceptance by the Diet on November 3, and it became effective six months later.¹⁴

Japan accepted a parliamentary form of government with the

¹³ Bisson, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ The New Era thus dates from May 3, 1947.

Diet—consisting of a House of Representatives and a smaller House of Councilors—acting as “the highest organ of state power” (Article 37). Executive power was to be vested in a prime minister and a Cabinet chosen by the Diet and responsible to it (Article 63); the emperor was never to have “powers related to Government.”¹⁵ In these respects, the constitution followed British precedents. However, the Supreme Court, with power to annul unconstitutional legislation, is similar to the American. The Bill of Rights fills twenty-seven articles, guaranteeing the equality of sexes in marriage (Article 22), the rights of labor to bargain collectively (Article 26) and of “all people—to work” (Article 25).

By far the most advanced concept—one unique in political thought—was the renunciation of war expressed in Article 9, forbidding “the maintenance of land, sea, and air forces” and the “right of belligerency.”

ESS DISSOLVES THE ZAIBATSU

The Economic and Scientific Section, with twenty subdivisions, formed the largest SCAP activity. Perhaps its main objective was to “democratize Japan’s economy” by liquidating the great Zaibatsu trusts which had flourished since the Restoration.¹⁶

In June, 1946, twenty-nine Zaibatsu firms were required to furnish full reports on their assets and financial structure. A Holding Company Liquidation Commission took over the operation of these combines and acquired their shares (in exchange for government bonds) offering these for sale to the public. The Japanese government was ordered to submit plans for the dissolution of all major combines, and the elimination of monopolies. SCAP further divorced banking from industry and attempted to create equal competitive conditions.¹⁷

A second objective of ESS was the building of a strong labor movement. Unions were sanctioned by Imperial ordinance, and an American advisory committee brought to direct their growth; membership, never over four hundred thousand before the war, rose to seven million. Successful bargaining helped to raise labor’s

¹⁵ On January 1, 1946, Hirohito formally renounced his divinity.

¹⁶ See pp. 166, 272.

¹⁷ This problem proved especially difficult.

share of the national income by nearly 20 per cent—to one half the total.

THE NATURAL RESOURCES SECTION EFFECTS LAND REFORM

No SCAP project was more far-reaching or efficiently carried out than the Land Reform Program of the Natural Resources Section. Its goal was the creation of a Jeffersonian subsistence-farmer class in feudal Japan. This was virtually attained—by purchase of all excessive landholdings for resale to tenant farmers at controlled prices. The percentage of farmers owning their land doubled, to reach 70—one of the highest rates in the world; permanent ceilings on the acreage owned by a single proprietor insured Japan against the regrowth of a landlord class. The local commissions in charge of land reform handled thirty million transfers within two years.¹⁸

CI & E REMOLDS THE JAPANESE MIND

The functions of the Imperial Ministry of Culture, the Mom-busho, were almost precisely taken over by SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section. Its Religions Division, in a directive of December, 1945, instructed the Japanese government to withdraw all state support from Shinto and abolish the militaristic rites held at Shinto shrines, together with all theories of Japanese racial superiority and divine origin. Sect Shinto, closely related to pagan nature worship,¹⁹ was left undisturbed, but no form of religion could expect subsidies, and each must support itself by public contributions. The emperor was himself "humanized" by meeting his subjects of all degrees in a series of carefully arranged tours.

CI & E exercised a censorship function over all mass entertainment and instruction media. Militaristic drama (especially the *Chushingura* play of the Forty-Seven Ronins) and war songs²⁰ were barred from public performance. JOAK featured popular music rather than official speeches; newspapers were held to account for their editorial policies. All materials for the study of nuclear physics and even aerodynamics were ordered destroyed.

¹⁸ Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁹ See p. 45.

²⁰ One song banned was "China Night"; nevertheless, a straight-faced Japanese orchestra usually prefaced its dinner concert at the SCAP field officers' mess with this tune.

The greatest emphasis of all was placed upon school text revision; all pre-occupation classroom materials emphasized the Way of the Gods, the emperor's divinity, the glory of war in achieving Japan's Divine Mission. Hence, all must be rewritten. A contingent of writers, numbering thousands in all, undertook the stupendous task, which was eventually accomplished to the satisfaction of neither the occupation authorities nor the Japanese people.

Upon recommendation of a visiting American education mission, CI & E concentrated its efforts upon the decentralization of the Japanese public school system. Under the School Law of 1948, support and control passed from the Mombusho to local school boards. A bold design to romanize the Japanese script, releasing the national mind from its bondage to the Chinese ideograph, was firmly vetoed at the upper levels of GHQ.²¹ Boldness of plan—on a scale comparable to that of the *Kodo-ha* and the Cherry Blossom League—was hardly characteristic of the desk-bound operations of CI & E; these presently passed under control of earnest American public school executives hopeful of regenerating Japan through adoption of the junior high school and the junior college.

INTERNATIONAL PROSECUTION SECTION LAUNCHES THE IMTFE

The International Prosecution Section was charged with fulfilling the Potsdam order for punishment of Pacific War criminals. Its main activity centered about the International Military Tribunal of the Far East, last act in the drama of Greater East Asia, played out on a darkening stage. Twenty-eight major defendants—looking small and innocuous as they trooped into the judgment hall flanked by white-helmeted MP's—faced the eleven judges of the tribunal.²² The trial, drawn out through eighteen months, ended in November, 1948; its testimony provides the fullest historical materials ever assembled on a total war conspiracy. The principals were, in general, anxious to inculcate themselves to divert blame from the

²¹ Reasons given were that the great number of homophones (for instance, the hundreds of meanings of *ko*) must preclude the use of a phonetic script. Undoubtedly, the main reason was conservative pressure, comparable to that which opposes spelling reform in America. In many ways, romanization would have achieved the purposes of its sponsor, Lieutenant Commander Robert K. Hall.—See his book, *Education for a New Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), Ch. IV.

²² One from each of the Pacific and Far East Allied powers. Critics have asserted that the judges thus represented the prosecution. However, all the forms of justice were elaborately observed.

god-man in whose name they had fought. Twenty-five—all who survived the trial—were found guilty. Of these, seven suffered dishonorable death by hanging: Tojo for organizing a war of aggression; Matsui, Doihara, and four other generals for command responsibility in mass atrocities. The latter charge condemned also generals Homma and Yamashita in the Philippines.²³ Throughout East Asia, 1229 Japanese were brought to trial for massacring civilians, abusing prisoners of war, or even for cannibalism;²⁴ a tenth were executed, a similar fraction acquitted, the rest imprisoned, subject to reprieve only by the Allies. Nearly two hundred thousand "ultranationalists" were deprived by edict of political rights; but by the time of the Peace Treaty in 1951 nearly all were released or rehabilitated.

THE NEW POLITICAL SCENE

A ministry headed by Prince Higashikuni Naruhiko, whose son had married into the Imperial family, served as caretaker during the anxious months of defeat and surrender; he was replaced in November, 1945, by Baron Shidehara Kijuro. The baron led a progressive party derived from the prewar Minseito, advocating a controlled form of capitalism; conservative in outlook, it was far less so than the new Liberal Party, which enrolled much of the membership of the old Seiyukai. A much-fragmented socialist bloc, later to become the Social Democratic Party, followed Katayama Tetsu, a "people's lawyer" with a strong social conscience and member of the Presbyterian Church.²⁵

Some months were spent in screening former government personnel for militarist affiliation. All of Tojo's Cabinet and 90 per cent of the war Diet were ultimately among the persons "purged" from public life. The first election supervised by SCAP, and held on April 10, 1946—a contest of personalities rather than parties²⁶

²³ See pp. 416, 437 (the Bataan Death March). The defendants testified on some counts that they were unaware of crimes committed by their subordinates.

²⁴ The charge on which certain Imperial Navy officers were convicted on Guam.

²⁵ For a summary of platforms, see Russell Brines, *MacArthur's Japan* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1948), Ch. XIV.

²⁶ The ballot, absolutely blank, is marked only with the candidates' names, which must be perfectly written in Chinese script. The voter need not know the party of his chosen candidate; he is likely to write the name with easiest or most familiar characters.

—gave the Liberals a plurality of nearly fifty seats. Their leader, Hatoyama Ichiro, was, however, purged for his former associations with the Tanaka militarist clique, and the premiership assigned to Yoshida Shigeru, who had been briefly imprisoned by the Kempeitai two years previously.

An election under the new constitution in April, 1947, gave the Social Democrats a plurality vote, considerably smaller than the total of the two conservative parties. Katayama was allowed to form a government only after dissociating himself both from the Communists and the socialist left wing: he was, in result, forced from office after ten months by his own followers. As his successor, the Diet appointed the Progressive, now become Democratic, Party leader, Ashida Hitoshi, former editor and career diplomat. Losing support of the Socialists on labor issues, Ashida resigned before the end of the year, permitting the return of Yoshida. A third election coming in January, 1949, gave a large majority of seats to his Democrat-Liberal coalition, enabling this Japanese "Churchill" to remain in office for a full five years.

The governments of occupied Japan proved somewhat more stable than those under the Meiji constitution (which averaged only seven months' duration). They could not be said to fix legislative policy, since all professedly followed SCAP direction—though watering-down or evading many of its directives. Since the purge decimated their conservative, well-to-do components, post-war parliaments appeared less dignified in behavior. The percentage of voters using the polls hardly changed under democracy, though totals nearly doubled with the enfranchisement of women. Thirty-nine women were returned to the Diet in the 1946 election; and, though the number steadily declined, each successive session has passed laws expanding women's privileges in education, employment, property rights, or family status.

*The Era of Friendship*²⁷

The MacArthur revolution lasted hardly three years; its impetus was clearly waning when, in 1947, SCAP forbade "political" labor strikes, including those of government-railway and telecommunica-

²⁷ For a full analysis of the period, see R. A. Fearey, *Occupation of Japan: Second Phase* (New York: Macmillan, 1950).

tion workers. By the end of the next year, emphasis had shifted from reform to national discipline and increased production: the American public, facing a mild business recession, called for cuts in the aid funds to support Japan. Washington was also coming to regard communism as a more serious enemy than the moribund Black Dragon Society.

Thus, the program of almost every section was halted or reversed: the Johnston and Dodge commissions prescribed methods for Japan to "pay her way" in the world's markets. Little further was done to dissolve the Zaibatsu, whose experience in the export trades became once more valuable. CI & E "de-purged" militarists, but proceeded against alleged student communist-front organizations and removed ultraliberal professors from their university chairs. This reorientation of policy appeared to be justified at the outbreak in 1950 of the Korean War.²⁸

United States Military Government in Korea

The conquered territories of Greater East Asia were scheduled, after the defeat of Japan, to return to their preconquest status. Japan's earlier annexations posed special problems: the mandated islands would remain indefinitely in American custody; Manchuria was, at Yalta, recognized as a part of China, though mortgaged by assignment to Stalin of czarist railway and strategic grants. But what of Korea? The little kingdom had not been fully self-governing for fifty years; there was no hope of reviving its ancient Yi dynasty; and intensive Japanese cultural propaganda had undermined its sense of nationality.

President Roosevelt somewhat favored a return to Chinese suzerainty, the *status quo ante* of 1885. An indefinite promise that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent" was entered into the minutes of the Four-Power Allied Conference at Cairo in December, 1943. Little more was said for twenty months until, after Russian troops had crossed her border, it was decreed

²⁸ Throughout the occupation, GHQ's Intelligence Section maintained a staff of able American and Japanese historians to write a full account of the war and certain aspects of the occupation. A few copies of the resultant work were printed and retained by MacArthur's entourage, a single copy being deposited with the War Department. The work, sometimes referred to as "MacArthur's Private History," is not accessible to general historians.

that Korea should be divided at the Thirty-Eighth Parallel into equal-sized Russian and American zones of occupation. The plan was devised as a temporary expedient in disarming the Japanese garrisons and receiving their surrender. Under the Japanese, South Korea provided a food surplus, but depended upon the North for coal, minerals, manufactures, and the electric power generated at the hydroelectric dams of the Yalu Basin. Neither could be indefinitely self-sufficient.

USAFIK AND USAMGIK

United States Armed Forces in Korea (USAFIK) consisted of the Twenty-Fourth Corps whose commander, Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, assumed over-all authority subject to SCAP in Tokyo. The Fifth Air Corps and the Seventh Fleet supplied transport and patrol service. United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), subordinate to the corps, formed a much smaller organization, centered in the granite capitol of the Chosen government-general in Seoul, with teams operating throughout the nine provinces and principal cities.

No American officers had been trained in the language of Korea nor in the problems of administering the country. Of the group of USAMGIK volunteers assembled in Okinawa after the Japanese surrender, only three²⁹ had ever seen the land they were to rule. Thus, the military government, initiated early in September, was essentially extemporaneous. Many of its personnel expected their assignment to be finished by Christmas. Conflicts of viewpoint—none of them serious—occurred between garrison authorities anxious to obtain all possible comforts for their men³⁰ and civil-affairs officers who wished to conserve resources for the reconstruction of the country.

In Japan, war-inspired hatred of the Americans gave way to gratitude as they proved to be chivalrous conquerors. The process was almost reversed in Korea; no liberators were more enthusiastically received than the advance guards of USAMGIK and the Twenty-Fourth Corps. But Koreans expected treatment as allies and equals—even decorating their churches in the belief that their

²⁹ Including the author, A.C.

³⁰ For instance, Korean college buildings were sometimes stripped to serve as military hospitals or billets. Such practices were forbidden by SCAP in Japan.

Occidental fellow Christians would crowd to join them in worship. They resented being addressed in Japanese—the only Asian language known to CAT school graduates—or even more, classified as “the same breed of cats” as their former overlords. Americans, in turn, disliked their end-of-the-line Oriental duty assignment in a land that felt the sweep of the Siberian winter wind, lacking the comforts available even in Japan.

The chief duty of USAFIK was demilitarization of the zone. Food and clothing stores were, in most cases, turned over to civil authorities; but war materials, and even optical and communication equipment of the Japanese army, were destroyed. The Post-Surrender Directive was interpreted to mean that Korea must be as completely disarmed as Japan and discouraged from technological studies that might launch it also on the path of aggression. Military Government was not, like SCAP in Tokyo, an advisory body; it possessed sovereign authority. It organized itself in bureaus and sections closely duplicating those of the dissolved government-general of Chosen;²¹ yet it could not, because of Korean outcries, retain the services of the former Japanese bureaucracy. Among its more valuable advisers were returned missionaries; most interpreters had learned English at Christian schools. Actually, a dual system of government developed, with each American administrator training a Korean to replace him as the occupation ended.

The most pressing duty of USAMGIK was the expulsion and repatriation of nearly two hundred thousand enemy troops and six hundred thousand civilians²²—a task completed in four months. Haltingly, since key technicians had all left, law, industry, public services, and education were revived under native direction. Committed to a free economy, Americans hesitated to seize rice or fix its price until there was hunger in the cities. Political problems proved even more vexatious; General Hodge flatly refused to recognize the postwar Korean Peoples' Republic or its chosen president, Lyuh Woon Hyeung, considering them sympathetic with the Communists of North Korea. Almost all resident leaders before 1945 had been compromised by the Japanese—though Kim Sung Soo, the respected president of Posung College, had a considerable

²¹ See p. 383, describing the very similar Manchukuo government.

²² Often under distressing circumstances, abandoning all property and the only homes they had known; some were mobbed or drowned at sea by vengeful Koreans.

following Leadership must, therefore, be expected from the emigrés—especially the surviving national heroes who had signed the Declaration of Independence and led the Mansei Revolt in 1919.³³

THE KOREAN SUN YAT-SEN

The two thousand trained shock troops of the Korean Independence League in Yenan had joined the Soviet Army. However, the Korean Provisional Government, maintained in Chungking throughout the war, reached Seoul during the autumn of 1945, and its president, Kim Koo,³⁴ stood well in the favor of USAMGIK. A more formidable and famous leader had arrived at the same time from America, the legendary hero Syngman Rhee. Born in 1875 of a stock related to royalty,³⁵ Rhee was a contemporary of Sun Yat-sen. Like Sun, after the Sino-Japanese War, he led a patriotic demonstration, which cost the young agitator seven years' imprisonment. On his release in 1904, Rhee took refuge in the United States, where he wrote the textbook of Korean patriots, *The Spirit of Independence*, and remained to complete a brilliant academic career, crowned by a doctoral degree in political science at Princeton, where he studied under Woodrow Wilson.³⁶ In 1911, the year after Korea's annexation, Rhee returned to his homeland as a YMCA secretary, engaging for eight more years in ceaseless revolutionary activity. In 1919 he was foremost in the Independence movement; elected president of the provisional government, he was forced into twenty-five years' further international exile, with headquarters in Hawaii or Shanghai. In 1941 he assigned his duties in Chungking to Kim Koo to spend the war period in the United States.

By the time of his return, Korea was already liberated from Japan. He addressed himself to the formidable remaining tasks: full independence, and unification.³⁷ Rounding out his seventieth

³³ See p. 350.

³⁴ Admired for having killed the assassin of Queen Min.—See p. 228.

³⁵ *Rhee* is a Japanese form of *Yi*, the name of the Korean dynasty since 1392.

³⁶ The period is discussed in *Korean Survey*, VI (March, 1937), pp. 3-5.

³⁷ The tragic division of Korea caused many Korean peasants and townsmen to tell the author that they wished they were back under the Japanese. "At least we were not divided then; and certainly we were not more harshly treated by the government."—P. B.

year, Rhee was inclined toward neither temporization nor compromise; patterning himself after Yi Sun Sin,³⁸ he assumed the great admiral's motto:

I vow by the sea and the fish, and the dragons tremble; I vow by the mountains, and the grass and the trees are startled.

His legendary fame and force of will made Rhee, heading a party for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence, the strongest political contender. But his intransigence alienated Military Government.

The Moscow Council of Foreign Ministers in December, 1945, offended all factions in South Korea by decreeing an extension of trusteeship for as long as five years. General Hodge agreed to sanction an interim legislature in August, 1946. Forty-five of its members were chosen by popular vote—in an election dominated by rightist pressures, and even terrorism. Hodge appointed, therefore, an equal number of moderate nationalists led by Kim Koo.

The whole problem of Korean independence and unification was presently handed over to the United Nations, which assigned it to a UN Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCOK). Refused admission to the North, the commission scheduled an election in South Korea for May 10, 1948. Since the Communists and labor organizations in the South refused to take part, the two hundred seats in the Assembly were filled by conservative members who elected Dr. Rhee president. On July 17, the constitution was promulgated, and the independent Republic of Korea (ROK) came into being on August 15. It was recognized by the UN on December 12, and by the United States on January 1.

³⁸ He destroyed Japan's navies in 1592-98.—See p. 62; also, *Time*, LXIX, 12 (March 25, 1957).

The Triumph of Nationalism

Whatever its genesis, the emergence of this new world in Asia [seems] likely to become one of the major events of our age. It is a warm, brightly-coloured, jungle-girt world, inhabited by people of many languages, skin shades, and levels of culture from Negrito pygmies with blow-pipes . . . to Paris-educated Cochín-Chinese, more French than the French.

In the Asia I had left [in 1942] I had been a sahib, a tuan, a thakin, a lord. Now I was going back no longer one of the owners, but merely as "a guest of the country." I should see it all not as the man in the Club (White skins only!) but as the man in the coffee-shop.

Henry Hopkins, *New World Arising*, 1952

Time Bomb under East Asia

IF THE Pacific War dethroned Japan as the ruler of Asian nationalism, it assured the success of the movement. "National" governments had been set up in Indo-China, the East Indies, Burma, and the Philippines; as the war developed unfavorably for Japan, these obtained larger shares of power from the Greater East Asia Ministry, Asian leaders, treated as mere puppets during the high tide of Japan's success, received grants

of real authority. Native administrators took over most of the "reserved" state functions, with the exception of foreign affairs; some became bureau chiefs, able to determine policy. By the end of the war, it was certain that the non-Japanese Asians who staffed most of the governments would prove adamant against the return of colonialism. Unable longer to rule East Asia, Japan's final design was to deny it to the West; metaphorically, she had placed a time bomb under European hegemony in the Far East.

Even the leadership of the United Nations was split upon the issue of Asian autonomy. President Roosevelt did not conceal his sympathy with the colonial peoples—often citing the retrocession of Hong Kong as a postwar necessity. He had the backing of Stalin and, on occasions, of Chiang. Churchill was isolated among the Big Three by his stout assertion that he "had not become His Majesty's chief Minister to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire"; and before the war ended, he gave place to the far less imperialist Labor premier, Clement Attlee.

The Republic of the Philippines

The Filipino march toward independence began with the Hawes-Cutting Bill of 1932, which imposed tariffs to strengthen the island economy and established a ten-year preparatory period for complete independence. Following the Tydings-McDuffie Act of March, 1934, a complete commonwealth government was set up, autonomous except in Washington's control of foreign policy, with Manuel Quezon as president and Sergio Osmeña as vice-president; its branches precisely paralleled those of the United States. Almost all officials chosen in the first election came from the Nationalist Party. There was scattered opposition from a proto-fascist movement headed by José P. Laurel, and a socialist wing led by Pedro Santos and Luis Taruc which demanded land and labor reform.

Popular sovereignty was embedded in the constitution; the bicameral Congress shared the president's power of appointment, and its laws could be suspended only by vote of eight of eleven Supreme Court justices. Articles XIII and XIV vested the ownership of all resources in the state for the benefit of the people, forbidding concessions of over twenty-five years.

JAPANESE OCCUPATION

Opposition to the Japanese occupation was headed by an organization known as the Hukbalahap, originally a united front of numerous organizations, though it passed more and more under the leadership of Taruc's left-wing guerrillas. By no means all Filipinos remained loyal. A Philippine republic was established by the Japanese with José Laurel as president, and Elpidio Quirino and Manuel Roxas among its sponsors. In all, some 30 per cent of the elected members of the House of Representatives had accepted positions under the Japanese. Seventy-five per cent of the Senate also collaborated, as did most of the Supreme Court, and 80 per cent of the officers of the Philippine Army. Laurel proved subservient in many ways, even using native constabulary against the guerrilla forces. On September 23, 1944, he declared war upon the United Nations.

After the fall of Corregidor, the commonwealth government-in-exile escaped to Washington and cooperated with the United Nations. In August, 1944, President Quezon died, and Osmeña, succeeding to his position, accompanied General MacArthur in the invasion of Leyte, prepared to resume government authority, reconstruct devastated areas, and rebuild the Philippine economy.

Sergio Osmeña was not an aggressive leader; General MacArthur was the real power in the early months of reoccupation. Under his counsel, Osmeña recalled into session the Senate and House elected in 1941; the president of the Senate and chairman of its powerful Committee on Appointments was Manuel A. Roxas. Emboldened by the "liberation" of Roxas and the favor he enjoyed among the Americans, former collaborators organized themselves to dominate the Senate and elect the speaker of the house. A People's Court established for the trial of collaborators was staffed by judges who showed open sympathy with the defendants and swiftly exonerated them. Roxas himself ran for the presidency as a Liberal Nationalist, easily defeating the conservative faction of Osmeña, supported by the Hukbalahap. On July 4, 1946, Manuel Roxas became the first president of the independent Republic of the Philippines.

Nationalism in the Dutch East Indies

Indonesian nationalism originated from dual causes: cultural borrowings from the West, democratic and Marxist; and the re-emphasis of native traditions using Islam as a rallying point against foreign influence. Conservatives stressed religion, or hoped for eventual self-government through cooperation with the Dutch. Radicals sought immediate independence, either through the Gandhi tactic of noncooperation with the government or through a Marxian revolution leading to a workers' state.

Nationalism faced Herculean problems in seeking to merge societies diverse in language, culture, and racial stock, and unite people almost totally uneducated and without trained leadership. Though the *Volksraad's* petition for independence was rejected, the islands achieved virtual dominion status after the fall of the Netherlands to Germany in May, 1940.¹

The Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) came into being under the leadership of Sukarno, Mohammed Hatta, and Soetan Sjahrir. It aided cooperatives and organized labor unions, but was shortly outlawed by the Dutch,² who felt that it undermined government authority.

JAPANESE LIBERATION

When the Japanese arrived in February, 1942, most Indonesians hailed them as liberators. Before long, however, they discovered that the slogan: "Asia for the Asians" meant only "Asia for the Japanese." Sukarno was recalled from exile by the conquerors to serve as puppet president. Using cleverly ambiguous language, he called for cooperation in terms that implied the eventual ousting of the Japanese, thus firing the people's hopes. Two days after Nippon's surrender in August, 1946, he read to his people an Indonesian Declaration of Independence, couched in the ringing phraseology of Thomas Jefferson; a republic was proclaimed with Sukarno as its first president. Since there were no Allied troops in the archipelago, the Japanese willingly surrendered their arms to the Indonesian nationalists. European internees were not re-

¹ See p. 402.

² Even the use of the name *Indonesia* was forbidden before 1940.

leased, and numbers were massacred in their camps by Republican guards.

At the time, the Dutch were in no position to fight for their possessions. A British army took over until December, 1946, when ninety-two thousand troops arrived from the Netherlands. But the Indonesians, having tasted freedom, declined to tolerate foreign suzerainty; they resisted in the certainty of winning ultimate independence. Though the European forces, well supplied with American weapons, could usually win victories in the field, Holland was unable to endure the economic strain of war; the Indies were yielding no revenue, and her troops were costing a million gold dollars daily.

After a truce period, the Netherlands commissioner general delivered an ultimatum demanding full Dutch control pending formation of a federated United States of Indonesia. To Republican leaders, war seemed a preferable alternative. As fighting was resumed, Sukarno demanded that the problems of his people be placed before the United Nations. The Dutch regarded the matter as internal and without concern to the world state, but consented to arbitration after Prime Minister Nehru called for an "Indian Monroe Doctrine" and threatened to bar Dutch traffic from Indian airfields.

The Security Council Committee of Good Offices arrived in Jakarta (formerly known as Batavia) in October, 1947, and by January secured an agreement between the combatants, signed aboard the USS *Renville*. It provided that (1) there should be free elections within a year to measure Indonesian desire for self-determination; and (2) Netherlands authority be transferred to an independent union, whose three members would be Borneo, the Great East, and the Republic of Indonesia.

The Renville Agreement was not ratified; but, when the Dutch resumed hostilities and imposed a sea blockade upon Java, they were at last threatened with the loss of U. S. financial aid. On May 7, 1949, Commissioner Reem van Royen secured a promise of cease fire. On December 27, a Netherlands-Indonesian union came into existence. The islands were divided into sixteen semi-autonomous states; their union was governed by a president and a bicameral legislature whose Upper House represented the states, while the Lower House consisted of popular delegates, Dutch

private economic interests were guaranteed, and conferences scheduled twice yearly between representatives of Jakarta and the Hague.

Java nationalists, by far the most active political force in Indonesia, had no faith in a decentralized union. Under their influence, the upper legislative house was abolished and the states reduced to ten, of which six were in the islands of Java and Sumatra. The Outer Islands greeted this action with protests and sporadic uprisings, and numbers of Moluccans preferred exile in the Netherlands to citizenship in the new unitary state. But the Republic of Indonesia was duly declared in August, 1950, and shortly afterwards admitted as the sixtieth member of the United Nations. In 1956, it severed all political links with the Netherlands Union, and, in turn, the Dutch refused either to consider payment for damages inflicted during their long "police action," or to cede western New Guinea to the Republic.³ Hoping to head off internal disintegration, the Sukarno government late in 1957 reasserted its claims to New Guinea, to the accompaniment of wholesale unofficial seizures of Western-owned properties. By 1958, Dutch nationals were leading an exodus of Europeans and Eurasians from the islands, leaving the Red Flag flying over many banks, factories, steamships, and plantations.

The Triumph of Indo-Chinese Nationalism

Vichy French officials "advised" by Japanese officers remained in charge of the administration of Indo-China until March, 1945. In that month a Nipponese *coup d'état* eliminated French authority altogether. There was an attempt to appease the Annamese with grants of local autonomy and the appointment of Bao Dai as emperor. However, Indo-Chinese nationalism had grown powerful since the formation of the Vietminh in 1940. This organization, pledged to secure independence for Vietnam, harassed both the French and the Japanese, becoming so powerful that in 1945 it controlled the five northern provinces of Tongking.

³ Dutch New Guinea is called Irian by the Indonesians. Though it has no cultural or historical ties with the rest of the islands, its leaders regard this vast, half-explored jungle as a part of the Republic. The Dutch have no intention of surrendering this last fragment of their South Seas empire. They are, on the other hand, investing considerable capital in long-range plantation and mining projects.

When Japanese power collapsed, Bao Dai abdicated, and a provisional Republican government of Vietnam asserted Indo-China's independence, annulling all treaties with France. The new regime, however, received an immediate setback; the Potsdam Conference gave the Chinese control of territory north of the sixteenth parallel, and the British that of the southern zone, with mandates to "concentrate, disarm, and repatriate the Japanese armies." The British declared the Vietnam government to be a puppet Japanese organization; they rearmed French internees, placing them once more in control of Saigon, the metropolis of southern Indo-China. From this base the French rapidly gained possession of the adjoining state of Cambodia.

Meanwhile, the Chinese in the north supported the Vietminh and its president, the "Sly Fox," Ho Chi-minh.⁴ Though known as a Communist for a quarter of a century, Ho now declared his mission to be a national liberation: "My party is my country; my program is independence." After Chinese withdrawal, the French began to negotiate with Ho while they awaited reinforcements from Europe. It appeared that they were willing to permit a degree of autonomy within the bounds of the French union, but they balked at complete independence. They took the political ground that Indo-China was unready for self-government, but were equally anxious to preserve their large economic interests and maintain France's prestige in the Far East.

THE ASSOCIATED STATES OF VIETNAM

Three years of fighting brought no further concessions. In 1949 the French reappointed Bao Dai as chief of state in an attempt to win popular support, but were unable to weaken the position of Ho Chi-minh. A year later, Bao Dai surprisingly demanded complete independence for his people. Paris responded with some solid concessions; Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, recognized as Associated States, were permitted control of their own customs and foreign trade. Vietnamese held high administrative posts in the new association. Having their own national army numbering 151,000 men by 1953, with a small supporting navy and air force, they steadily replaced French expeditionary troops in the war against Ho Chi-minh.

⁴ See p. 373.

The land reform program of July, 1952, provided for redistribution of large estates to peasant owners, financed through low-interest land-bank loans. A new labor code authorized free trade unions. Permanent machinery was created for central and local governments in South Vietnam. In January, 1953, municipal elections were held in territories held by the Vietnam government; and "flying relief teams" rehabilitated areas wrested from Vietminh infiltration.

Thailand's Benevolent Dictatorship

Pibul Songgram seized the government of Thailand in 1938,⁵ inaugurating an era of "benevolent" military dictatorship. His objective was to revitalize the nation so that it could face Western scrutiny without shame. His edicts were progressive, sometimes to the point of naïveté. He trebled educational subsidies—greatly increasing the national literacy rate—developed communications, and improved public health. He also ordered the population to wear Western clothes and refrain from betel-nut chewing and public bathing.⁶ Pibul's program was designed to create a national community which could absorb the two great minority cultures: the urban Chinese and the Moslem Malays of the far south. The Chinese responded by building more schools of their own; the Malays offered passive resistance. Beyond this, the government took over many industries, removing them from British or Chinese control, and forming the economic basis for a Thai middle class.

In religion, Pibul's re-emphasis on Buddhism in public schools especially offended the Moslem Malays. Moreover, he took steps to control both Catholic and Protestant institutions. Nor was he sympathetic with Buddhism's wrangling sects; in 1941 he forced them all to join the state-supervised National Buddhist Assembly.

Internationally, Pibul set his course by the Rising Sun. After signing a commercial treaty in 1938, Japanese began to replace Chinese in Bangkok trading houses. In 1940, when France had

⁵ See p. 400.

⁶ C. A. Buss, *The Far East* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), p. 387. During the author's 1936 stay in Thailand, the wife of his high-ranking host chewed betel nut, the people bathed in Bangkok's canals, and rural Thais continued to enjoy the comfortable native garb. The reforms closely parallel those of the New Life Movement of Madame Chiang in China. (P.B.)

fallen, Japan negotiated the return to Thailand of twenty-six thousand square miles of Cambodian territory.⁷ The Japanese entered Thailand on December 8, 1941, and, on December 21, Pibul allied himself with them and declared war on Britain and the United States—acquiring thereby the Shan state of Burma and the northern districts of Malaya.⁸

In 1944, reacting to Japan's reverses, the Thai overthrew Pibul in favor of his rival, Pridi Banomyong. In 1945 British troops entered Bangkok to accept the Japanese capitulation. Thailand was herself glad to purchase peace with a payment of one and a half million tons of rice and the restoration of all territories seized since 1939.

The disgrace of Pibul ended in 1947, when, following the scandal occasioned by the suicide of the young monarch, Ananda Mahidol,⁹ he carried out another bloodless coup, re-establishing his military dictatorship. His postwar measures included new restrictions upon the Chinese, Indian, and Malay minorities. At the same time, he continued to foster education. To appease the victorious democracies, he permitted the formation of political parties and established a bicameral elective legislature. In 1947 Thailand joined the United Nations, and four years later sent a unit to engage in the UN police action in Korea. But despite his concessions, the affable Pibul Songgram remained absolute ruler in Thailand, being "returned" to power by overwhelming votes that left little to chance.

Nationalism in Burma

British and Indians returning to Burma after the war found their prestige greatly lowered; Burmese had repossessed the rich rice lands, assumed control of finances, and assumed high responsibilities in the caretaker government. The Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League (AFPFL),¹⁰ having assisted in defeating the Japanese, demanded rapid independence of Britain. Whitehall proposed in 1946 that a British governor aided by an eleven-man

⁷ The area returned is virtually the Alsace-Lorraine of Southeast Asia.

⁸ If Pibul was a Japanese puppet, he did save his people from the horrors of war; such was his excuse to the author, Percy Buchanan, in 1956 when questioned about collaboration.

⁹ Ananda was found in a palace room, dead of a pistol wound. Motives and attendant circumstances may never be known.

¹⁰ See p. 437.

Burmese council should prepare Burma for dominion status. The AFPFL rejected the plan, securing instead the promise of a general election in 1947.

The voting featured a contest between U Saw, now returned from exile, and Aung San, one of the prewar nationalist "thirty heroes," now military master of the AFPFL.¹¹ The league was easily victorious, securing 190 out of the 220 seats in the Constituent Assembly. U Saw, relegated to a minor place in the government, took his revenge by hiring assassins who machine-gunned the entire Cabinet as it met in council on July 19, 1947.¹² Aung San was killed instantly; as the *Bogyoke*, the protomartyr of the era, his memory is revered by Asian nationalists. Vice-premier U Nu, fortunately absent at the Cabinet meeting, succeeded him as chief of state.

Britain offered the government its choice of leaving or remaining within the Commonwealth. The Burmese chose complete independence—becoming the first people to sever their imperial ties with London since 1776. The Republic of the Union of Burma came into existence on January 4, 1948—a date charted carefully by astrologers; in April, it was admitted to the United Nations. It is cabinet-parliamentary in form, though ruled by a president with a five-year term but little executive power;¹³ the seat of government has been moved from Mandalay to Rangoon, deep in Lower Burma.

The union is composed of Burmese, Shan, Kachin, Chin, and Karen states; Burma supplies the national language, with 80 per cent of the delegates to the Chamber of Deputies and 51 per cent of those to the House of Nationalists. The right of secession—though not before 1957—is guaranteed in the constitution.¹⁴ The union owns all land and natural resources: large individual holdings are forbidden, and exploiting corporations must be at least 60 per cent home-owned. The Buddhist Church has regained much of the power it held under the kings—despite protests by the Karen Baptists.

¹¹ See p. 401.

¹² For this crime, with its attempted power coup, U Saw was tried and executed.

¹³ It thus resembles both French republics; however, the French Republic is far more centralized.

¹⁴ This right means little, since the four small states average only six hundred thousand population and are completely landlocked.

The new government was faced immediately by separatist movements, the most serious being those of the Mons in Arakan Province, and the Karens in the delta. Besides these, there was the problem of reconstructing an economy shattered by the Japanese invasion and Allied bombing. The process was hardly under way by 1950.¹⁵ In that year the union produced less than a tenth of its prewar output of oil and minerals; and the great rice-loading docks and teak mills were deserted. Currently, recovery is one third complete.

Malaya: a New Federation

The colonial system was restored in Malaya. British administrators, released from concentration in Japanese camps, moved with caution in 1946; neither principal nor minor collaborators—who included virtually the whole Malay population—were punished. All nine sultans regained their power—though each was required to draft a written constitution. The prewar Legislative Council for the Federation was replaced by the Assembly, 55 per cent elective, competent to handle all state affairs except foreign policy, policing, and defense. The settlements of Penang and Malacca were incorporated into the federation,¹⁶ while Singapore Island, with its two-thirds Chinese population, remained a largely self-governing community.

The Balance Sheet of Nationalism

After the defeat of Japan, five years sufficed for the dismemberment of the colonial system in eastern Asia. The transition was disorderly and, in the case at least of Burma, clearly premature—based not upon the political maturity of the Asian peoples, but upon the weakness of their white masters. The latter did not expect to reassert full political authority; their strategy was directed principally toward protecting their investments. Every settlement in-

¹⁵ The author, Alfred Crofts, found that in 1950, quite characteristically, Rangoon temples were fully repaired and regilded, though business buildings remained empty, bombed-out shells.

¹⁶ Despite the protest of their influential Chinese populations, which prefer British to Malay sovereignty.

cluded guarantees of foreign property rights, with full compensation for damages or seizures. Only in the Philippines were such promises observed; there they became one of the conditions of United States reconstruction aid.

Much European property has been sabotaged,¹⁷ taken under forced sale, or paid for in inconvertible currency or worthless bonds; often it has first been rendered unprofitable through discriminatory taxation, police harassment, or personal intimidation of the managers. A strong odor of bad faith surrounds the process of nationalization, effectively shutting off new supplies of capital from overseas.¹⁸

The new constitutions vest land ownership in the state, with right of expropriation; resources may be developed only by nationals of the state or corporations controlled by them.¹⁹ Foreign holdings are thus numbered among the spoils of politics. As yet there is little evidence that native operators are able to conserve or distribute them efficiently; lack of administrators or skilled technicians has paralyzed such vast enterprises as the Burma petroleum industry. The simplified doctrine that appropriating the foreigner's wealth would enrich the native peoples has been nowhere justified; economically it has sometimes led to collapse.

Patriotism has taken over the shibboleths of earlier revolutions in eighteenth-century Europe and America. Behind these declarations, politics reveal a scene of confusion. It is doubtful if many orderly popular elections of the Western type have been held, or if voters understand their responsibility.²⁰ The holding of public office, and thus standing in the shoes of the departed sahibs, carries prestige and probably more financial inducements than private business. Thus, the public scene is confused with intrigues, the struggle of place-men culminating in bloody *coups d'état*, and an

¹⁷ For example, many of the fine residences on the Peak in Hong Kong were destroyed by mobs before the British police could take over in August, 1945. In Korea and Formosa, natives destroyed roadside shade trees which had been planted by the Japanese.

¹⁸ Procedures in expropriating the Suez Canal stockholders during 1956 recall those used to take over the Burmah Oil Company, the Irrawaddy Flotilla, and similar concerns eight years earlier.

¹⁹ Except in the Philippines, where American capital has equal rights with that of Filipinos.

²⁰ As in India, pictures may be used to designate parties to illiterate voters. Even in Japan, many newly enfranchised women believed in 1947 that they could vote only for female candidates.

assassination rate that makes politics the most hazardous of callings.²¹

Native minorities, encouraged by the former imperial powers, have favored loosely federated governments. Nationalists leaders have, on the contrary, preferred firm constitutional unions with a weak executive (incapable of behaving like a colonial governor) and a strong legislature under control of the dominant state: Annam, Java, Lower Burma, or Luzon. The struggles of racial or religious minorities against this control have led to chronic civil war.

The new states have advanced far beyond the simple despotisms which Occidental armies overthrew during the last century. All are more progressive than contemporary Arab governments in the Middle East. In their international politics, the Philippines and Thailand have shown sympathy with the West; other states have voted in the United Nations with the Afro-Asian bloc—foreshadowing the current break between the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Bandung conferees.²² Patriots blame the low estate of Asian political morality upon the whites' long refusal to educate the masses or prepare them for autonomy, arguing further that alleged excessive profits during the colonial era justify virtual confiscation of foreign interests. With these views Radio Moscow concurs eloquently and repetitively; it is not a coincidence that throughout East Asia the triumph of nationalism is associated with a sweeping communist offensive.

²¹ In Burma, conservatives who express hope for the re-establishment of some form of Commonwealth tie are reported to be the special target of patriotic assassins.

²² See pp. 510, 512.

Postwar Communist Imperialism

✿ The history of Eastern Asia since 1937 provokes the ironic reflection that had all the Powers . . . been consciously working to promote the triumph of Communism, they could hardly have been more successful.

Jones, F. C., *Japan's New Order in East Asia*, p. 450

Failure of Communism in Postwar Japan

HOPEFUL of conciliating Russia, Tojo's war government spoke respectfully of communism, directing its propaganda against plutocracy and colonialism. As a "disease of defeated nations," the Red faith might have inherited postsurrender Japan. Prince Konoye warned, in his last memorial to the emperor—

A majority of younger officers seem to think that the present form of government is compatible with Communism. . . . The reforms sought by the Military may not be a Communist revolution, but . . . the civilians . . . collaborating with the Military intend to bring about such a revolution.¹

¹ W. M. Ball, *Nationalism and Communism in East Asia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1956), p. 285.

In some zones, notably the East Indies, military administrators were encouraging Marxist activity.

SCAP released 150 communist prisoners from Japanese jails.² An equal number, released from war captivity in Yenan, had been enrolled in the Japanese People's Emancipation League.³ Their mentor was Nozaka Sanzo, leader of the party before his exile in 1928, who had served the Comintern in Moscow until assigned to "re-educate" Japanese prisoners. *Akahata* ("The Red Flag") resumed daily publication after its eleven-year suspension, claiming at its peak 260,000 subscribers.

An immense parade passed through downtown Tokyo on May Day in 1946, but there were no anti-American demonstrations. Welfare slogans were displayed on its banners. Nozaka himself favored a "soft" line; he opposed any indictment of the emperor as a war criminal, acknowledged the need of American food relief and grants, and did not solicit Russian funds.

The party showed little political strength before 1949, winning not over four Diet seats. It had success in dominating the Sanbetsu Labor federation, which claimed several million members; it entrenched itself in the Teachers' Union and even in many of the new local school boards.

From the beginning, MacArthur had denied the Soviets either a separate occupation zone or any real voice in the Allied Council for Japan. He was alarmed by the activities of their swollen Tokyo consular staff, yet SCAP took no communist-control measures for three years, save to veto politically motivated strikes.

In 1949, communist membership in the Diet rose to thirty-five; the next year, outbreak of the Korean War revealed that substantial numbers of Japan's half million Korean immigrants sympathized with the North. MacArthur adopted security measures, ordering the arrest of Communist Central Committee members and the purging of Reds from public or trades-union office.⁴ The party withered: an orthodox proletarian movement, it found little support among the agrarians; SCAP's agricultural reforms, by provid-

² The hard core of thirty thousand suspects arrested and examined before the war.

³ For ten years, all batches of prisoners returning from Soviet Russia included professed communist converts, many of whom had entered the party in order to secure privileges in the internment camp.

⁴ Nozaka, still favoring "soft" policies, was criticized by the Cominform for "right deviation." Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

ing land for two million former rural tenants, have made the villages into strongholds of conservatism.

Soviet Russia Re-enters Far Eastern Diplomacy

For four years after the Molotov-Matsuoka Non-Aggression Treaty,⁵ both China and Japan, the Asian peoples and the Atlantic powers, for varying reasons flattered the Kremlin. United States Liberty ships, flying the hammer and sickle and loaded with supplies, passed safely through Japan's blockade.

The Yalta agreements required that the Soviets open a fighting front in the Far East after the collapse of Germany. In fulfillment of this promise which the atomic bombs rendered meaningless, Marshal Rodion Malinovsky's Red Army crossed the Amur on August 9, 1945, rounding up nearly a million Japanese soldiers and civilians—together with Henry Pu Yi, the pathetic ex-emperor. "The Nazi-Japanese dreams of a junction" were, as Moscow announced ponderously, being realized in Siberian prisoner-of-war camps.

After V-J day the United States was scheduled to inherit Japan's Pacific holdings; Manchukuo was to revert to Nationalist China; England, France, and Holland expected to re-establish their colonies. But when, in September, by invitation of the Allies, the Soviets stood once more on the shores of the Yellow Sea, it became apparent that the colonial powers were too weakened to play a strong hand. American policy could be summarized as "getting the boys back home." The Asian people would no longer follow the landlords and sahibs who deserted them in 1941; many had before the war admired Russian self-industrialization under the ban of the "capitalist" world. Citizens of the Soviet Tartar republics—the Uzbeks, Turkmens, Tadjiks, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz—had equality of status in Russian universities and in the Red Army.⁶ Numbers of them now were willing to serve as missionaries of communism.

Stalin was in the fortunate place of Japan in 1919. At insignificant cost—a week's campaign and a few thousand casualties—he

⁵ See p. 404.

⁶ From the limited facts ascertainable, it does not appear that the Tartars fought loyally in the war. They were badly defeated in Finland during 1939. Many surrendered en masse to the Germans; sent as occupation forces to southeast France, they were hated as "the hordes of Genghis Khan."

had won a dominant place on the continent, covictor with allies who had borne the brunt of four years' fighting. Prisoner gangs were set to doubling the rail trackage and building new highway systems between Moscow and the Far East. The Third Five-Year Plan quadrupled the resources allotted to trans-Baikal Siberia.

AGENCIES OF COMMUNIST PENETRATION

More subtle than Russian physical power was the ideological apparatus of world communism. The Third International had dissolved itself in 1943, but it was succeeded four years later by the Communist Information Bureau. Associated with the Cominform was the World Federation of Trade Unions, whose membership spread rapidly through Asia; though it entolled unions of every type, the WFTU spoke with the voice of Moscow. In the intellectual realm, the Association for Foreign Cultural Relations (known as VOKS) enlisted artists and writers, issuing publications in all Asian languages. The World Youth Organization combined Boy Scout pastimes with Marxist teaching. The International Women's Organization appealed to the second-class members of Oriental society. Communism's shock troops were to include legions of bobbed-haired, emancipated, strident girl marchers.

The Cominform's most astute propaganda play was the drafting, early in 1950, of the Stockholm Manifesto which identified the communist bloc as the only peace-loving nations; it was signed with enthusiasm by Asians of every political creed. Peace, science, education, industrialization, and for good measure, brotherhood and democracy—those were ideals of hungry postwar Asia and each was appropriated by communism. Yet the Cominform possessed neither superhuman foresight nor a perfect master plan; often extemporizing its policies, it exploited events when it could not direct them. Western policy vacillated between the White Man's Burden and the Four Freedoms, the Allies sometimes criticizing each other in the very terms of Moscow.

"COLD WAR" WITH AMERICA

Russia had, late in the war period, confiscated and blueprinted the U. S. bombers which sought sanctuary in Vladivostok. Her refusal to admit American intelligence agents hoaxed the American General Staff into offering foolishly advantageous terms at Yalta.

Her claims to have conquered Japan were bombastic, as was her demand for one seventh of all reparations payments.⁷ On the other hand, the instant suspension of lend-lease deliveries to the Soviets on V-E day strengthened anti-American resentment in the USSR. There was friction at the Moscow conference in December, 1945, where Russia was denied an occupation zone in Hokkaido. In the Allied Control Council for Japan, an advisory board to MacArthur, the Soviet delegate, Lieutenant General Kuzma Derevyenko, voted regularly in a minority of one. At Lake Success, New York, Russian vetoes were paralyzing the United Nations Security Council. By March, when Winston Churchill identified the "Iron Curtain," the cold war was well begun.

"FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE" WITH CHINA

Since China was not represented at Yalta, President Truman invited Chiang K'ai-shek to negotiate a postwar *detente* with Russia. Sino-Soviet meetings, concluded during August in Moscow, produced a treaty of friendship and alliance. The Nationalists were willing to ratify the Yalta grants, though substantially these repeated Li Hung-chang's concessions to Count Lobanov at the depth of China's humiliation.⁸ Russia regained her joint interest in the Chinese Eastern and South Manchuria (now renamed "Chinese Ch'angchun") rail systems together with military control of the Liaotung Peninsula. Dairen, now the finest port on the Yellow Sea, was to revert to Russian authority—"in time of war."⁹ For this price the Nationalists obtained *de facto* recognition as the sole government of China, with assurance that the Soviets would reinstate them in Manchuria.

NATIONALIST CHINA OCCUPIES MANCHURIA

During their four-month occupation, the Russians dismembered Japanese industry, moving entire factories northward with their skilled operatives as they evacuated.¹⁰ Behind them American

⁷ See further, p. 449.

⁸ See p. 235.

⁹ Since war technically lasted until the signing of a peace treaty with Japan, Russia at once took over administration of Dairen and excluded American ships.

¹⁰ The seizures were classed as war booty and not deducted from Soviet reparation claims. Their value was estimated by the American Pauley Commission at nearly nine hundred million dollars.—Dallin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East*, p. 233 ff.

naval and air transport promptly installed Nationalist forces. Prospects for the unification of China appeared bright. Mao Tse-tung and Chiang K'ai-shek conferred for the first time in September at the National Unity Conference in Chungking. Chiang clearly held the upper hand; at a price, he had bought back Manchuria from Russia, and fifty thousand United States marines were assisting his armies to reoccupy North China and take possession of surrendered Japanese war materials.

But before the retreat of Malinovsky, guerrillas in peasant dress had been filtering from Inner Mongolia and the border regions into Manchuria. There were remnants of the Young Marshal's Tungpei army,¹¹ exiles returning to their homes after fourteen years; more were veterans of the Eighth Route Army. Their number exceeded a hundred thousand; and, though their arrival was certainly known to Soviet intelligence, they were not discouraged. Numbers received employment on the railroad.

Nationalist versus Communist: The Unfinished Struggle in China

On a new chessboard, the familiar moves of the communist versus Nationalist struggle were about to be replayed: the government holding the walled cities, the Reds organizing the country between them. Mediation between the factions had been a wartime objective of the United States. Chou En-lai¹² remained continuously at Chungking to conduct negotiations. A special mission under Vice-president Wallace visited both capitals in 1944; later, General Wedemeyer and Ambassador Patrick Hurley used their diplomatic efforts. The generalissimo offered a few seats to the Communists in his Cabinet, provided that the Red forces incorporate themselves into the National Army. Chou would accept nothing less than a coalition, with autonomy for the Yen-an government and an independent communist army command.

Reports of correspondents were often flattering to the Reds, and, as they reached the American people, much sympathy was expressed for these "agrarian reformers." Stalin and Molotov took pains to dissociate Moscow from Yen-an. "The Chinese Commu-

¹¹ See pp. 364-65.

¹² Whom the generalissimo called a "Reasonable communist" and to whom he owed his life at Sian in 1936.—See p. 365.

nists are not," they informed President Truman at Potsdam, "real Communists at all."¹³ Nothing was settled as the atomic bombs brought the war swiftly to an end. Chu Teh, a man of action, ignored Soviet commitments to Chiang and ordered his guerrillas to the northeast.

THE MARSHALL MISSION

Russia remained officially neutral, America resumed the difficult role of friend to both sides.¹⁴ The foreign secretaries at Moscow called for withdrawal of American and Soviet armies and formation of—

a democratic China under the Nationalist Government . . . broad participation by democratic elements in all branches of the National Government, and non-interference in the affairs of China.¹⁵

President Truman's highest opinion-poll rating came when he ordered troop evacuation from the Pacific. He left the small Military Advisory Group in China (MAGIC) to consult with Chiang, and, in December, 1945, commissioned General George C. Marshall, wartime Chief of the Army Staff, as his special representative, and associated with him, as ambassador, Dr. J. Leighton Stewart, former president of Yenching University. General Marshall worked ceaselessly at round-table conferences and through field teams to secure an effective cease fire. He could not dissolve the distrust bred of twenty years' rivalry; neither side had faith in negotiation—each resorted to it only to escape from tactical disadvantage.

THE FIGHT FOR MANCHURIA

Chiang possessed a navy of two hundred U. S. surplus ships; he inherited Chennault's planes, with American-trained Chinese pilots. Thirty-nine of his army divisions had benefited from the Stilwell training program; all were well equipped and some had been blooded in the Burma campaign. To his large lend-lease stock-

¹³ Dallin, *Soviet and the Far East*, p. 233. In impugning the Reds (*ibid.*, p. 22) Freda Uiley and others probably go too far, saying that their tactics were 70 per cent expansion, 20 per cent dealing with the Kuomintang, 10 per cent fighting the Japanese. It is not necessary to defend the resistance record of Communists against those whom they consider "Fascist aggressors."

¹⁴ General Wedemeyer, before leaving China late in 1945, requested that seven U. S. Army divisions assist the Nationalists in Manchuria; his request was tabled by the Chiefs of Staff. Liu, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

¹⁵ *U. S. Relations with China* (Department of State, No. 3573), p. 698.

piles, Chiang was adding the resources of Japanese arsenals in Manchuria and the equipment of half a million Imperial troops. Kuomintang estimates gave the Nationalist armies an advantage of at least ten to one both in men and guns at the end of 1945. The generalissimo hoped to destroy Chu Teh's forces within ten months; Chou En-lai charged him with hundreds of ground attacks or air raids during the Marshall negotiations.¹⁰

When the mission returned to America, after a year of wasted effort, Chiang's generals no longer held the initiative. Though MAGIC warned them against overextending their strength, they had pushed as far as Harbin. The Communists countered with tactics they knew well, cutting the rail lines and blockading ports of entry. Commanders, many of them political favorites of the Whampoa clique, suffered from a defensive "Great Wall mentality"; forbidden to retreat even when isolated, smaller garrisons were reduced in detail. Late in 1948 Mukden fell; immense stocks of arms were transferred to the Reds, and entire Kuomintang divisions followed their officers into the communist ranks.

Mao Tse-tung, a student of the military classics, had drafted a blueprint for victory: ¹¹ strategic defensive was to precede seizure of the initiative; lastly, a strategic offensive must force the enemy out of the war. The first stage passed in Manchuria; the second was in process as Red armies marched to join their comrades south of the Great Wall. Chu Teh's forces and their peasant allies had already, by "human sea" tactics, retaken Yen-an (lost in 1947) and overspread most of North China. Peip'ing held out under Fu Tso-yi, ablest of the Kuomintang generals; the Communists laid siege with caution, careful to damage none of the Ming brickwork of its gates and crenelated walls. It fell to them intact in January, 1949, with six trainloads of war material. At the victory parade, American-built tanks accompanied the columns of blueclad Manchurian infantry.

The great city became once more Peking, "Northern Capital" of the newly founded Central People's Republic of China. Its new master, Mao Tse-tung, who had known its *hutung* (alleys) as a penniless bohemian twenty-five years before, installed his staff

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 655.

¹¹ In his pamphlet, "On the Protracted War," 1938.—See E. L. Katzenbach, "The Revolutionary Strategy of Mao Tse-tung," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXX, 3 (September, 1955), p. 321 ff.

among the lacquered halls and yellow-tiled roofs of the Forbidden City.

Failure of the Kuomintang

Nationalist China's prestige suffered more in its thirty-month domestic assize-at-arms than during eight years of Japanese assault. Russia sympathized with the Communists, but few Soviet arms reached the Red Army; the Kuomintang benefited during four postwar years by over a billion dollars' worth (at procurement cost) of American weapons, nearly half as much in money relief grants, and about \$650 million in United States and United Nations credits.¹⁸ Chiang's fleet of a thousand fighting planes was unopposed in the air, but preponderance in striking power proved almost valueless. The generalissimo's own son, Chiang Ching-kuo, conceded that defeat brought "spiritual disintegration."¹⁹

NATIONALIST WEAKNESS

Kuomintang leaders were hailed first in Manchuria as liberators; their popularity declined as they inflicted heavy punishment upon former Manchukuo puppet officials and prosperous folk accused as collaborationists. In Formosa, the exactions of Governor Chen Yi led to a full-scale rebellion. But worse than punitive measures was the uncontrollable inflation. Despite transfusions of dollars, prices rose sevenfold during the period of the Marshall Mission. In no year did the harassed government attempt to balance its budget; less than half of necessary funds were collected in taxes, the printing press supplying the remainder.²⁰ Land reform, though enacted into law, was not carried through in Nationalist territory. Few landlords controlled more than ten acres; but there were estates, many of them owned by former war lords, whose vast extent mocked the land hunger of the hundred million peasant laborers—the *lao pai hsing*.²¹

Corruption was rampant. CNAC planes, while the war lasted,

¹⁸ For detailed figures, see *U. S. Relations with China*, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-06.

¹⁹ Werner Levi, *Modern China's Foreign Policy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1953), p. 270.

²⁰ American support of silver prices, which drained China of metal currency in 1935, must share the responsibility for starting an inflation. It has been estimated that a trillion 1949 yuan were equivalent to one 1923 silver dollar.

²¹ Literally, "Old Hundred Families"; in Japanese, *hyakusho*.

were known to carry consumer luxuries for the Chungking black market; American hospital supplies reappeared in the drug shops at high prices, while wounded soldiers died unattended. Weapons and ammunition were, on occasion, bartered to the Japanese. Pay was "cut" at successive levels until none of it reached the ranks. Diplomatic baggage leaving Chungking contained gold, prime furs, and dollars for foreign safekeeping to the account of Kuomintang officials.²² With the return of peace, huge consignments of China National Relief and Rehabilitation Authority (CNRA) supplies passed into speculators' hands while populations died of famine.

Rumor far exaggerated the truth, finding personal scapegoats in the army Whamboa clique and the Four Families: Chiang, Soong, K'ung, Chen.²³ In fact, the immense outpouring of American wealth—observed even in the spending of the GI—dazzled and demoralized the Oriental world. There could be no Asian victor, only an American colossus, when the madness ended: Let America pay! Idealism was swallowed up in the weariness of the eight-year conflict; only cynicism survived. Confucius says in any case little about loyalty to a foreign ally; the Virtuous Man first builds a protective hedge about his own family.

AMERICAN CRITICISM

American observers who applied the yardstick of Western morality became disillusioned with the National government. Dr. Owen Lattimore felt obliged to resign as its political adviser; General Stilwell fulminated alike in staff conferences and in his diary. Consular reports²⁴ for the closing year of the war took a pessimistic viewpoint. As censorship lifted, former correspondents published mordant exposures of Chungking venality, these muck-rakers including representatives of the leading press services.²⁵

²² All statements have been verified by personal interviews with pilots, missionaries, and airbase and liaison personnel during the war.

²³ The first three, related by blood or marriage to the generalissimo. The two Chen brothers were perhaps the most powerful members of the KMT bureaucracy.

²⁴ Extracted, for example, in *U. S. Relations with China*, op. cit., pp. 564-80.

²⁵ A partial list would include Theodore White, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: Sloan, 1946); Jack Belden, *China Shakes the World* (New York: Harper, 1949); Harrison Forman, *Report from Red China* (New York: Holt, 1945); Israel Epstein, *Unfinished Revolution in China* (Toronto: Stewart and McClelland, 1947); also Mark Gayn's articles in *Collier's*, February 3, 1945; January 13, 1945; October 28, 1944; to some degree,

Their views were, in general, substantiated by reports of returning CBI war veterans. And in China deserters from the Kuomintang added to the score of abuse.

The effect was a revulsion of opinion that made intervention by America impossible. The isolationist press assailed any further pouring of American resources into Oriental "ratholes."²⁰ No government enmeshed in war on behalf of the Nationalists could have survived the election of 1948. Chiang's truest American friends began to despair; to a final appeal as Peip'ing was about to fall, Ambassador Stewart replied that—

the primary weakness of Chiang was moral rather than military in the sense that troops had lost their fighting spirit and the people had lost confidence in the Government's ability to provide for them. . . . America was powerless under these circumstances.²¹

The Communists benefited, at home and abroad, by the government's loss of reputation. Not a few foreign observers expressed preference for their regime; had not Churchill permitted Tito's Marxist Partisans to seize Yugoslavia and depose Draža Mihailović? American sympathizers gave rash counsel to both factions. General Wedemeyer protested in 1945 that Department of State officers were clandestinely advising Chou En-lai that "preventing the collapse of the . . . Government" does not "represent the policy of the United States."²² In turn, the United States China Lobby²³ reassured the generalissimo that his American backers would save him regardless of domestic reforms.

End of a Civilization

The Communists moved deliberately; they were achieving the first—the ingratiating—part of their revolution; it called for coop-

Brooks Atkinson's correspondence to the *New York Times*. As a protection to the Nationalists, the most damaging military intelligence reports upon the Chungking administration were classified top secret. Some were removed from this file and published in the short-lived magazine, *Amerasia*.

²⁰ *U. S. Relations with China*, op. cit., p. 876.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 899. Similar warnings are found dated 1944, on p. 393; after his 1947 fact-finding tour, General Wedemeyer called on the Nationalists for immediate "drastic, far-reaching, political and economic reforms. . . . Performance is absolutely necessary." *Ibid.*, p. 764. None were carried out.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 582.

²³ A somewhat nebulous group liberally financed by Nationalist agents; said to include one eminent publisher, a China lace importer, and several congressmen. *The Reporter*, VI, 7, 8 (April 15, 29, 1952).

eration with the lesser *bourgeoisie*. Universities, the vanguards of radical movements, were closely censored by the Kuomintang Education Ministry; hence, students and teachers sided almost uniformly with the Reds. At the other extreme, they had long enjoyed the loyalty of the *lao pai hsing*. In 1947 they set up the Northeast Bureau: a full-scale laboratory of the communist order, administering not only farmlands but the most advanced industrial cities of China. Its system was extended to the northern provinces as managers and technicians became available.

It was favorably reported throughout China—even by conservatives. There were at first few punishments or reprisals; the lands of refugee “traitors” were divided by village councils among the tenantry, but “good” landlords kept the fields that they could till. Inflation was firmly dealt with, yet taxes did not rise: grain collections were reduced by 60 per cent. Food became plentiful at moderate prices. Bribery, the primal curse of Asian governments, virtually disappeared under inflexible police authority.

Even thus, there were warnings (like the chilly March wind) of more sinister change. Gaiety was quenched; the restaurants where gourmets relished mandarin duck and lichee nuts were converted to plebeian fare, their dancing girls wrapped in quilted trousers and put to useful drudgery. Factories were rising, but fine shops replaced their stocks of carvings and silk with mass-produced brummagem that often bore Russian labels. Where the old rites were followed—welcoming the spring with music and verse and paper lanterns—a respectful policeman might appear at the compound gate to watch the festivities, taking notes.

Flies and beggars disappeared from public places; so did the old men in black silk jackets and the brightly dressed children. The People's Republic required neither drones nor butterflies. Public-address systems gibbered about work quotas while silence fell between old friends—for who could trust another? To many Chinese, the vices of the old regime were less terrifying than the barrack-house virtues of the new.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ There were striking similarities in the Cromwellian Puritan state, most recently described in Winston Churchill's *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*.

THE SEARCH FOR A MIDDLE ROAD

Communism had not crossed the Yangtze. The Great River had halted the Mongols for a decade, and even the disorganized Ming had held out in the South for twenty years³¹ against the Manchu banners. Was there time enough for a liberal third force to mediate between the extremists? Chiang K'ai-shek, to silence critics, promulgated a constitution on Christmas Day of 1947. The Bill of Rights clauses became an immediate dead letter; in its first session, the National Assembly returned to Chiang as president—"temporarily"—the powers he had wielded as a wartime dictator. But a respected moderate, General Li Tsung-jen, won the vice-presidency. An attempted divorce between the government of China and the Kuomintang Party failed, as only party candidates were elected.

Though the Four Families were dominant after the war, some weak middle groups existed: one including Vice-president Li, the astute T. V. Soong, a number of army officers, the former war lords, Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian General," and Yen Hsi-shan. To the left of these were the Democratic League and Madame Sun Yat-sen. With firm American support, a coalition among them might have prevailed against communism. None was forthcoming: "T. V." remained in obscurity; Feng received an assignment to the United States; Madame Sun drifted closer to the Communists; the leaders of the Democratic League were assassinated.³²

THE SEVENTY DAYS OF CHIANG CHING-KUO

The generalissimo made, before the fall of Peking, a final attempt to end the national inflation. His son, Ching-kuo, introduced a new yuan valued at twenty-five cents gold, with the guarantee of the government. All bullion and foreign currency were called for conversion into the new notes, and stored in Shanghai bank vaults. Shortly afterwards, the financial district was cordoned off at night, while truck convoys shuttled between banks and waiting steamers. The only backing of the new currency was shipped to Formosa; it became as worthless as the old. The "Seventy Days of

³¹ See p. 112.

³² These were professors Li Kung-pu and Wen I-tou. The circumstances were so outrageous that President Truman publicly denounced the crime on August 10, 1946.

Chiang Ching-kuo" bankrupted the middle class³³ and brought down the pillars of Nationalist economy.

THE LOSS OF SOUTH CHINA

With the fall of Peking, the generalissimo retired to his native village, leaving Li Tsung-jen as acting chief of state. There was little resistance as communist spearheads crossed the Yangtze.³⁴ Nanking was evacuated on April 24, Shanghai a month later. The vast domain of South China, as large as Western Europe, fell to communist foot soldiers in five months.

Official reports of heroic military resistance were filed from the Hong Kong Press Club. Actually there was little fighting. Nationalist China died to the tinkle of teacups as well-bred Kuomintang generals (sometimes academy schoolmates of their conquerors) bartered their commands; it died to the tomtom rhythms of the *yangko* snake dance in the streets of "liberated" villages, followed by slapstick melodrama in which patriots jeered at clowns representing Britain, America, and their "running-dog," Chiang K'ai-shek. The "human sea" gathered volume from surrendered Nationalist armies and local partisans; it rolled through the coastal and southwestern provinces,³⁵ though its main force was southward—to Canton, and, finally, to Hong Kong.

Across a village street in the New Territories, British constables faced pickets of the People's Army. An old woman muttered, "After fifty years, the Northerners are back." Britain had moved three regiments into field cantonments near the border; a colonel reflected, "It'll be fine if the Commies cause an incident. In two weeks we'll be in Peking!" Hong Kong tramway operators were halting their cars to dance the *yangko*; at the Kowloon trade fair, over half the exhibition booths flew Red flags.

THE RETREAT TO FORMOSA

Through the autumn, fleets of Liberty ships and LST's carried deckloads of refugees to Formosa; among the last *evacués* was the

³³ This currency is discussed in *Business Week*, No. 9933 (September 11, 1948), and the *Christian Science Monitor* (May 10, 1949).

³⁴ An exchange of fire between Red batteries and the British warships, *Amethyst* and *Belfast*, provided a last pretext for armed Western intervention. The incident was settled peacefully.

³⁵ Numbers of Nationalist soldiers were forced over the Burma border. From here they carried on raids into Yunnan until evacuated to Formosa by American airlift.

generalissimo, flying alone. On December 8, 1949, eighth anniversary of the Pacific War, the Kuomintang abandoned China, A power admitted among the Big Five, ruling half a billion people, took refuge in a picturesque domain of fourteen thousand square miles, Chiang's Elba—or his St. Helena.

The Third and Fourth Red armies moved into position opposite Formosa, now renamed Taiwan. They possessed neither naval nor air support, but fishing junks could make a quick passage during the April monsoon, if defections occurred from the small Nationalist Navy.³⁶ Diplomatic omens were favorable: Great Britain recognized the People's Republic on January 7. President Truman had announced two days earlier—

The United States will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the present situation [nor] does it have any intention of using its armed forces to interfere.³⁷

Communist Seizure of Central Asia

Outer Mongolia, thoroughly bolshevized before the war, ratified its "independence" in a well-managed plebiscite during October, 1945. Inner Mongolia, for some years a pawn of the Japanese, was reoccupied by Nationalist China in the autumn of 1946, to be seized by the Communists two years later. Even as it was losing the northeast, the government tried to secure its position in Sinkiang; British and American consulates remained open in Urumchi; General Ma Pu-fang, a Moslem and dedicated anti-Communist, became commissioner of the four northwest provinces. There was some rash consideration of granting an airfield to General Chennault³⁸—two hours' flying time from the Russian atomic cities in Alma-Ata. While their main force was overrunning South China, a communist flank movement easily scattered Ma's desert cavalry and added his provinces to the People's Republic.

³⁶ Defection of part of the Yangtze patrol facilitated the quick capture of Nanking. A preliminary assault on Hainan Island, on June 3, 1950, met no naval resistance and was quickly successful.

³⁷ *Current History*, XVIII, 102 (February, 1950), p. 102.

³⁸ Now a private transport operator under contract to the government. His planes and equipment on the Hong Kong airport were later claimed by the People's Republic as national property.

*The Struggle in Korea:
North Korea Becomes a Communist Satellite*

Division of Korea at the Thirty-Eighth Parallel, announced in August, 1945, was intended by the Chiefs of Staff only to facilitate the Japanese surrender. Meanwhile, during the closing weeks of her rule, Japan transferred local authority to People's Committees; these dispatched a thousand delegates to a congress in Seoul which created, on September 6th, a People's Republic and elected Lyuh Woon Hyeung its president.

Soviet forces under General Ivan Christyakov came as "liberators" to Korea at the beginning of their war with Japan. After the surrender, they found the People's Republic a suitable instrument for governing North Korea. Its committees were infiltrated with Korean-born Communist *émigrés*; party members dominated the single political organization, which called itself the Democratic National Front. Two hundred thousand Russian troops garrisoned the state, to be gradually replaced by the Korean People's Militia, well trained with Japanese weapons; there was also a huge force of gendarmes—a crushing military burden to impose upon eight million people.

SOCIAL REFORMS

Labor laws encouraged the formation of unions affiliated with the WFTU. Land reforms resembled those of Mao Tse-tung; holdings of over twelve acres were expropriated, together with Japanese-owned estates. In all, one twentieth of the cropland was redistributed in seven hundred thousand small plots, to which the government retained title. The Russians introduced a new currency, of which not over two thousand yen could be obtained at par by one individual.⁸⁹ Guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly meant little, since the issuance of food-ration cards was conditioned upon political conformity. A flood of refugees, pouring southward across the Thirty-Eighth Parallel, formed the backwash of liberation. Some had compromised themselves as rackrenters or Japanese agents; most were the kulaks of North Korea or the inde-

⁸⁹ The former Japanese currency, still legal in the South, was collected in the banks to become available for financing communist activities in the U. S. zone.

pendent business operators, proscribed for their thrift—a political offense in the People's democracies.

Kim Il Sung⁴⁰ became party secretary, virtual ruler of the puppet state. He had joined the Korean Communist Youth Organization as a schoolboy in 1926, fleeing shortly afterwards into exile. In Manchuria he joined the Democratic United Command, formed to resist the Japanese. He was later to graduate from the anti-Japanese university in Yen-an and fight throughout the Pacific War in the Korean Independence League, International in his viewpoint, Kim not only encouraged Koreans to join Chu Teh's armies in the struggle for China, but he provided a sanctuary below the Yalu for communist units worsted in the fighting.⁴¹

The Conflict of South Korea

Even as the South Koreans gathered in 1945 to welcome America's "heroes of democracy," they split themselves into factions which demonstrated on separate days. A radical group (noncommunist as yet, since communism was almost unknown during Japanese rule) represented the People's Republic, which had recently finished its convention;⁴² it was avowedly anti-Japanese.

A more conservative faction attracted people of affluence and included nearly all who had graduated from Christian high schools, or studied abroad by the permission of the government-general of Chosen. Interpreters and advisers of Military Government came from its membership. From the beginning, Americans followed the questionable practice of consorting with the well-groomed minority whose living standards approximated their own.

General Hodge promptly denied to the People's Republic "any authority, power, or reality." Unquestionably, it had passed under Soviet domination in the northern zones, though it had briefly united Korea. There was a scramble for support by fifty-two parties, whose ideological cleavages were growing deeper. The left accused

⁴⁰ The name, like those of many other Russian and Asian communists, is assumed; it belonged to a legendary bandit-patriot.

⁴¹ Dallin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East*, pp. 326, 332.

⁴² See p. 460. Many conservatives at first supported the Republic, and endorsed Lyuh Woon Hyeung in broadsides distributed to Military Government personnel. The author, Alfred Crofts, has samples of these in his possession.

its opponents of Japanese collaboration, a meaningless charge since all professional and business activity had been carried on for thirty-five years under Japanese sufferance. Clandestine posters began to label Military Government appointees "a nest of traitors."⁴³ In defense they charged the left indiscriminately with communism. It was becoming a reality; organizers were arriving from the north, and by November, 1945, the Red flag appeared for the first time in street demonstrations.

TWO NATIONS DIVIDE KOREA

At a meeting in Seoul for the purpose of coordinating the zones, American officers encountered Soviet evasion and intransigence. Shortly afterwards, the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow imposed a four-power⁴⁴ trusteeship over Korea for a period of up to five years. The Thirty-Eighth Parallel became part of a barrier extending from the Baltic to the Japan Sea. Trade and land transport were halted. Only the stream of refugees pressed on past the border patrols, to huddle, freezing and destitute, in the parks of Seoul. South Korea came to contain twenty million people, over two thirds of the national total. Americans demanded proportional representation in any unified government; Russians equally firmly held out for equal participation by each zone. Upon this issue, every conference deadlocked. The North set up a People's Assembly, dominated by Kim Il Sung and a presidium of twenty-two. In the South, a provisional legislature took office, half elected and half appointed by USAMGIK.

Soviet Korea suffered from food deficiency until communist seizure of Manchuria made available the grain surpluses of the Liao and Sungari valleys. It contained almost all of Chosen's minerals, lumber, and industries, with abundant power from three hydroelectric systems near the Yalu. The South formed a less viable community; normally self-sufficient in rice, it required daily ten carloads of American food for its refugees. Lack of all other goods fed an inflation which no measures could control; a business lunch in Seoul came to cost one sixth of a college professor's

⁴³ Some of the highest ranking of them had made pro-Japanese broadcasts; all declared they had done this under compulsion.—See p. 436 n.

⁴⁴ The United States, Russia, China, and Great Britain. The proposal caused the only united demonstration throughout South Korea; even the most sympathetic USAMGIK employees closed their offices in protest.

monthly salary.⁴⁵ There was widespread nostalgia for the plentiful times of Japanese rule.

American personnel worked with integrity to maintain order. But they relied for this purpose upon many police officials⁴⁶ who were former Korean agents of the Kempeitai, on the questionable theory that anyone who "did a good job for the Japanese will do a good job for us." Confusion followed, also, the issuance of order Number Thirty-three, confiscating all Japanese property. Sixty thousand houses, almost all industrial assets, and the best croplands became available for redistribution. Political conflict became sharper and its spoils far richer. The Democratic Front charged conservative politicians with wholesale grants to their own political partisans or sales at give-away prices to wealthy former collaborationists. The bonanza bred corruption and gangsterism; incidents flared up that were sometimes little wars. Communists had their part in them, a fifth of the population being suspect of Marxist sympathies;⁴⁷ and rightist brownshirts seized the opportunity to attack labor and liberal organizations. Among the victims of assassination was Lyuh Woon Hyeung.

A United Nations commission inherited in January, 1948, the problem of Korean unification. Barred from entry into the North, the commission supervised elections during May in the American zone. These resulted in the creation of a constitutional republic of South Korea. Control of the unicameral Assembly was captured by the Association for the Rapid Advancement of Korean Independence, more often known as the Liberal Party; it placed its leader, Syngman Rhee, in the presidency. The office held immense power: the right to appoint all governors and mayors, and to rule, in emergency, by decree.

The infant republic has been dominated by the character of Rhee, over seventy at the time of his election. In Kim Il Sung he found an unyielding rival. Their simultaneous rise prom-

⁴⁵ Robert T. Oliver, *Why War Came to Korea* (New York: Fordham University, 1950), p. 153. Facts are confirmed by the observations of the author, Alfred Crofts.

⁴⁶ See Mark Gayn, *Japan Diary* (New York: Sloane, 1948), p. 423 ff. It may be noted that nobody in South Korea was ever legally convicted of criminal collaboration with the Japanese.

⁴⁷ As against 5 per cent in the North, where communism was more fully understood. *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 368-71. Persecution forced about 2 per cent as many Koreans to migrate North as were driven South.

ised conflict as soon as the trustee powers withdrew. Americans had, to ensure peace, almost demilitarized South Korea, destroying Japanese arms stockpiles; the Soviets greatly strengthened their People's Militia but refused to supply it with jet planes.

NORTH KOREA MAKES WAR

Christyakov's armies left the peninsula first; USAMGIK was not dissolved until the summer of 1948. Thereafter, rearmament was rapid. By one vote, the United States Congress refused during January, 1950, a special Korean-aid appropriation.⁴⁸ Within a week, Secretary of State Acheson pointedly excluded the Republic of Korea in defining America's "defensive perimeter" as Japan, the Ryukyus, and the Philippines. In May, an election cut Rhee's Liberal following to only one fourth of the Assembly⁴⁹—an evidence of deep-seated popular discontent which communism might exploit before the Republic was fully rearmed.

At dawn on June 25, massed armored and infantry forces of the Korean People's Republic crossed the Thirty-Eighth Parallel in a full-scale invasion. The attack was, in the opinion of many Americans, ordered in Moscow.

The broad strategy for expansion was settled between Mao and Stalin at the meetings from December . . . to February. . . . It was almost certainly agreed that under Soviet guidance, the North Koreans would [attack in] June, 1950.⁵⁰

The supposition does not explain why, at the critical time, no Russian delegate was present in the Security Council of the UN to veto intervention. Kim Il Sung's drive was for a month completely successful: Seoul fell within three days and the ROK army, lacking both tanks and air support, was threatened with collapse.

⁴⁸ Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁴⁹ Also proving that honest voting was permitted in the South, as it never had been in the North.

⁵⁰ W. W. Rostow, *The Prospects for Communist China* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1954), p. 67. Cominform sources asserted that the visit of Mr. John Foster Dulles to President Rhee on June 20 was for the purpose of planning an invasion of the North. North Korea had her own reasons for attacking; but neither Russia nor communist China stood to gain by a conflict which ended China's chance of annexing Formosa and entering the United Nations. Though Japan and Germany were Axis allies, it is not necessary to hold that Tojo attacked Pearl Harbor under Hitler's orders.—See W. W. Hitchcock, "North Korea Jumps the Gun," *Current History*, XX, 115 (March, 1951), p. 136; also Werner Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Dr. Claude Buss, *op. cit.*, Ch. XXXIII.

INTERVENTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

Upon American initiative, an emergency session of the Security Council was called on June 26, which, by a vote of 8-0, ordered North Korea to halt its invasion.⁵¹ When the order was ignored, General MacArthur received authorization under Article 51 of the UN Charter to use his Japanese Occupation forces in defense of Korea. The American divisions, though undermanned and partially trained, slowed the communist advance until it was firmly contained at the Nakdong River, seventy miles from the Straits of Korea. Full victory came in September after MacArthur executed a successful amphibious attack upon Inchon and went on to capture Seoul. The communist invasion army far to the south was isolated and almost completely destroyed.

Early in October a United Nations army⁵² stood at the parallel. Asian neutral opinion, led by India, favored immediate suspension of the war; President Rhee urged the reunification of his country by a counter invasion of the North. His ROK soldiers were already operating in communist territory when, on October 7, the UN Assembly passed an ambiguous resolution permitting "steps to insure stability throughout Korea." MacArthur ordered a general offensive; Pyongyang was occupied, and against feeble resistance American and Korean columns moved on toward the Yalu.

COMMUNIST CHINA ATTACKS THE UN

Winston Churchill considered the Allied advance beyond the waist of the peninsula as the most serious mistake of the war.⁵³ It did change a brilliant "police action" into a long stalemate against a formidable new opponent. Since the close of the Marshall Mission, the Chinese Communists had denounced American help to the Kuomintang and MacArthur's refusal to surrender Japanese charged with war crimes against the Reds. Washington had, in

⁵¹ Yugoslavia abstained and Russia was absent. The USSR argued therefore that intervention was illegal, since it requires unanimous support. The United Nations' vigorous response in Korea stands in contrast to its inaction during the invasion of Israel in 1948.

⁵² Containing fighting elements of fourteen UN members besides the United States; five were British Commonwealth members; only Britain contributed as much as a division. Before the intervention of China, American troops were so identified; afterwards, they were invariably reported as "United Nations Forces."

⁵³ *Current History*, XXVII, 159 (November, 1954), p. 318.

turn, protested the abuse of American diplomats, missionaries, and businessmen in "liberated" areas.

Peking pronounced the Korean War to be an attack, sponsored by Wall Street,⁵⁴ on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and resented President Truman's neutralization of the Formosa straits. In October, Chou En-lai gave notice, by direct broadcast and through the Indian ambassador, that his government would not be indifferent to an Allied crossing of the parallel. The Chinese Reds owed a military debt to the Korean communist army, their friend against Nanking. They feared the seizure of hydropower installations in the Yalu Valley that served industrial Manchuria—and even more, perhaps, the occupation by an unfriendly power of the soil from which Japan launched the Manchurian Incident. Even the decadent Mings had fought in 1593 to prevent Hideyoshi's conquest of the peninsula.⁵⁵

Secretary Acheson drafted reassurances for Peking; these MacArthur failed to transmit. A soldier to the core, he could not understand a "policeman's" mission,⁵⁶ but held that "there is no substitute for Victory." When, late in October Chinese "volunteers" were found among his prisoners, the general did not slow his advance. His lines were widely dispersed as, a month later, they encountered the weight of a full Chinese attack. There was no alternative to retreat—humiliating, though masterfully directed; it ended with the Chinese in possession of Seoul and almost all of North Korea.

THE POLITICAL WAR

MacArthur requested permission to bomb the Yalu bridges and other strategic targets in Manchuria, the Reds' "privileged sanctuary," while the U. S. Navy supported Nationalist landings in South China. He believed that the time was opportune to crush Asian communism as he had defeated Japan. His plan met almost

⁵⁴ No evidence indicates that an attack was made upon North Korea.

⁵⁵ See p. 62. There are remarkable similarities between the Korean wars of 1592 and 1950: the rapid advances and retreats across the length of the peninsula, Chinese intervention, the long negotiations, and stalemate ending.

⁵⁶ The policeman halts unlawful action, restores a *status quo*, and holds the criminal for higher authority. He need not raid the offender's home to defeat his relatives. Two decades earlier, as police chief of the District of Columbia, MacArthur had won a victory against bonus marchers which embarrassed the Hoover administration.

unanimous opposition in the United Nations; in Washington, General Bradley spoke for the Chiefs of Staff in vetoing expansion of "the Wrong War at the Wrong Place, at the Wrong Time, and with the Wrong Enemy." However, the People's Republic was indicted for aggression against the United Nations and UN members agreed to embargo military exports to China.⁵⁷

MacArthur's armies received sufficient reinforcements to expel the Chinese, with disastrous losses, from South Korea; Chu Teh's "human sea" tactics proved suicidal against American fire power. Anxious to pursue his advantage again to final victory, the general opened a direct correspondence with Congressman Joseph Martin, by-passing his superiors in the General Staff. In consequence he was, on April 11, 1951, relieved by the president of his Korean command and SCAP authority.⁵⁸

The new United Nations commander, Lieutenant General Matthew Ridgway, repulsed a later communist offensive and established deeply entrenched lines somewhat north of the parallel. Without doubt, Ridgway could have broken the enemy lines, but the American people were in no mood to accept heavy casualties. Soviet Russia likewise observed a code of "limited warfare." The American sanctuary in Japan was respected; no hostile submarine was sighted by the United States Navy,⁵⁹ and no Russian identified among the war casualties.

THE AIR WAR

Ninety-five per cent of the air operations over North Korea were conducted by United States naval carrier planes and the Far Eastern Air Force; these kept an area as large as Upper New York State under continuous patrol—interdicting military movements and attacking rail and highway convoys, bridges, and marshaling yards.⁶⁰ Challenged in the second year of war by Russian-built jet

⁵⁷ For analysis of MacArthur's plan, see *Life*, September 5, 1953, p. 68. The communist bloc voted against the sanctions and freely supplied war materials overland; few reached China, however, by sea. The sanctions have stood for more than six years.

⁵⁸ Major General Courtney Whitney, "The MacArthur Story," Art. IV, *Life*, *ibid.*, p. 76. Expositions of their views by President Truman and General MacArthur are found in *Life*, February 13, 1956.

⁵⁹ Intervening in the Spanish War of 1936-39, Italian submarines torpedoed thirty-eight neutral British vessels in or near Spanish waters.

⁶⁰ In twenty-four months of strategic bombing, destruction was claimed of seventy-five thousand vehicles, sixteen thousand rail cars, and twelve thousand gun positions.—See *Air University Quarterly Review*, VI, 3, p. 23.

MiG fighter planes, they demonstrated American superiority by a ratio of eleven victories to one in air-to-air combat. The strategic bombing of manufacturing and power plants followed only as a means of "pressure for peace" in 1952; it largely destroyed North Korean industry. The air war revealed technical Russian inferiorities, especially in radar fire control; MiG's rarely penetrated as far as the battle front and gave no support to Chinese ground forces. The threat of a communist offensive air war against the West was indefinitely postponed.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

In the explosive atmosphere of postwar nationalism, it was inadvisable for the United States to prolong a power struggle on Asian soil. Domestic war weariness certainly influenced the outcome of the 1952 election.⁶¹ The entire world welcomed the opening of peace negotiations in 1951 at Kaesong, transferred later to the village of Panmunjon. Good faith was lacking, especially on the communist side; there were wrangles as to the location of a final armistice line and, more especially, the right of prisoners to refuse repatriation. At last, on July 27, 1953, an armistice divided North and South Korea at the cease-fire line, not far from where fighting began. Of 132,000 surrendered Communists, over half refused to return to their homes.⁶²

The Korean war cost the United States thirty thousand fatal casualties and thirty billion dollars, almost the price of the First World War. It left the affairs in the peninsula tragically unsettled; the principals in the original struggle were devastated. China replaced Japan as the self-proclaimed champion of Asia. Had not her People's Volunteers won a stalemate against a Western coalition? The tributary zone of North Korea once more protected her eastern flank. For her territorial and propaganda gains she had paid a million casualties—a small rate by communist accounting.

⁶¹ In favor of General Dwight Eisenhower, who promised to visit Korea in person to explore means of settlement. His mission, followed in March, 1953, by the death of Josef Stalin, may have softened the policies of international communism.

⁶² However, the percentage of Chinese refusing repatriation was small—and applied mainly to former Nationalist soldiers. About twenty Americans elected to remain with their captors.

The Rise of Vietminh

China may have welcomed disengagement in Korea to concentrate upon Indo-China.⁶³ The old Bolshevik, Ho Chi-minh, had signed in 1946 a *modus vivendi* with the French at Fontainebleau. Since then, Foreign Legionnaires and native militia of the Catholic Tenth had defended the rice deltas of Tongking and Cochin-China and the Mandarin Road between them, while increasing numbers of Annamese joined the "night government" of Vietminh. Fighting became general only with the Battle of the Rice at harvest time each autumn.

In 1949, the French made their final effort to establish a non-communist Far Eastern protectorate; Bao Dai was recalled from the Riviera and set on the throne of the Nguyen dynasty, as ruler of Tongking, Annam, and Cochin China. France was to retain her economic interests and a few military bases, keeping some role in foreign affairs.⁶⁴ Ho Chi-minh became once more an outlaw. But before the new government could function, the Chinese Reds broke through to the Tongking border, providing a sanctuary for the Vietminh and a secure base of supplies.

Ho developed a fully organized army which collected taxes and enforced rationing, and established telecommunication and even a postage system; it operated arsenals and workshops, held literacy classes, and sponsored a national poetry contest.⁶⁵ The French continued for four years a war that cost more officers than the annual output of St. Cyr and more money than her NATO grants; America added half as many planes and tanks as had been lost in China. In a defiant gesture to conclude the *guerre sale*,⁶⁶ General Henri Navarre planted a forward base far beyond the delta perimeter in the green wilderness at Dienbienphu.

THE GENEVA SETTLEMENT

Here the Vietminh took the full offensive for the first time. Though reinforced by airlift, the French defense zone was steadily

⁶³ See evidence quoted by Drew Pearson in the *Denver Post*, January 20, 1957.

⁶⁴ See p. 469. The United States kept a similar footing in the "independent" Philippines under the Bell Act—and earlier in Cuba under the Platt Amendment.

⁶⁵ Vivid, though biased, impressions of the war may be found in Joseph Starobin, *Eyewitness in Indo-China* (New York: Cameron and Kahn, 1954).

⁶⁶ "Dirty War"—a phrase first applied by French Communists.

compressed in fifty-five days of frontal attack, and at length, on May 7, 1954, Dienbienphu surrendered. The disaster brought down a French government, and, at the Geneva Conference on the Far East, already in session, tipped the scales in favor of the communist negotiators. A new premier, Pierre Mendes-France, brought the war to a close on July 20. Annam was partitioned at the Seventeenth Parallel; north of the line, the Vietminh became supreme; Bao Dai and the remnants of French authority were domiciled in Saigon. A plebiscite was scheduled for July, 1956, to fix Indo-China's permanent status.

The Philippines: Suppression of the Hukbalahap

Prewar agrarian distress contributed, during the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, to the growth of a Hukbalahap ("People's Anti-Japanese Army") Resistance Movement,⁸⁷ led by Luis Taruc, and showing strong communist affinities. In the 1946 election, the Huks campaigned unsuccessfully for complete independence from the United States and repudiation of the Bell Act.⁸⁸ The new president, Manuel Roxas, outlawed the movement. Taruc returned to the hills; from there he could not establish firm links with mainland communism, though for a time he dominated "Huklandia" in Central Luzon.

The American Bell Mission in 1950 frankly exposed the administrative abuses in the Philippine Republic. These became the concern also of Ramon Magsaysay, Minister of Defense, a believer in social reform as well as firm rule: he combated government corruption and fought the Huks who remained in arms, but provided land and homes for those who surrendered. His triple policy defeated communism and elevated Magsaysay, in December, 1953, to the presidency of the Republic.

⁸⁷ See p. 465.

⁸⁸ Which admitted U. S. imports duty free for ten years and gave American investments equal rights with Filipino capital. Its passage required amendment of Articles XIII and XIV in the national constitution. When the Assembly appeared hesitant, important U. S. Congressional interests threatened to cut off American reconstruction aid.—See Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

Communism in Southeast Asia

At the charter assembly of the Cominform in Belgrade, late in 1947, much was spoken of liberation movements.⁶⁹ The theme was more fully exploited shortly afterward in Calcutta at the South-east Asia Youth Conference and the All-India Communist Party Congress. Decisions reached here seem to have touched off a wave of communist uprisings in near-by states.

RED AND WHITE FLAGS IN BURMA

In 1946, Thakin Soe, expelled from the AFPFL, formed a Red Flag, or Trotskyist, Communist Party; adhering to the dacoit tradition, it promised not only land but booty to its members, carried out raids from mountain strongholds, and levied a toll upon teak logs floated down the Chindwin River; it denounced the Independence Treaty of January, 1948, as a sellout to the British Five Companies. A more moderate White Flag, or Stalinist, movement was willing to work within the government. Both maintained private armies.

The Union of Burma Constitution leans far to the left, permitting nationalization of all resources, and semiofficial celebrations are held in the Russian embassy on Red October Day. Premier Thakin Nu alternately appeased and repressed the Communists: he canceled foreign teak and flotilla concessions and expropriated land-holdings above fifty acres, but dissolved the Red Trades Union Congress⁷⁰ and repulsed the Red Flag advance down the Irrawaddy.

Burma was the first noncommunist state to recognize the Peking People's Republic. However, Chinese communist irregulars repeatedly violate Burma's northeast border; and captured documents have revealed a Red maneuver to set up a People's republic among the discontented Kachin tribes.⁷¹

INDONESIA: THE MADIUN REVOLT

Since they at first regarded the Japanese-sponsored Indonesian Republic as fascist, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) at

⁶⁹ Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁷⁰ See Virginia Thompson *et al.*, *The Left Wing in Southeast Asia* (New York: Sloane, 1950), pp. 100-103.

⁷¹ Henry Hopkins, *New World Arising* (London: Hamilton, 1952), pp. 239-40.

first favored compromise with Holland, veering against the Dutch as they accepted American assistance. It organized the SOBSI, a branch of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and won up to 20 per cent of the peasants' votes. Marxist leanings may be charged against many nationalist leaders who "were all called Communists by the Dutch" before the war;⁷² the Sjarifuddin government admitted party members to its Cabinet.

Six months after the Calcutta Conference, in September, 1948, a full rebellion was staged at Madiun in Central Java but crushed by the Republic without Dutch assistance; the leaders, Tan Malakka and Alimin, were reported shot, and thirty thousand rank-and-file rebels went to prison camp for re-education. Remnants of the PKI backed a Dutch airborne putsch in December, hoping that it would lead to revolutionary anarchy. Firm resistance of the Nationalists to communism led America to support the Hague Agreement for an autonomous Indonesian republic.⁷³ A final Red uprising in August, 1951, at Jakarta led to mass arrests and temporary inactivation of the party.

THE MALAYAN BANDIT TERROR

Seven thousand Malayan Chinese had taken to the jungle during the Japanese occupation; there, all were exposed to communist teaching and learned to sabotage enemy rule while obtaining food and intelligence from the village Chinese.⁷⁴ When the war ended, the British government took no reprisals against collaborationists—whose role had been passive—but passed a Nationality Law giving voting rights only to fifteen-year residents, thus excluding half of the Chinese. The jungle fighters were given a ten-dollar bonus and forgotten. Some turned to labor organization for the WFTU; a Singapore longshoremen's strike was settled on terms advantageous to the union.

By 1948, the competition of synthetic rubber and a decline in tin prices brought down wages and spread unemployment. After calling political strikes, the Malayan Federation of Trades Unions was outlawed. Returning delegates from Calcutta helped to launch a back-to-the-jungle movement, which took a violent turn with the

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 193; also see Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁷³ See p. 467.

⁷⁴ Their operations are described in F. Spencer Chapman, *The Jungle Is Neutral* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1949).

assassination, in June, 1948, of three British planters. Hundreds of killings followed within a year throughout the nine states; to cripple the economy of Malaya, the British Commonwealth's richest dollar earner, tin dredges were blown up and rubber trees girdled.

Though the bandits numbered hardly five thousand at any time, fifty thousand Malay special constables were needed to suppress them, together with over twenty thousand British troops, Royal Air Force bomber patrols, Nepalese Gurkhas, and Dyak trackers. Nearly half a million Chinese were resettled in controlled areas under curfew. Political concessions and the growing sympathy of the native population at last enabled Governor Sir Gerald Templer to make headway against communist gangsterism: from eighty-five murders per month in 1951, the murder rate fell to twelve in 1953⁷⁵ and from there became negligible.

Communist Achievement: a Summary

American resistance to Marxism is based upon the simple proposition that communism is the worst of national evils—more than war itself. It appears so to few Asians; to many it seems an alternate form of nationalism. A Vietnam editor has asserted—

I am an anti-Communist. Ho Chi-minh is a Communist. But I say that Ho Chi-minh is a true patriot. I salute him.⁷⁶

Japan bequeathed these people a dynamic slogan: "Asia for the Asians"; constitutions of the postwar republics assert the rights of man and national control of resources. These have been written also into communist doctrine. The Russian-sponsored Stockholm Peace Appeal has been signed by Asians of every faith. To American charges that bolshevism is atheistic, its defenders reply that the democracies are power-mad. "What," they have asked, "are your soldiers doing in Asia?"⁷⁷ or, "Why do you send weapons to Asia and Marshall Plan help to Europe?"

⁷⁵ Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁷⁶ Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁷⁷ These logicians do not add that there are immensely more Russian soldiers in Central Europe.

A CONFUSION OF DOCTRINE

Communism has shown many faces. Currently, its most consistent note is anti-Americanism; in 1945 it praised the United States. In China, it has clothed itself with moral platitude; Nozaka in Japan pleads for a "lovable communism." In Burma, it is allied with armed robbery; in Malaya, with sheer terrorism. In the north, it is Soviet-dominated; in the southeast, it is transmitted through China where, in 1947, Mao Tse-tung prepared to "coordinate the liberation of a billion people." Moscow broadcasters often appear badly informed upon eastern Asia; on occasion, the Cominform⁷⁸ has been more than anxious to win sympathy in France and England than in their dependencies. Russian rubber purchases in 1950 paid most of the cost of crushing communism in Malaya.

Its opposition has been equally confused. Nationalist China gave decisive help to the Vietminh in 1945 and four years later bombed American and British ships in Formosa straits. Thousands of the rifles parachuted by the Allies to Partisans during the war have since served Red guerrillas. Washington and Moscow have sometimes jointly approved rebellions that called themselves liberation movements.

NEW CONCEPTS OF POWER

Sea power, the key to Western strength since the time of Vasco de Gama, has little further role on the continent of Asia. Air power pulverized Japan, but made few converts to democracy; if it helped to repulse the Reds in Korea, with two million casualties,⁷⁹ the fact has propaganda value only for the Communists.

Not unnaturally, a mood of frustration overspread the United States as fighting was resumed in 1950; China was discovered to be lost⁸⁰—not swept away by titanic internal forces pent up for five generations, but surrendered with malign intent, presumably by Americans. The search for culprits spread a murky trail through Congressional committee hearings, injuring national dignity and

⁷⁸ The Cominform has been allegedly dissolved since 1955 in the interest of "friendly coexistence."

⁷⁹ If this figure is correct, more Asians were killed in the Korean War than in all imperialist attacks on the continent in three centuries.

⁸⁰ The expression appears as the title of a series of articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* by Joseph Alsop, CCXXIII, 29 (January 17-21, 1951).

victimizing consular officials and Oriental scholars. The controversy ended only when public opinion in 1953-54 approved the sacrifice of northern Korea and Indo-China to the same communist forces which overthrew Chiang K'ai-shek.

General MacArthur called ⁸¹ for a full-scale military showdown with communism in Manchuria; Admiral Arthur Radford was willing to save Dienbienphu by carrier-borne atomic intervention. Both were decisively overruled; Americans, war-weary from the Greater East Asia struggle, decline to match the stakes of a military contest, while communism accepts huge losses impassively. Twenty years ago, a Japanese general ⁸² offered the mocking challenge: "We will give ten million men to take the Philippines. How many will you give to prevent us?"

⁸¹ Perhaps the ablest white commander to serve in Asia since Robert Clive; also, the only one to meet defeats in turn by Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese.

⁸² Homma Masaharu, captor of Manila in 1941, later shot as responsible for the Bataan death march. The incident was reported verbally to the author, Alfred Crofts.

Contemporary East Asia: Southern Region

☛ Today Southeast Asia is undergoing a new orientation. The independence movements among nations have established new governments in that region. Those governments are confronted with staggering problems; and all of them are experiencing the dangers . . . which the Communists generate. The area, rich in people and in resources . . . will long be turbulent and uneasy. It will also need for years to come, help and guidance in solving problems as perplexing as those which any Western country has ever known.

Justice William O. Douglas, 1953

Problems of Nationhood

THE SUCCESSIVE impacts of the Greater East Asia war, the Nationalist crusades, and the offensive of communism have left the southern regions virtually free of Europe politically, though cultural and economic links remain. With the autonomy of this area assured, new problems face them as they seek their place in the twentieth-century world.

THE BABEL OF LANGUAGES

In only three of the newborn states of Southeast Asia do we find complete language homogeneity—in Laos, Cambodia, and

South Vietnam; and even among the two million inhabitants of Laos it is impossible for a native of Luang Prabang to understand the speech of Khong. Languages of the Philippine Republic include Tagalog, Visayan, Pampango, Ilocano, and Sulu. Until 1900, Spanish was useful in intertribal communication. English replaced it, largely through the efforts of teachers who trained the present generation of national leaders; its importance is undiminished, despite the government's efforts to substitute a modified form of Tagalog. In Indonesia, both Sumatra and Java have numbers of indigenous languages; a Balinese barely understands the speech of neighboring Lombok, and finds Amboinese and Borneo Dyak incomprehensible. Dutch was never more than the tongue of officials, while Malay served as the *lingua franca*. The Republic is endeavoring to synthesize an "Indonesian" language from Malay-Javanese with numerous foreign loan words. In Malaya there are no affinities whatever between the languages of Southeast India or Southeast China—spoken by over half the inhabitants—and that of the Malay population. English serves for business purposes, though Malay is designated as the official language.

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

National unification is hampered also by racial and religious diversity. In the Philippines, the Negritos form an unassimilable minority, but their numbers are insignificant. However, the Moslems of the southern island form an important bloc in the generally Catholic population. A nonsectarian educational policy minimizes conflict.

Indonesia's basic racial stock is unified. Mohammedanism dominates nearly all of the archipelago, though the Hindu faith persists in Bali and a few of the Lesser Sunda Islands, where the cultural dominance of Jakarta is sometimes resented. In South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, Hinayana Buddhism has re-established its universal authority; there are fairly uniform racial stocks in each country—Annamese, Khmer, and Laotian-Thai.

In Malaya, racial animosities between the numerically balanced Chinese and Malays may lead to bloodshed when home rule is achieved. The Malays seem unwilling to admit even fifth-generation Chinese residents to political equality. The thrifty Chinese look down on the Malays as incompetent. Indians, associated in

the past chiefly with British enterprises, have taken little part in politics. The immigrants firmly resist Moslem teaching, though they have become lax in their ancestral Hindu or Buddhist observances.

THE LACK OF TRAINED LEADERSHIP

Only in the Philippines was there, as independence became a fact, a reservoir of trained administrative personnel; in Indonesia especially the deficiency was total—in other states, serious. The Dutch withheld Western-style education on the twofold pretext of preserving native culture and restricting the spread of libertarian doctrines. In Malaya the British favored the Malays in educational facilities—the Indians also, to some extent; but the vast and eager Chinese population had to be content with an arbitrary one fifth of university scholarships and civil service appointments. In Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam, the tradition of independent government, plus Confucian emphasis on learning, helped to educate the people politically. Southeast Asia faces a dearth of able leaders; and the ignorance of her masses makes it difficult to staff the lower echelons of the bureaucracy or to control demagoguery.

Uniting the new independent governments are the binding forces of anticolonialism and fervent nationalism. None of them expect to avoid mistakes, but all prefer that these should be of their own making.

External Relations of the Southern Regions

The emergence of a new group of sovereign states in Southeast Asia, with strategic location and valuable resources, has aroused competitive interest among the postwar power blocs. Cominform efforts were directed through the Calcutta conferences of 1948.¹ Protective concern is shown by the United Nations' Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) set up in 1947, whose permanent secretariat has been called the "economic Parliament" of Asia. The commission meets annually; its 1957 session being held during April in Bangkok. It is an advisory body, formed to create a "climate of opinion"; not only Asian but Occidental states with interests in Asia may enroll at its meetings. On recom-

¹ See p. 502.

mentation of ECAFE, about one third of the United Nations' Technical Assistance budget is being spent in southern Asia.²

BRITAIN SPONSORS THE COLOMBO PLAN AND SEATO

As her Asian imperium passes to dominion or independent status, Britain is executing a graceful transition from her master role to one of cooperative good will. During 1950, the Consultative Committee of Commonwealth States³ drew up a mutual reconstruction project patterned after the Marshall Plan for Europe or President Truman's recently declared world-wide Point Four program. It was ratified at Colombo in December under chairmanship of the Ceylonese statesman, Mr. R. Coomaraswamy. The British dependencies of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei—some of the most severely devastated lands of Greater East Asia—were major beneficiaries. By 1953, Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma, and Indonesia became full participants in the Colombo Plan, while the Philippines and Thailand attended its meetings. The plan called for short-range assistance in the repair of harbors, rails, and industrial plants, to be followed by large-scale increase in food production through the building of multiple-purpose dams and irrigation systems.⁴

The more advanced countries supplied experts, offered technical training, and provided materials. Great Britain's contribution, chiefly in the form of "unrequited exports" against sterling balances, averaged nearly half a billion dollars yearly and caused a heavy strain upon her economy.⁵ The United States, committed in Korea, did not join the Colombo Council but maintained close liaison, and during 1951 pledged forty million dollars to aid Burma and the states of Indo-China.

Far less support was obtained for the military defense alliance sponsored by Britain and the Dominions. After some years of plan-

² See Guy Wint, *South Asia*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Pamphlet 500.

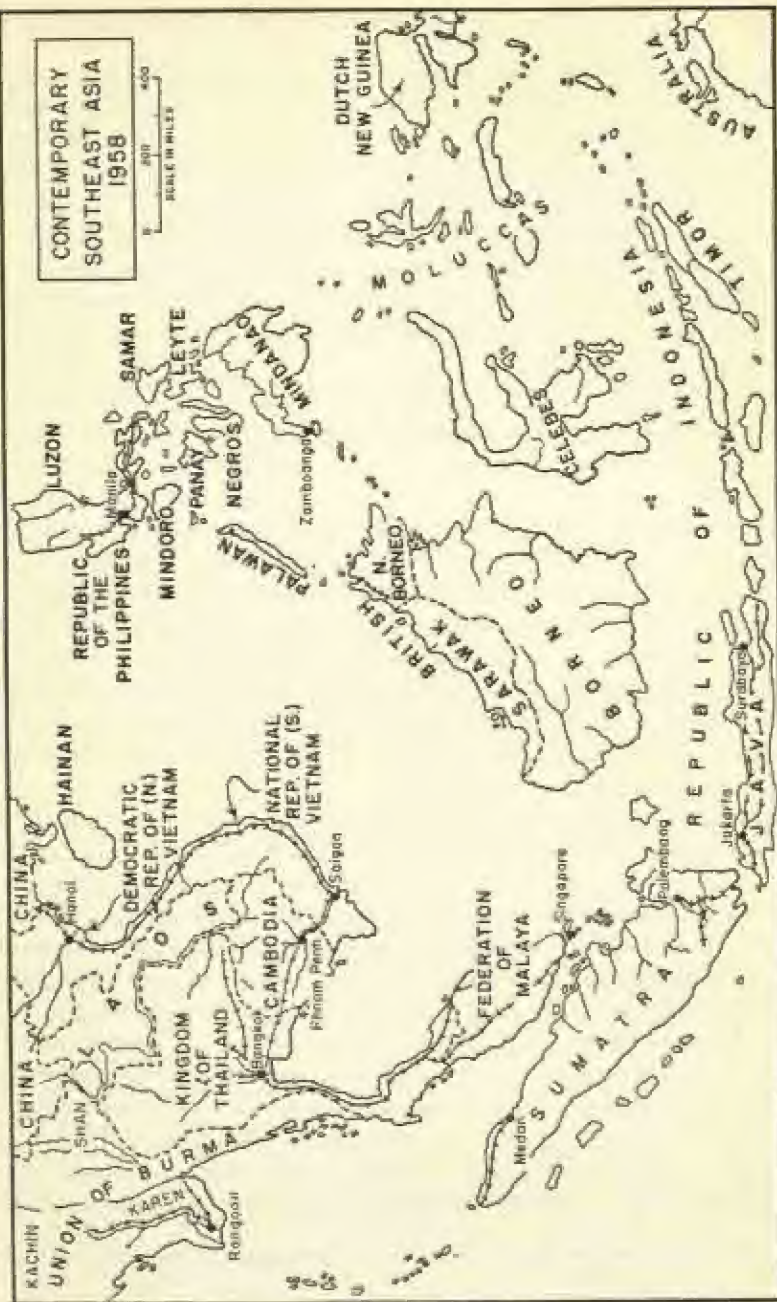
³ Originally, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ceylon, and India—none of them Southeast Asian states.

⁴ The dam projects are located largely in India and Ceylon.

⁵ Mainly occasioning the devaluation of the pound in 1949.—See Guy Wint, *What is the Colombo Plan?* (New York: Background Books, 1952); J. R. Carr-Gregg, *The Colombo Plan*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Pamphlet 467, 1951 (containing full constitution of the plan); *The Colombo Plan* ("Publication of the department of external affairs," No. 130) (Wellington, New Zealand).

CONTEMPORARY SOUTHEAST ASIA 1958

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SCALE IN MILES



ning, a conference held in Manila in September, 1950, set up the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The white sponsors—England, the United States, France, Australia, and New Zealand—were joined only by three Western-oriented Asian states: the Philippine Republic, Thailand, and Pakistan. Terms of the organization were hardly more compulsive than those of the United Nations Charter. In case of attack against one of them, the other peoples would "act to meet the common danger" in accordance with their own constitutional obligations.

PAN-ASIANISM AND THE BANDUNG AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE

Before the debris of Nippon's Divine Mission was cleared away, other Pan-Asian movements with new leadership were afoot. India—still in colonial status—called an Asian conference in New Delhi during March, 1947. Twenty-eight states were represented, many by their chiefs of state; but China, the Arab states, and Burma declined to accept Indian leadership.⁶ A few "areas of agreement" were found: information exchange, the need of elevating living standards, and achieving political freedom; however, the Far Eastern delegates found little interest among Moslems in such proposals as those concerning the rights for women. Two years later, India led nineteen nations in an appeal to the Security Council on behalf of Indonesia.

Early in 1954, the prime ministers of Burma and Indonesia joined with those of Ceylon, India, and Pakistan at Colombo to seek common understandings about the East-West struggles in Indo-China and Korea.⁷ The ministers took a firm stand in favor of controlling the hydrogen bomb and of admitting communist China to the United Nations. They also denounced interference in their affairs by external communist or anticommunist agencies.

More significantly, the five "Colombo powers" scheduled a full-scale conference of the Afro-Asian peoples. It was convened at Bandung, the new capital of Indonesia, for a week during April, 1955. The sponsors were joined by twenty-four other nations, including the five autonomous African states, all those of the Arab Middle East, together with Japan. Excluded were Israel and all

⁶ See Werner Levi, *Free India in Asia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1952), pp. 36-38.

⁷ Guy Wint, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

the white nations; South Korea and Nationalist China declined to attend.⁸

The conference keynote was struck by President Sukarno in urging "the majority of the world's population"⁹ to cooperate economically and politically, and take a more positive part in international decisions. It became clear from the twenty-five speeches which followed¹⁰ that the delegates were united by their color bond and their detestation of "colonialism," but little else. Colonel Gamel Nasser of Egypt found his text in the Israeli issue; the Thai and certain Islamic speakers touched upon the new-style aggressions of the USSR and communist China. They could not prevent Chou En-lai from winning a personal triumph and carrying the adoption of his *Pancha Shila*, or Five Principles of Coexistence.¹¹ Only Carlos Romulo of the Philippines and Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon¹² spoke approvingly of the white powers.

No concrete results are on record, but greater unification of the colored world was assured.¹³ If the trumpets of Greater East Asia were mute, there came in place of them the drumbeat of awakening Africa. It is commonplace now for pictures of Mao Tse-tung to be captured in Algerian guerrilla headquarters, or Bantu rioters in Johannesburg to receive telegrams of congratulations from Peking and New Delhi.

The Philippines: the Magsaysay Era

Ramon Magsaysay was born in the Zambales Mountains of Luzon in 1907, and educated at the University of the Philippines and at José Rizal College, though prior to the war he worked for

⁸ The India Air Lines plane chartered to carry Chinese communist delegates was destroyed by a time bomb over the Java Sea. British police charged the crime to an airfield attendant who had already escaped to Formosa. His extradition was refused. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai had proceeded by an earlier plane.

⁹ The Bandung Conference nations contain over 1.3 billion people, well over half the world's population.

¹⁰ Regretfully making use of English as the conference language.

¹¹ These are listed and analyzed on p. 544.

¹² Sir John was displaced from his premiership shortly afterward by the ardent Ceylonese nationalist, Bandaranaike.

¹³ See G. M. Kabin, *The Asia-African Conference* (Syracuse: Cornell University, 1956); A. Appadorar, *The Bandung Conference*, Independent Council of World Affairs (five speeches mimeographed through the IPR, New York).

some time as a mechanic. During the Japanese occupation, he led a guerrilla force; when self-government was restored, Magsaysay entered Congress as a Liberal and was in 1950 chosen by President Elpidio Quirino as minister of defense. In this important office he not only suppressed the Hukbalahap but enforced the congressional election laws. But he could not retain place in an administration which he felt to be dishonest; he therefore resigned from the Cabinet and, in 1952, he ran for president with José Laurel's Nationalist Party. His campaign objectives¹⁴ were to absorb the Huks, increase employment and production, and purge the government of corruption to restore the people's confidence.

The campaign of 1953 pitted him against cunning and ruthless opposition. Magsaysay carried his fight to the people, "jeeping" or even walking from village to village, frequently appearing unannounced.¹⁵ At election time, special guards protected the ballot boxes; the votes carried his Nationalist slate to power by a wide margin over Quirino's Liberals.

In office, Magsaysay set out doggedly to redeem his promises; he could not, of course, arbitrarily discard the "old school" politicians of his party or censor the behavior of lower officials beyond his direct view. His concern with the little people took precedence over matters of grand policy. Each day the Malacanan¹⁶ was crowded with barefoot Igorotes in tribal dress, with Mindanao, Sulu, and Visayan peasants eager to meet their hero.

His foreign policy was designed to win respect for the Republic in the family of nations. He cooperated fully with the United States, whose \$520 million war-reconstruction grants and equally large contributions of war-surplus materials had brought the Republic through eight threatening years. Moreover, it could look forward to twenty-eight further years of free trade or tariff preference. He had become an effective anticommunist leader, using as his mouthpiece, General Carlos Romulo, former president of the United Nations, whom he designated as Philippine representative-at-large. Romulo's eloquence at Bandung helped to offset the persuasions of Chou En-lai, and Pandit Nehru's neutralism. Within the South-east Asia Treaty Organization, the Philippines and Thailand formed

¹⁴ The author vividly recalls his sudden and complete conquest of a former Liberal stronghold in August, 1953.—P.B.

¹⁵ Magsaysay's courage was legendary.

¹⁶ The presidential palace in Manila.

themselves into the sole Asian fortress against communism. The Republic confirmed this policy on the floor of the United Nations and in such field demonstrations as Operation BROTHERHOOD, which sent medical teams into the refugee camps of South Vietnam.

The untimely death of President Magsaysay in an air crash during March, 1957, has clouded the national prospect; Vice-president Carlos P. Garcia, after inheriting executive power and winning the autumn election, promises to fulfill the program of his predecessor.

Indonesia: Federalism versus Regionalism

President Sukarno's personal authority has not been shaken since the Provisional Parliament of the United States of Indonesia convened in Jakarta in 1950; though the premiership has been transferred within a narrow clique—from Mohammed Hatta to Ali Sastroamidjojo, back to Hatta and, in April, 1957, to forty-five-year-old Dr. Djuanda. It has proved hard to recruit competent personnel at the lower echelons of government administration, and the low literacy rate makes democratic self-rule extremely difficult. Few officials have been, until recently, able to decipher the mass of forms required in their duties. There are, in various parts of the archipelago, almost continuous uprisings. Local princes, who enjoyed almost unrestricted authority under the Dutch, resent the growing interference of Jakarta. Sometimes a hinterland tribe must be punished for impatiently doing away with its administrative adviser.

An agricultural five-year plan was announced in 1954, through which peasants are encouraged, by more scientific farming methods, to produce enough rice and other staple foods for the expanding population. The commercial crops, such as sugar, copra, tobacco, coffee, and spices, are grown chiefly on large estates, a third of whose area has been redistributed to small holders. However, careful government planning has prevented any serious decline in output; sugar export soared in 1955 to 800,000 tons from a 1948 figure of 50,000 tons; rubber reached 750,000 tons, more than twice the prewar average.

Since 1946, oil production has risen from four hundred thousand to twelve million tons, tin from five to thirty-five thousand

tons; manganese output has quadrupled since 1952.¹⁷ Industrialization is largely national through the taking over of formerly foreign-owned enterprises. Indonesia manufactures automobile and bicycle tires, electrical equipment, cigarettes, soap, and margarine from native materials; her aim is the fullest possible measure of self-sufficiency. To correct the effect of "undue price fluctuations" on her agricultural export economy, the government of Indonesia proposes price controls by international treaty, concentration upon the crops most vitally in demand overseas, and diversification of its own economy.¹⁸

THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION

Solid results are reported in the government's campaign against illiteracy. Official figures claim a rise in literacy rate from 10 per cent in 1945 to 70 per cent in 1955, a success attributable in part to the relative simplicity of the Indonesian language. The Education Department's objective—total literacy by 1960—cannot be attained, since vast areas in the hinterlands of Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes are almost inaccessible and hardly aware of the birth of the union.

Since 1940 the number of children in elementary schools has increased by 250 per cent—though less than half the school-age population is enrolled; the enrollment in high schools has increased twenty-five times over. At the close of Dutch rule, about seventeen hundred students attended the five colleges; today there are nearly twenty-five thousand in sixty colleges and universities.¹⁹

Yet everywhere in the Outer Islands there is jealousy of Javanese pre-eminence and demand for greater representation in the union. Fall of the Hatta government in mid-1957 followed a rebellion in Sumatra against the government's toleration of communism; it was led by Sumatran separatists, who point out that their home island contributes 70 per cent of the nation's foreign exchange, but receives only 7 per cent of the equipment imported.

¹⁷ *Report on Indonesia*, VII, 4 (February, 1956), (Embassy of Indonesia, Washington, D. C.), p. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 1.

¹⁹ The rate of college enrollment is still only one fortieth that reached in postwar America. Between successive trips to Indonesia made by the author in 1953 and 1956, there has been a notable increase in the number of bookstalls and of visitors to the USIS libraries. P.B.

The cold war, in progress since 1946, finds Indonesia uncommitted. The United States is blamed for supporting Bao Dai in Vietnam and supplying her former Dutch masters with lend-lease materials that prolonged the struggle for independence; at the same time, Sukarno will not submit to Russian leadership. The union is, therefore, usually classed with India in the neutralist bloc. The burning issue of Irian, or Western New Guinea, comes no closer to settlement. The Dutch remain in possession, declining further negotiation on the ground that guarantees given hitherto by Indonesia have been abrogated and European property seized throughout the islands.

Successor States to French Indo-China (map, p. 511)

After their defeat in northern Indo-China and the Geneva partition treaty, the war-weary French called for a referendum to fix the form of government south of the Seventeenth Parallel. Accordingly, on October 23, 1955, the people voted for a National Republic of Vietnam with Ngo-dinh-Diem replacing Bao Dai as chief of state. A Constituent National Assembly of 123 members was subsequently elected. Diem was born in 1901, son of an adviser of Emperor Thanh Thai. Entering the colonial bureaucracy, he was at thirty appointed minister of the interior. In this office he repeatedly challenged French authority, finally resigning to spend a decade in retreat—part of it at a Maryknoll College in New Jersey. His brother was killed in 1945 by the Vietminh and Ngo-dinh-Diem arrested, though subsequently released. Throughout the civil war, he continued to refuse communist offers of high government position. The Vietminh was, he felt convinced, intent upon destroying the Catholic faith—to which he is a devoted adherent.²⁰ However, he declined equally to serve the French, who would gladly have placed him at the head of an Indo-Chinese protectorate.

Though regarded as a popular hero, the new president faced an ominous situation. Communism threatened from the north, expecting to take over the National Republic after the 1956 plebiscite. He could expect no military help from abroad, and within his tiny state the police and army chiefs still professed allegiance to

²⁰ His brother is a prominent Catholic bishop.

Bao Dai. When these had been replaced, there remained the more powerful opposition of the religio-political organizations, Binh-Xuyen, Cao-Dai, and Hoa-Hao. Only after a prolonged and bloody struggle were the sects suppressed. There followed the problem of resettling 850,000 refugees from the north. Within a year, nine tenths were supplied with permanent homes and community services. Medical facilities are developing under guidance of the World Health Organization, and land reform makes progress.²¹

Educational advance is, especially in the hinterlands, far from satisfactory, though the government has passed a law requiring all citizens between the ages of thirteen and fifty to read and write the Vietnamese language. Prior to partition, the single national university was located in Hanoi, with a branch in Saigon. Seventy per cent of the students of this university joined the refugees, helping to build the southern institution to an enrollment of twenty-five hundred.

The National Republic has been recognized by thirty-eight nations. Though kept from the United Nations by Russian veto, it has participated in the work of nine UN organizations and joined the Colombo Plan.

THE NEW MONARCHIES: CAMBODIA AND LAOS

In 1947 France recognized Cambodia and Laos as constitutional monarchies ruled by their own popularly elected assemblies²² within the French Union. As a result of the Geneva Conference their independence is absolute. Cambodia confronts the Gulf of Siam but, lacking any deep-water port, must trade through Saigon or Bangkok; but her historical dislike of the Thai and Vietnamese makes cooperation difficult. Laos is entirely landlocked above the Mekong rapids, accessible only through communist Tongking.

The youthful king Norodom Sihanouk has been chiefly instrumental in winning freedom for Cambodia. For a time he fled to Thailand to escape French pressure. Upon his return, he negotiated the full withdrawal of foreign troops from his kingdom; then, constricted by his royal office, he abdicated in favor of his father

²¹ *News from Vietnam*, II, 35 (Washington).

²² For details see L. K. Rosinger *et al.*, *The States of Asia* (New York: Knopf, 1951), pp. 250-51.

and appointed himself prime minister. In 1956 he resigned all offices—preferring to serve “the betterment of his people” in extra-constitutional ways.

Laos is vexed by struggles for power among her princely families and by a genuine communist threat. The Reds, entrenched in China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, have infiltrated the two northeastern provinces of Laos and are making no move to evacuate them. In Cambodia and Laos, the United States is attempting to take over the diplomatic role of the departed French. Both countries are on high priority for military and technical assistance as outer defenses of democracy.

Malaya's Peaceful Political Evolution

After the war, Malaya's Moslem sultans, who had been almost powerless under the Japanese, lost much of their authority while retaining their religious functions. In 1948, their nine states plus the settlements of Penang and Malacca were all politically unified and each ruler became subject to the authority of elected executive and legislative councils. Voting citizens included only persons born in the peninsula or residents there for fifteen years.²³ Chinese alone took part in the communist explosion which followed²⁴—and nearly all of them have by now made common cause with the British forces and Malayan constabulary.²⁵

Elections were held in 1955 throughout Malaya. The vast majority of legislative seats went to candidates who favored self-government in two years with absolute independence in 1959. Tengku Abdul Rahman, the first Asian chief minister, remained until August 31, 1957, subordinate to the British high commissioner.

On the day the genuine Dominion self-government began, the transfer of power was friendly and uneventful. British troops were retained to “mop up” remaining communist bandits who had refused the government's amnesty. Foreign private investments are

²³ Citizens need not renounce their native allegiance. Hence, many Chinese acquired dual citizenship.

²⁴ See pp. 503-4.

²⁵ In 1936 the author found no remaining fear of bandits among miners and planters close to Kuala Lumpur, though a British friend remarked, pointing to some nearby hills, “That is communist territory.”—P.B.

fully protected, and civil servants returning to Britain have been granted generous lump-sum separation allowances.²⁰

Singapore Island remained a crown colony; her large Chinese population would disturb the racial balance if added to the new Dominion; and communist influence precipitates chronic labor troubles and mob riots. Nor has any native leader gathered a majority following in the great emporium. Autonomy is in prospect—with Britain retaining her fortress base—as soon as the people reach political maturity.²¹

Thailand and Burma: "Peace, Rice, and Friendship"

Both Burma and Thailand have experienced virtual one-party, one-man rule for five years. An abortive putsch in Bangkok during 1952, backed by the Thai Navy, gave Premier Pibul Songgram a pretext for suppression of political activity. In Burma, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League won three fourths of the assembly seats in the 1956 elections; its failure to come out even better caused Premier U Nu to retire for a ten-month period of contemplative retreat.²²

The states have in some measure resumed their eighteenth-century rivalry. Bangkok is executive headquarters of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which in the opinion of U Nu "increases the chances of a Third World War." While Thailand serves as a base for Operation FIRM LINK, the joint maneuvers of American and British Commonwealth forces, Rangoon plays enthusiastic host to Bulganin, Khrushchev, and Chou En-lai.

Yet each nation is resolved to play the smallest part possible in the events of a turbulent age, and each hedges carefully against possible cold war commitments. Neither took an explicit stand at the Bandung Conference. Both premiers toured the world in 1955

²⁰ Premier Rahman was one of the few Asian leaders who declined to express sympathy with Egypt during the Suez invasion of November, 1956.

²¹ The proposed secession of New York in 1861 prompted President Lincoln to compare its action to "the front door setting up housekeeping for itself."

²² Resuming power in February, 1957, from Deputy Premier U Ba Swe. Once an intellectual Marxist and founder of the Green Dragon Book Club at Rangoon (see p. 372), U Nu, like Gandhi and other Asian politician-mystics, has turned to spiritual solutions; an ascetic (though formerly an athlete), Nu opens his day with one and a half hours of meditation.—See *The Reporter*, April 19, 1956.

—Nu proving as affable in London and Washington as in Belgrade, Moscow, and Peking, Burma has accepted a loan backed by Washington, and Thailand recently modified its ban upon trade with China. In his role as president of the United Nations Assembly, Prince Wan Waithayakan—former foreign minister of Thailand—shows complete objectivity in the East-West struggle.

Each nation makes friendly gestures toward its Asian neighbors and tries to rebuild its pre-war rice-export markets. Thailand has recently concluded a reparations and commercial agreement with Japan. Burma, after concluding an unsatisfactory 1955 deal with Russia,²⁰ has resumed the Rangoon-Calcutta rice trade that flourished under the British Empire. Friendship with India is stronger than at any time in the imperial era. "Great China" is once more feared, and her agents are active along the sixteen-hundred-mile southwestern fringe of the communist "Bamboo Curtain"; but China, as a rice-deficit nation, makes tempting business proposals to both her small neighbors.

Both have turned to Hinayana Buddhism as the historical unifying factor in their culture—enriching its shrines and emphasizing its place in education. It could not save Pibul from overthrow, and it is doubtful whether U Nu could maintain himself in a major internal crisis. The Union of Burma has partially disarmed its militant Karen, Shan, and communist minorities—but by no means appeased them. By 1957, corruption in government and opium scandals weakened the Thai government; there was a ground swell of discontent well suited to the revolutionary plans of the navy and the younger intellectuals. By spring high officials were moving their families from the metropolitan zone into provincial seclusion. Though confirmed in office by a doubtful election in February, the government succumbed on September 16 to a bloodless *coup* directed by Marshal Sarit Thanarat. Pibul Songgram retired, after a decade of power, into political exile; Sarit and his junta profess continuing loyalty both to the throne and the nation's SEATO commitment.

²⁰ Russia purchased Burma's rice surplus for resale at a considerable profit, paying in commodities of which Burma had little need—among them much cement that was ruined by exposure to the monsoon rains.

Contemporary East Asia: The North

☼ It requires no sage to predict [that] "Westward" will "the course of Empire take its way." But the last act of the drama is yet to be unfolded; and notwithstanding the reasoning of political empires, westward, northward, and southward to me it seems that the people of America will . . . extend their dominion and power, until they shall have brought within their mighty embrace multitudes of the islands of the great Pacific, and placed the Saxon race upon the eastern shore of Asia.

And I think, too, that eastward and southward will Russia, her great rival . . . stretch forth her power to the coasts of China and Siam; and thus the Saxon and the Cossack will meet once more in strife or in friendship. Will it be friendship? I fear not! The antagonistic exponents of freedom and absolutism must meet at last . . . and on [the] issue will depend the freedom or the slavery of the world. Despotism or rational liberty must be the fate of civilized man. I think I see in the distance the giants that are growing up for that fierce and final encounter.

Commodore Matthew G. Perry before the American
Geographical and Statistical Society, March 6, 1856

The Postwar Settlements

THE TREATY with Japan, signed in San Francisco on September 8, 1951, reduced the Empire to its four main islands, alienating the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Kuriles, southern Sakhalin, and Korea. Reparations were payable in the form of goods or technical services. The treaty, signed by forty-nine United Nations members, was rejected by the Soviet bloc, India, and Burma.

The Korean truce achieved little more than a cease fire at the battle line of July 27, 1953 (by which the Republic of Korea retained considerable territory above the Thirty-Eighth Parallel on the east coast), and an exchange of prisoners. A neutralized zone divided the two states; each was prohibited from building new fortifications or military airfields. All undertakings were placed under direction of Neutral Nations' Supervisory Committees.

A conference at Geneva, called nine months later, compromised the Indo-China struggle, equally indecisively, on the Seventeenth Parallel; to the north, the recognized authority was to be a communist-dominated People's Republic of Vietnam; to the south, a National Republic of Vietnam. Refugees were permitted to migrate freely for sixty days, and a plebiscite was scheduled after two years to determine their final status. The conference re-established the ancient kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos, associating them vaguely with the French Union. It was called a "triumph of Anthony Eden"; more correctly, the stars were Ho Chi-minh and Chou En-lai—while radiating Gallic charm, dispensing flowers and epigrams, they severed the colonial ties of twenty-five million Orientals.

America and the Free States

The effect of the settlements was to polarize in East Asia the cold war factions; the continental heartland went to Russia and communism; the peripheral rim lands, mostly maritime or insular, allied themselves with America. A mutual security pact was signed with Japan on the same day as the treaty. It permitted the United States to "dispose land, air, and sea forces in and about Japan" as a defense against foreign attack or "large-scale internal riots" for

as long a period as she deemed necessary. A mutual defense treaty in 1955 retained the United States Seventh Fleet in the waters of Nationalist China as ordered five years before, and pledged the two nations to act jointly in meeting any "common danger." Washington's interest in the Indo-China fighting dates to December, 1950, when a Special Technical and Economic Mission (STEM) was authorized to strengthen resistance to Ho Chi-minh. Ten months later, a pact of economic cooperation pledged \$150 million over a three-year period. In March, 1946, the Philippine Republic granted air and naval bases to the United States on ninety-nine-year lease. The Philippine-American Defense Pact four years later further bound the contracting nations to "consult together . . . whenever the security of either is threatened by external armed attack."¹

The British Commonwealth sponsored in 1954, exactly three years after the Japanese Peace Treaty, the Southeast Asia Security Pact.² A Pacific charter signed at the same time affirmed freedom, self-rule, and economic advancement. The effect of the Pacific cold war treaties was to exchange friendly assurances with noncommunist lands and place America's armed forces in Japan, South Korea, Okinawa, Formosa, and Luzon controlling the sea approaches to the Soviet zone.

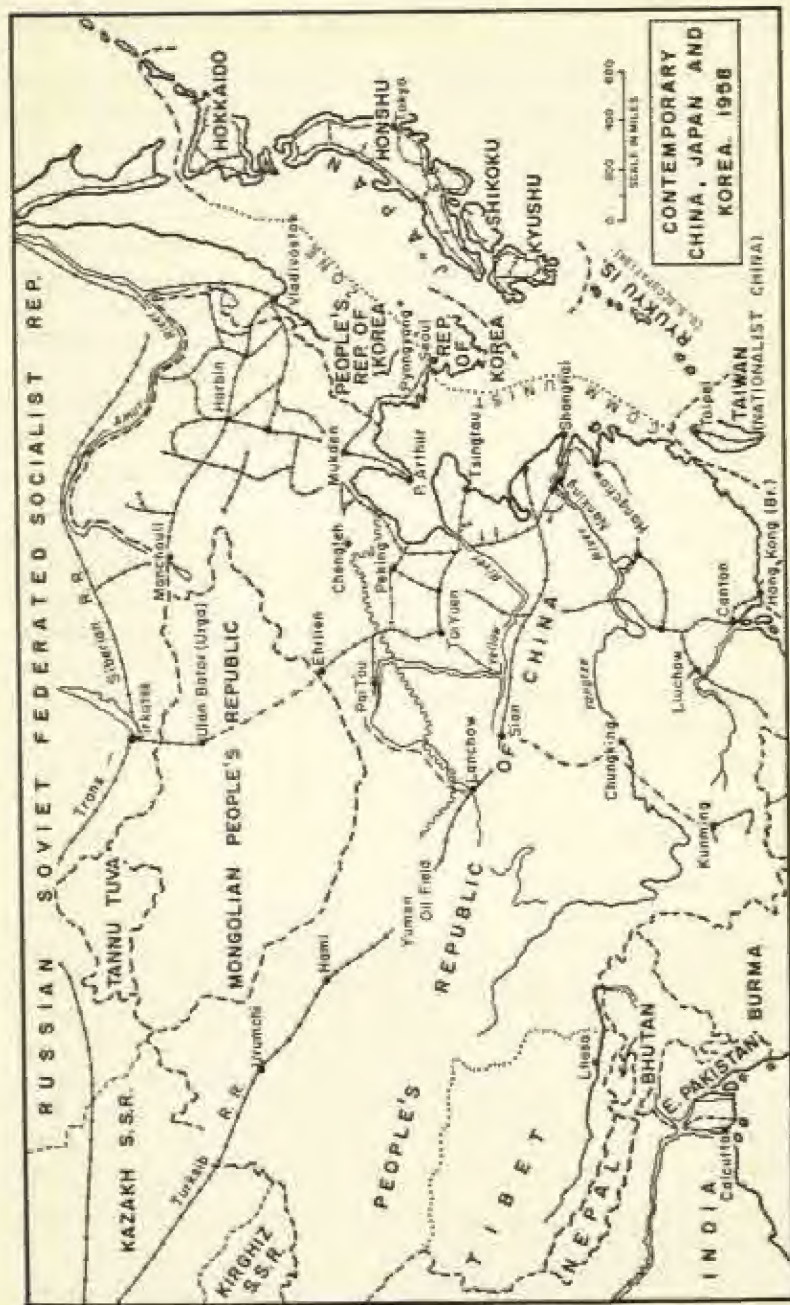
Japan: Keystone of Free Asia

Japan replaced China in 1949 as the key state in Free Asia. Autonomous under the peace treaty, Japan has not openly annulled the occupation reforms. Land redistribution created a permanent new class of rural smallholders. The emperor has not reasserted secular authority; the Diet initiates laws,³ creates governments, and approves treaties. Women retain their political rights; the Ministry of the Interior (Naimusho), chief organ of police repression, has not been re-established. State Shinto, which taught that a holy war could not be lost, is in eclipse. Folk deities replace the Eight-Hundred Myriads of war heroes; the military officer has

¹ A similar pact was signed two days later—September 2, 1951—with Australia and New Zealand.

² See p. 510.

³ In the first thirty years of the Meiji constitution, the Diet proposed fewer than a tenth of the laws passed.



been downgraded as was the feudal samurai in 1873.⁴ A weak ultranationalist restoration movement has as yet no parliamentary support.

However, by 1956, virtually all class A war criminals were released;⁵ about 140 "depurged" former militarists sat in the Diet, and a drive to erect a MacArthur Memorial in Tokyo collapsed. The supreme commander himself, pleading "the overwhelming law of self-preservation" at the outbreak of the Korean War, accepted partial remilitarization. Since the constitution still prohibits the levying of an army, the National Safety Board directs a uniformed "police" organization of a quarter of a million men with over a thousand military planes and a few patrol ships.

Decentralization, the fundamental American objective, has been reversed. Monopoly trends are especially noticeable in the new aluminum and chemical industries. Nine major fragments of Mitsui, completely separate in 1949, have been reabsorbed into that great Zaibatsu trust.⁶ Autonomous local police forces set up under SCAP were integrated into the national system by the Police Law of 1954; and public primary schools, administered for nine years by local boards, are once more under control of the Education Ministry.

Independent Japan

HER POLITICS

A decade of democracy has produced five elections and ten governments. The right-wing faction, including Liberal, Progressive, and Democratic parties, is supported generally by two thirds of the rural vote and a majority of the artisans and the urban middle class. Moderate socialism is backed by the white-collar and industrial workers, with three fourths of the professional people; its radical wing is formed by the half million members of the Japan Teacher's Union.⁷ Outright communism has had little parliamentary influence since the Korean War. Conservatives wish to re-evaluate the reforms: they are friendly toward the United States, though

⁴ See p. 160.

⁵ Article IV of the treaty requires that a majority of the eleven IMTFE powers must sanction any reprieves.

⁶ *Annals of the American Academy*, November, 1956, pp. 89-90.

⁷ See A. B. Cole, "Social Stratification and Mobility," *The Annals of the American Academy*, p. 129.

like politicians of every creed they favor trade relations with the communist nations. The Liberal Party premier, Yoshida Shigeru, forced through the Dodge Plan inflation controls and backed the United Nations through the Korean War. However, in successive elections, his Diet coalition declined from 285 (64 per cent) to 199. Visiting Washington late in 1954, he failed to secure either a loan or important trade concessions; his pro-Americanism,⁸ together with charges of scandal, forced him from office in favor of the Democrat, Hatoyama Ichiro, who had in 1946 been placed on MacArthur's purge list.

The left became consolidated in 1955 into a Social Democratic Party of Japan; its 154 votes (more than a third) were enough to block amendment of the constitution, but not to prevent passage of the Police and School laws.⁹ Conservatives promptly coalesced into a Liberal-Democratic faction, which Hatoyama directed for two years, relinquishing his premiership late in 1956 to Ishibashi Tanzan. Both were old men in ailing health; after only two months, Ishibashi resigned in favor of his foreign minister, Kishi Nobusuke. Kishi once helped to administer Manchukuo and served as Tojo's minister of commerce and industry; he was arrested, though never tried, as a war criminal. He regards his duties with a temperate wisdom born of vicissitudes:

. . . the rest of my life [is] a bonus to be spent wisely. . . . Japan must have real democracy and never again adopt dictatorship . . . and never yield to . . . Communists or Fascists.¹⁰

HER CULTURE

A recent commentator expresses doubt that "American democracy has broken the shell of traditional Japanese thinking." Evidence seems inconclusive. Pilgrims still bow reverently toward the emperor at the Nijūbashi Palace Gate.¹¹ The family system is no longer legally autocratic; yet 99 per cent of women¹² polled in

⁸ American popularity was low after the Eniwetok hydrogen bomb test of March, which poisoned fish catches and seriously burned the crew of the Japanese tuna boat, *Lucky Dragon*.

⁹ See above, p. 526.

¹⁰ *Time*, LXIX, 9 (March 4, 1957), p. 39.

¹¹ Hidaka Rokuro, "Impressions of the Occupation on Japanese Life," *United Asia* (Bombay), VIII, 4, September, 1956, p. 236.

¹² As against only 95 per cent of men.—See Sakamishi Shio, "Women's Position and the Family System," *The Annals of the American Academy*, p. 134.

1952 affirmed the duty of wives to be obedient. Universities and colleges are no longer concentrated in a few urban centers; there is at least one in each prefecture; none is designated as Imperial, a stronghold of privilege. They have regained their prewar enrollment of nearly half a million, but of these a full eighth are now women. Those expensive American innovations, the junior high school and junior college, have had limited acceptance. Few post treaty textbooks condemn the Divine Mission; but the Teachers' Union strongly supports disarmament and neutralism.

Artists record a mood of *après guerre* disillusionment not unlike the Existentialism of the Left Bank. The romantic music of Debussy, Chopin, and Ravel finds favor; and Matisse, Picasso, and the Symbolist painters are exhibited. There is renewed interest in the native art forms, calligraphy and wood-carving. The somewhat modernized wood-block prints of Yoshida Hiroshi and Kawase Hasui have introduced the pastel charm of Japanese landscapes into thousands of American homes. A bibliography of recent translations into English lists classic verse and folk stories but only a single modern play;¹³ novels appearing on the American market feature the intrigues of nobles and courtesans during the Heian and Gempei eras.

The same regression to ancient themes is found in the prize-winning moving pictures, *Rashomon*, *The Gates of Hell*, and *The Seven Samurai*.¹⁴ All utilize kabuki plots built upon the feats of the two-sword warrior. Kabuki itself, briefly banned by SCAP, has regained extraordinary popularity; its troupes have won applause in America and even in communist China.

HER FOREIGN RELATIONS—AND THE RUSSO-JAPANESE TREATY

Japan is united to America by a mutual security treaty which cannot be unilaterally abrogated. There have been protests—strongest in Okinawa—against the seizure of farm land for airbase expansion. The United States does not, however, discriminate against Japanese trade, and her dollars are essential for national

¹³ See Hiramatsu Mikio's compilation in *United Asia* (Bombay), VIII, 4, September, 1956, pp. 308-13. In the same issue are a discussion of modern literature (pp. 255-69), of contemporary art (pp. 269-81), and of the theatre (pp. 281-85).

¹⁴ Japan claimed in 1956 to lead the world in moving picture output; in four years, eight of her films have won prizes in European countries.

recovery; every postwar Cabinet has declared itself pro-American.

No Asian neighbor of Japan signed the peace treaty. Korea will not open diplomatic relations with her former overlord. Chiang K'ai-shek has not forgotten the China Incident, though he permits commerce between Formosa and Japan. The South Asian states demanded, for a time, twenty billion dollars in war reparations; the Union of Burma has settled for two hundred million,¹⁵ payable in goods and services; the Philippine Republic, for five hundred and fifty million. Token payments are promised to the states of Vietnam, and an Indonesian settlement is under negotiation. Reparations deliveries are reintroducing Nippon's manufactured goods; but Japanese emigrants will not accompany them as long as the fifth column activities of colonists in 1941 are remembered. All Asians fear Japanese rearmament; it has, in fact, no foreign support outside of the United States.

With most of her former yen bloc behind the Bamboo Curtain, Japan takes a tolerant attitude toward Asian communism. During the Formosa crisis of 1955, the government proclaimed neutrality in the event of Sino-American war. The China Trade Promotion Federation is active; nevertheless, the communist version of the Great China Market remains illusory.

Great Britain and France view Japan as a commercial rival; both protested the 1948 Johnston Plan for rebuilding Japan's exports, and neither admits them without discrimination. Five years after the San Francisco treaty, Russo-Japanese peace was signed in 1956. It provided for reallocation of fishing rights in Siberian waters; Japan forfeited claim to Sakhalin but regained the southern Kuriles; diplomatic exchanges were authorized,¹⁶ and most-favored-nation trading privileges. Andrei Gromyko, who had, in 1955, vetoed Japan's admission to the United Nations,¹⁷ approved her next application, so that on December 18, 1956, Japan became the eightieth member of the world state.

Her record of international cooperation is creditable. Before her quondam subjects at the Bandung Conference, Japan pre-

¹⁵ Burma and India declined to sign any treaty which alienated Asian land to a white Power.

¹⁶ The treaty is reprinted in *Current History*, XXXII, 185 (January, 1957), p. 149. Russia promised also to refrain from "ideological interference" in Japan's internal affairs—a promise made to the United States in 1933 but soon forgotten.

¹⁷ In reprisal for China's veto of Outer Mongolia.

sented the concept of an Asian cultural union to replace the Co-Prosperity Sphere. Once more, scholarships are offered and cultural missions exchanged throughout East Asia. Japan adheres to UNESCO, the International Labor Organization, the Economic Commission on Asia and the Far East, and the General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade. She scrupulously respects fishery and whaling conventions, trade-mark agreements,¹⁸ and antidumping guarantees—which the Kodo governments often treated with contempt. Long-range policy appears to rest upon friendship with the free world without antagonism toward the USSR. If the people have a phobia, it is against atomic warfare; they are almost unanimously opposed to placing their islands in the front line of a superwar of guided missiles.

Following a visit by Kishi to Washington in June, 1957, American Army forces were completely withdrawn from Japan and negotiations begun for the closing of the United States air-bases on Okinawa and the retrocession of the Kurile Islands by the Soviets.

HER ECONOMY

Political power has passed—as the career of Premier Kishi demonstrates—from soldiers and courtiers to business managers. Their problem is to restore prosperity to ninety million people confined in an empire shrunk to the size of California, deprived of three fourths of its land base and one third of its resources. Then yen (now worth one three hundredth of its 1937 value) will no longer buy Manchurian bean proteins and iron ore, Korean rice, nor Formosan sugar. A fourth of Japan's food must now be paid for in foreign currency, together with nearly all the petroleum, bauxite, cotton, wool, and rubber needed by her factories. During the occupation, American supplies prevented disaster; after its close, the Korean War further provided three billion dollars' worth of military procurement orders. American aid was conditioned upon the Dodge Deflation Plan of 1950, which imposed a balanced budget (unheard of in the 1930's), strict control of imports, austerity living

¹⁸ Persons living in the Far East between the world wars cite numerous cases of Japanese trade-mark forging. A Japanese-printed word-for-word imitation of Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary* was for some time sold at half the American price.

standards, and wage stabilization that crippled the labor union movement¹⁹

THE BALANCE SHEET, 1957

Japan's asset in the mid-century is a disciplined, intelligent population, uniformly literate, and far excelling the rest of Asia in technical skills. She has no internal war debt, veterans' benefits,²⁰ or pension payments to meet, and no armament burden while American forces remain. But she has lost her closed markets and overseas investments.

Japan can no longer, as in the 1920's, pay her way with exports of fiber and textiles.²¹ Silk has lost two thirds of its market to nylon and other synthetics. China no longer imports cloth; India has become a bottom-cost exporter. Japan's labor is organized and able to press wage demands, but its productivity remains low; thus in some heavy industries her labor costs per ton exceed those of Great Britain and the United States.

In her current export economy, chemicals—especially fibers synthesized from native coal and cellulose—are developing rapidly. Metal goods and machinery equal textiles in value; steel, of which she produces nine million tons (as against seven million maximum before the war) is shipped as far as Colorado. Her locomotives are re-equipping the Southeast Asian and Indian railways; Japan's shipyards lead the world's in output; she sells significant quantities of cement, plywood, and plate glass.²² Late in 1957, Japan made her first postwar foreign investment—purchase of Alaskan pulpwood facilities for \$75,000,000.

Yet her share of total world trade is but 3 per cent compared to 5 before the war. She again faces restrictions, quotas, and discriminatory duties that force a return to barter. Half of Japanese commerce is now with the dollar area, where she is able to sell heavy manufactures as well as variety store trinkets, but cannot

¹⁹ The WFTU Sanbeisu Labor Federation disappeared. A weak association of twelve thousand small unions remains.—See S. B. Levine, "Labor Patterns and Trends," *The Annals of the American Academy*, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

²⁰ Refugees, war cripples, and the unemployed return to the family farms; thus the ancient patriarchal system, together with rural prosperity, have cushioned Japan's postwar economic adjustment.

²¹ See p. 272.

²² Takasugi Shimichi, "Survey of Japanese Industry," *United Asia*, VIII, 4, pp. 324 ff. Nineteen fifty-six figures come directly from releases of the Customs Bureau of the Tokyo Ministry of Finance.

earn enough to pay for the grain, metal, and oil she imports. Some profit comes from the sterling countries, even after paying for substantial amounts of Indian cotton. Strong hopes have been based upon commerce with Southeast Asia; but the area takes at present only one sixth of her sales and can pay only in inconvertible currencies.

The communist bloc, whose members once purchased a fourth of all Japanese exports, now buy but 2 per cent. China and Russia produce the ore, coal, timber, and foods that Japan requires; but these are now either consumed in the national five-year plans or exchanged within the communist orbit for Russian or Czech manufactures.

Japan's currency is stable; real national income increases by 10 per cent annually, industrial production by 22 per cent,²³ real wages by 6 per cent. Two thirds of all income in 1947 was spent upon food; now only a half is needed—and the increased buying power enables the people to purchase 90 per cent of their manufactures. Nearly all dwellings are wired for electricity—three fourths contain radios—and farmers know a well-being unprecedented in history.

The growth of Tokyo's population (a million each three years) rivals that of any other city. The visitor to the Ginza will see much that is reminiscent of Coney Island: the pursuit of the Three S's—Sport, Sex, Screen; the jukebox, the American grade-B melodrama, the *pachinko* pinball parlor (a national obsession, currently collecting sixty times the revenue that Japan devotes to scientific research). A Floating World less elegant than that of the Tokugawa age caters to provincials and expense-account playboys. Yet, far around the metropolis, an indomitable *petit bourgeoisie* lives on seventy-five dollars a month, creating its own suburbias of garden communities that make Tokyo Central the most crowded "commuter" terminal on earth.

South Korea: a Clouded Picture

The Republic of Korea survived the communist invasion with an area equal to Kentucky's, burdened with eight times her popu-

²³ Estimates are taken from *Economic Survey of Japan 1955-56*, Unpublished Report, Japanese Economic Planning Board, 1957, p. 14.

lation. During the year after the 1953 armistice, the small state was dependent upon four hundred million dollars in grants by the United States and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA); half a billion more was allotted in 1954 and two billion assured by 1960 in relief funds.²⁴

Once southern Korea was solely a supplier of rice for Japan. Now industries are developing, especially cement, textiles, and electric power; food production has increased, and thirty-five hundred damaged schools have been repaired. But foreign trade is one sixtieth of Japan's, and exports are one third as large as imports. In 1954, a year in which America contributed 55 per cent of the national budget, the money supply increased by half—because of soft taxation policies and "corruption, sabotage, and general lack of cooperation";²⁵ rice was quoted at three times the North Korean price.

PERSONAL GOVERNMENT

National history has for eight years been centered in the strong-willed president, Syngman Rhee. When refused re-election in 1952 by the Legislature, Rhee amended the constitution so as to win by popular vote. Four years later, he annulled an anti-third-term provision,²⁶ "reluctantly" stood for office, and was elected again. His Liberal Party was, however, unable to carry the vice-presidency, which went to Democrat, Chang Myun, who used his office to criticize the regime;²⁷ it responded by suppressing the respected Democratic newspaper, *East Asia Daily (Dong A Il Bo)*.

President Rhee forced the United Nations' Supervisory Committee to leave the Republic on the ground that its Polish and Czech members were spies.²⁸ His crackdown with heavy tax claims upon American firms led to the resignation in 1955 of Ambassador

²⁴ S. Y. DaI, "Whither Korea," *Current History*, XXXI, 183 (November 1956), p. 303.

²⁵ As charged by U. S. officials, June, 1955, Channing Liem, "Korea, Partner for Freedom?" *Current History*, XXXI, 179 (July, 1956), p. 20.

²⁶ By adding the clause: "This provision shall not apply to the incumbent at the promulgation of the Constitution."—See *Voice of Korea*, November 30, 1955.

²⁷ *Ibid.* The Liberals swept rural Korea, but won only a fifth of the vote in Seoul.

²⁸ To the proposal that Japan send troops as part of the UN Forces, Rhee replied that his army would first drive them out before continuing to fight the communists.

William S. Lacy. Toward Japan he follows still a policy of revenge. In defiance of maritime law, he has ordered the seizure of all Japanese fishing vessels within a sixty-mile sea defense zone around the Korean Coast. No subject of Hirohito may set foot on the Korean soil from which Rhee himself was exiled for fifty years. The president shares with most of his people a dominant motive: the unification of Korea. If he ignores economic realities, it is because he believes that industrialization is impossible and inflation certain as long as his people are denied access to the coal, iron, timber, and water power of the North. Recovery must wait for reconquest. He seeks no accommodation with the Communists and scorns the Eisenhower peace settlement:

The Army and Navy . . . are clamoring for weapons. We are determined to push up North when the proper time comes. The sooner the time comes, the better.²⁹

His declarations mark Syngman Rhee as the world's most sincere nationalist patriot and—with Generalissimo Chiang K'ai-shek—the most vocal proponent of a third world war. Under his leadership, South Korea becomes once more almost a hermit nation, or perhaps a cold war frontier garrisoned by seven hundred thousand troops, the second largest army in the free world.

Formosa: American Outpost

The Kuomintang government, during its evacuation of China, retained a few offshore islands: Tachen, halfway between Shanghai and Taipeh; Matsu near Foochow; and Quemoy filling Amoy Harbor. They served as intelligence outposts and commando bases controlling the Formosa straits; communications between them were protected by the United States Seventh Fleet.

As the Communists became involved in Korea, Nationalist hopes rose. The battle cry, "Reconquer the mainland," was emblazoned on posters and chanted at mass meetings. But the MacArthur Plan for opening a South China front was pigeonholed in Washington and condemned in the United Nations; Asian members,³⁰ especially, opposed any attack under Western direction upon the Central People's Republic.

²⁹ *Voice of Korea*, July 30, 1955.

³⁰ With the exception of Thailand and the Philippines.

THE QUEMOY AND MATSU CRISES

When the Korean crisis ended, veteran communist divisions were moved back to the Fukien coast; artillery began to shell Quemoy, and MiG's appeared over the China Sea. In the spring of 1955, under American escort, the garrison of the Tachen Islands was evacuated. If the Reds went on to attack Quemoy or Matsu, was the United States pledged to defend them?³¹

A faction in Washington favored complete naval-air cooperation with the Nationalists, and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles later admitted that he was drawn to the "brink of war." There was, however, overwhelming opposition in the American press and pulpit to resuming the conflict concluded at Panmunjon; and, though Radio Peking spoke threateningly, the Reds failed to mount an invasion. Tension relaxed measurably during the summer at the Big Four Geneva Conference.

Taiwan's Prospects

Formosa, officially known again by its Chinese name of *Taiwan* ("Terraced Bay"), has resumed its double role of exile colony and world power, prospering with the aid of eight thousand American technicians³² behind the ample protective screen of the U. S. Navy. It is self-sufficient in food, despite the pressure of two million refugees; there is an exportable surplus of sugar. The literacy rate has more than doubled, with mandarin Chinese replacing the Fukien dialect. A model land law (that, promulgated a decade earlier, might have checked communism in China) has distributed farms to three hundred thousand new owners at a cost of two and a half years' crop value.³³ A hundred new industrial plants are operating.

Left to itself, the population might live indefinitely at an Asian level. But Taiwan was intended to serve as a springboard for the recapture of China. An army and bureaucracy recruited to serve half a billion people is directing the affairs of a few counties. There are 850 generals, who remember the bright hope of the

³¹ No open statement has yet been made on this perilous issue.

³² The United Nations does not, as in Korea, contribute help.

³³ F. Simpich, Jr., "Changing Formosa," *National Geographic Magazine*, III, 3 (March, 1957).

Sun Yat-sen revolution; and thousands of administrators and technologists, domiciled in refugee barracks³⁴ on stipends of twenty dollars a month. Many left their families in China expecting a quick reunion. All who "came to dinner" in 1949 are wearing out an eighth year of exile as aging, homesick men. Native Formosans are entering the government, and they form a third of the army, but these have no wish to transfer to the mainland or to fight communism.

Deferred hope intensifies rivalries. Real power is held by Chiang's son, head of the security police, who forced the widely respected governor, K. C. Wu, to flee to America. Yet, while the generalissimo survives (he is now over seventy), the Kuomintang will hold its ranks. Editors may not "imagine the king's death," and hence succession problems are not discussed. Chiang Ching-kuo is the probable heir. Few believe that, in his father's office, he could hold his heterogeneous following together or prevent a mass return to the mainland; some hint that he would promptly conclude a treaty with Peking for surrender of Taiwan on the most advantageous terms offered.³⁵

Communist China seems willing to wait out the lifetime of its lion-hearted enemy; its propaganda appeals offering pardon and even preferment bring few desertions. The United States will neither forgive communist treachery in Korea nor betray old friends in the crumbling Kuomintang; Washington is aware, too, that, as long as Nationalist Taiwan claims their loyalty, there is little chance of overseas Chinese being enlisted in a communist fifth column throughout Asia. However, relations with America have been strained by incidents, especially the June, 1957, mob attack upon the United States embassy in Taipeh, which followed the killing of a Chinese trespasser by an American enlisted man.

Hong Kong: Britain's Outpost

Britain's only remaining outpost is Hong Kong and the New Territories. Their open land frontier makes them militarily inde-

³⁴ Including Juddville outside Taipeh, sponsored by Congressman Walter Judd (see p. 366 n.) as a retreat for refugee intellectuals.

³⁵ A report originating in *Paris Soir* during February, 1957, stated that the younger Chiang had already secretly negotiated such an arrangement in Peking.

fensible; trade has declined with the strategic blockade of China, but population stands at a maximum (2.1 million); refugee Nationalists fill vast slums on the Kowloon hillsides, or sleep on the sidewalks and squares of Wangchai.

Hong Kong remains the intelligence center of the Far East, operating direct rail and ship services to the communist mainland. It provides civilized alternatives to Red utopianism: a sound currency and the financial trusteeship of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank; a trading and warehousing depot free of rackets; an uncensored forum for any opinion peacefully expressed—under impartial law. Even to the Communists it is valuable as a listening post or, as the political wheel turns, a place of asylum.

Problems of the Rim Lands

The rim lands of East Asia, surrounding the Soviet states—Japan, the Republic of Korea, Formosa and the Philippines, colonial Hong Kong and the National Republic of Vietnam—were all once a part of Greater East Asia. As the most threatened frontier of the free world, they share common dependence upon the United States. Their strategic unity was demonstrated by recent paratroop maneuvers between Central Japan and Thailand. Culturally, they form a principal theater of the United States Information Service (USIS), whose libraries, press releases, broadcast materials, photographic and art displays, or industrial trade-fair exhibits in some manner affect almost every resident.

Nearly a tenth of their citizens are displaced persons;³⁰ almost all have seen war disaster at first hand. Relations between the states are far from cordial. Japan, dominant in enterprise and in technical skills, once more inspires fear in her neighbors. The other states have little earning power, and depend upon various forms of cold war subsidy. The proceeds of Korea's fish and tungsten exports; of Formosa's sugar and Vietnam's rice surplus, could not possibly pay for their defense.

Exclusive of the cost of Philippine reconstruction and the Korean War, the rim lands have cost America ten billion dollars

³⁰ Including Japanese repatriated after the war, as well as refugees from communism.

in grants, with a current drain of about a billion yearly.³⁷ Except in the Philippines, there has been virtually no private American investment in the area.³⁸

Communist East Asia

The Geneva Conference of 1954 defined the zone of communist domination in East Asia: the Central People's Republic of China, flanked by the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Geographically, they form an integrated heartland. None has been admitted to the United Nations nor has established diplomatic contacts with any free nation. But their mutual relations are friendly, and all have close links with Soviet Russia, though for twenty years no Russian troops have assisted their liberation struggles.

THE PEKING-MOSCOW AXIS

Their most important internal convention is the Sino-Soviet Agreement of October, 1954. Concessions were promised to Mao Tse-tung by Marshal Stalin at their meeting in Moscow during 1950; Malenkov more than fulfilled these promises almost five years later. Russia retroceded the Liaotung Peninsula and the Chinese Ch'angchun (formerly South Manchurian) Railway, thus not only canceling her gains at Yalta but giving freely to China the prizes which Japan wrested by war in 1905.³⁹ In addition, the USSR surrendered Russia's share of several joint Sino-Soviet industrial enterprises and promised \$250 million in long-term loans or assistance grants. China undertook to build two new rail lines across Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang to connect with the Trans-

³⁷ For fiscal year 1956, the figure for economic aid alone was \$767 million; for fiscal year 1957, over \$1,000 million is allotted for economic purposes to Asia, by far the largest portion to the Far East.—*See Time*, LXIX, 10 (March 18, 1957).

³⁸ Even Japan has a seven-year restriction on withdrawal of dollar earnings. In 1955 fewer dollars were invested privately in Japan than were withdrawn.

³⁹ Manchuria has been so fully integrated into the Republic that future separation seems unlikely. Nevertheless, the former "Baby Emperor" Pu Yi (see p. 383) lingers on through 1957 in a Russian prison camp suitable as appointee to any puppet throne his masters may see fit to create in the Far East.

Siberian and Turk-Sib systems—a direct communication base for the new Peking-Moscow Axis.

The agreement was the most advantageous Chinese foreign treaty since the reign of Ch'ien Lung.⁴⁰ At Bandung early in the same year, Chou En-lai had won not only the respect but also the friendship of Asia: "He came, he smiled, he conquered." His prestige rose higher at Geneva in the summer. In the autumn, Khrushchev, Bulganin, and Mikoyan waited upon him in Peking—traveling farther than chiefs of Muscovy ever had before to honor a foreign court.

The Central People's Republic

ITS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The Central People's Republic appears, at a glance, to be uprooting the Chinese past. Statism has replaced familism; age has passed into contempt, and tractors plow through ancestral grave plots. But the Sages have not been discarded; the Communists invoked Mencius in rebelling against rulers who had lost Heaven's Mandate.⁴¹ Today as always, group behavior precludes individualism; both Confucius and Mao Tse-tung offer a creed of social outlook, pragmatic in its beliefs and idealizing learning (albeit, the education of today is scientific rather than literary). The new commissar, like the *chun-tze*, the Superior Man, oversees a rigid hierarchy and rules by example, precept, and persuasion.

The Republic has not, thus, fully embraced Marxism. Its constitution calls still for a "broad People's Democratic Front" under leadership of the Communist Party. The front includes the Democratic League and a number of splinter political groups.⁴² These are, of course, merely subservient, and useful in enlisting noncommunist support among the overseas Chinese. New China castigates the foreigner in terms used by Sun Yat-sen and Chiang K'ai-shek;⁴³

⁴⁰ China benefited by the prestige gained in her evenly fought war against the West in Korea; Russia was possibly paying the penalty for her passive military role in the Far Eastern liberation movements—and her stripping of Manchuria in 1945.

⁴¹ See p. 28.

⁴² L. Palmer, "Organization of the Chinese Communist Party," *Current History*, XXIII, 131 (July, 1952), pp. 13 ff.

⁴³ In *China's Destiny*, see p. 416.

the crusade against "feudal, comprador, fascist" enemies is Nationalist, with a Marxian overtone. During both of its militant phases, Chinese communism recognized "four friendly classes"—the proletariat, the peasantry, the *petite bourgeoisie*, and the national *bourgeoisie*.⁴⁵ Of sixty-nine members of the current Central Committee, twenty-eight are of upper-class origin; fewer than a fourth come from poor families.⁴⁶ The authority of the state is transmitted less through workers' and peasants' councils than through cadres, fanatic youth groups working in schools, villages, and factories as the Nazi Brownshirts served Adolf Hitler in 1933.

THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

In 1952, communist China launched its first Five-Year Plan, closely following the Russian model.⁴⁷ Fourteen ministries were set up, each with production targets which have been, allegedly, overfulfilled. The second plan, commencing in 1957, calls for a doubling of industrial output.

The economy may be called, as yet, only hybrid socialist. Twelve per cent of industry remains privately operated and there are sixty-nine listed millionaires.⁴⁸ Private owners are induced to serve the plan through tax and price manipulations, cotton output being raised, during 1956, by lowering taxes on the fiber by one fourth. Land reform won over the rural masses from the Kuomintang by granting freeholds to peasants. It was predicted that their tenure would end with collectivization of farms under a single gigantic landlord, the state. The process was, in 1956, one fifth completed; ultimately, 120 million small holdings are to be combined into a million collectives.⁴⁹

Rice output has risen by nearly 50 per cent since 1949 through

⁴⁵ The latter two including intelligentsia and small capitalists.

⁴⁶ See Chao Kuo-chun, "How Communist Power Is Organized in China," *Foreign Affairs*, XXXIV (October, 1955), p. 148.

⁴⁷ Russia contributed thousands of technicians and has delivered sixty-five complete plants, including the steel mills and truck factories of Manchuria.

⁴⁸ As admitted by the official newspaper *Ta Kung Pao*, quoted in the Associated Press.

⁴⁹ Chao Kuo-chun, "Agriculture in Communist China," *Current History*, XXXII, 185 (January, 1957), p. 35. The correspondents of *Look* magazine, reporting as of February, 1957, indicate that collectivization is well advanced.—*Look*, XXI, 6 (March 16, 1957), p. 43.

the introduction of improved seed, better fertilizer, and more numerous tools. Rationing is voluntary—though watched by the cadres; food sells freely at normal prices, for the first time in Chinese history, in areas of crop failure; the enormous expense of the Korean War caused no inflation.

Yet the bleakness of totalitarianism is hardly ⁴⁹ less evident than in Soviet Russia. Top priorities belong to heavy industry and thus, in the main, to war-making capacity; little of the national effort is assigned to culture, least of all to recreation and health. If the all-important production quotas are exceeded, there is no reckoning of inferior quality, or of human overwork and exhaustion; the individual is submerged in the plan. He forfeits his choice of career and home location; state selection determines his training program; at school the cadres direct him into continuous mass activities. There is no appeal from the work assignment which follows; and, however far he may advance, he values the anonymity of a Lenin uniform: blue slacks, blouse, and shapeless cap for men and women alike.

Nor are the accomplishments of the first Five-Year Plan, by American standards, impressive. It has achieved half of Japan's gross steel production—or twenty pounds per person as against fifteen hundred pounds in the United States; in electrical power, China generates less than a thirtieth of America's kilowattage; in coal production, the tonnage ratio is one to four. Spendable income has reached sixty-six dollars yearly per capita,⁵⁰ of which, as in Japan, exactly half goes for food. Jubilation over the "phenomenal success" of the plan is tempered by calls for further austerity and a 3 per cent drop in rice consumption.⁵¹ At least two million "saboteurs," black marketeers, "deviationists," fighting nonconformists, or members of the "enemy classes," have been eliminated since 1949 to bring about the vast order of the New Democracy.

⁴⁹ Though *Look* (*ibid.*) indicates that Russian visitors find consumers' goods comparatively plentiful and that bright-colored dresses may be seen at social gatherings.

⁵⁰ Full statistics are given in Yuan-li Wu, "Communist China's Economic Challenge," *Current History*, XXXII, 185 (January, 1957).—See also Nathaniel Peffer, "China in Reappraisal" *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXI, 4 (December, 1956), p. 493.

⁵¹ AP dispatch from Hong Kong, March 9, 1957. Despite her shortage, China trades 250,000 tons of rice yearly to Ceylon for rubber.

THE GOVERNING SYSTEM

The instrument of government is a constitution of 104 articles adopted by the People's Congress in September 20, 1954. The document ostensibly guarantees private property and civil liberties as well as the rights of education, work, and pensioned retirement. A chairman of the Republic, elected by the Congress, is chief of state; he serves as ex-officio director also of the National Defense Council and the Council of State affairs, a form of Cabinet. Legislation is enacted by local, provincial, and national congresses; each appoints the judges at its own level. This system of democratic centralism contains no separation of powers: the judiciary is subject to the legislature; the executive is a potential dictator.⁶² Noncommunists may hold high, though merely ornamental, rank; out of eighty-one National Defense councilors, twenty-six are former officers in the Kuomintang.

The Communist Party is, as in Russia, separately organized, but Mao Tse-tung is chairman simultaneously of the Republic and of the Party's Central Secretariat—whose membership includes the veterans Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, and Liu Shao-ch'i (once Mao's schoolmate), together with Ch'en Yün. These five are in turn included in a thirteen-man politburo, which shows remarkable stability, having expelled only two members in twenty years.⁶³ It functions, in turn, as the core of the Central Committee which holds interim authority between sessions of the rubber-stamp National Congress. Regional party secretaries have considerable power; they are regarded as trainees for high central office.

The People's Republic has been far more successful than the Shown or Kuomintang governments in controlling its military elements; but there are internal stresses between the tough heroes of the liberation wars and the new bureaucracy. Communist education is entrusted with furnishing trained leaders and a subservient rank and file. Students are taught to admire the children of Soviet Russia, "the happiest in the world."⁶⁴ Within six years, the school

⁶² Djang Chu, "The Leadership of Communist China," *Current History*, XXX, 173 (January, 1957), p. 13 ff.

⁶³ Chao Kuo-chun, *Foreign Affairs*, XXXIV, p. 148.

⁶⁴ Through only half the school-age population is at present enrolled in the five-year primary course.

population has doubled, to exceed fifty-four million.⁵⁵ In textbooks, the worship of science replaces the ancestral cult. Of over three hundred thousand college students, half are enrolled in engineering courses. Seventy-five million Chinese attend part-time reading classes; all may achieve literacy through the boldest cultural reform in twenty centuries—the development of a phonetic romanized script.⁵⁶

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The People's Republic of China, founded on October 1, 1949, was recognized immediately by eight communist bloc states and during 1950 by thirteen more nations, including Great Britain. Secretary of State Acheson preferred to "wait for the dust to settle" but warned consular staffs to expect rapid communist unification of China.

The Korean War ended further diplomatic recognition. Almost all noncommunist states adhered to the UN strategic boycott of China. In turn, Peking organized a notorious "Five-anti" campaign⁵⁷ against capitalists and foreigners. Many were brainwashed into confessing espionage. Employees entered extravagant wage and pension claims against Western managers, which the People's Courts readily sustained. Their businesses, however unprofitable, could not be closed down, nor exit visas obtained until every claim was settled. By the end of the war, over two billion dollars' worth of Occidental investments had been nationalized; and parent firms had paid further millions to ransom their China representatives.

There has been chronic conflict with the United States: attacks upon American patrol planes and imprisonment of downed aviators, in addition to the military crises in Vietnam and the Formosa straits. Chou En-lai has defined four categories of nations: communist allies; the potentially friendly Afro-Asians;⁵⁸ the European "imperialists"; finally, and beneath all, the United States.

⁵⁵ "New China, New Texts," *Current History*, XIX, 112 (December, 1950), p. 321.

⁵⁶ Contrast SCAP's refusal to romanize Japanese writing, see p. 455 n. Kemal Ataturk accomplished this reform in Turkey during the twenties.

⁵⁷ The five crimes were: bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of public property, disclosure of secrets. Actually the campaigns became a security purge that drove thousands of China's best enterprisers to suicide.—See Lucian Taire, *U. S. News*, May 18, 1956, 139 ff.

⁵⁸ See L. Palmer, "The Foreign Policy of Communist China," *Current History*, XXXII, 185 (January, 1957), 9. It is noteworthy that in the Suez

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

Peking codified for the Bandung Conference the Five Principles of Coexistence: respect for national boundaries, nonaggression, noninterference in other nations' affairs, international equality, mutual coexistence. Her departure from these well-phrased doctrines in Korea and Indo-China needs no further comment. In October, 1950, the Central People's government invaded Tibet, over strong Indian protest, to "liberate" the people from the rule of their youthful Dalai Lama, fourteenth reincarnation of the Buddha. Infiltration of communist uniformed troops continues across the Burma border; and a Free Thai movement, threatening the friendly Bangkok government, operates in Yunnan.⁵⁹

At each session of the United Nations Security Council, the Soviet Russian delegate formally moves the substitution of a Peking representative for the Chinese Nationalist member; his motion is rejected.⁶⁰ The proposal to admit communist China as a new member of the Assembly, recognizing in fact two Chinas, is gaining ground; it has solid support among the Afro-Asians and wide sympathy in Europe. The People's Republic has signed barter treaties with Ceylon and Indonesia, and promised (though not confirmed) large orders to European and Japanese industrialists; correspondents from even the free world are welcomed. They report universal employment in China, and virtual disappearance of the "four pests": flies, sparrows, rats, and mosquitoes—visible evidence of a strong national discipline.⁶¹ Rail and jet transport

crisis Radio Peking announced, "Egyptian Brothers, we are on your side!" In *Look*, *op. cit.*, Chou En-lai is quoted as saying that American aviators are held only in reprisal for the imprisonment of Chinese in the United States.

⁵⁹ Directed by the refugee former premier, Pridi Phanomyong, as charged by Prince Wan at the Bandung Conference.—See Kahin, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁶⁰ A fundamental weakness of the United Nations in the eyes of Asians rests in the fact that the combined populations of India, communist China, and Japan—with nearly half the world's people—have no permanent representation in the Security Council and only two of eighty-one delegates to the General Assembly. Their voting power is equal to that of the two million inhabitants of the island of Haiti.

⁶¹ The Indian correspondent, Frank Moraes, has written a well-balanced *Report on Mao's China*, published by Macmillan in 1953. The first three American correspondents to traverse China in seven years reported their findings in early 1957.—See *Look*, *op. cit.*

shuttle services across Eurasia fill the Peking hotels with Russian artists and technicians, while introducing Chinese "into every public gathering" in Moscow.

Minor Communist States

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLICS (MAP, P. 525)

The minor states follow the typical communist pattern of organization: constitutional government by elected congresses (known in Mongolia as *Khural*s), interlinked with the hierarchical structure of the party.

As reported by Radio Pyongyang,⁶² the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has concluded a three-year plan for the repair of bridges and tunnels, factories and power dams, destroyed in United States air attacks. Kim Il Sung acknowledges Russian financial contributions of \$250 million, and over \$300 million in credits and materials from China, together with machinery and oil from the "brotherly countries" of eastern Europe—in all, about a fourth the volume of aid provided by UNKRA for South Korea.

The national economy has been reintegrated (as under Japan) with that of Manchuria. Food production is normal, though half the farmers resist collectivization. There is considerable cultural interchange with the rest of the communist world; five thousand Koreans receive technical training in Russia, and three times as many attend the ninety-nine scientific institutes in the Republic. The army is far inferior to that of Syngman Rhee; nevertheless, South Korea is invited to unite with the North "in order to get the benefits of . . . the Soviet Far Eastern System."

As a result of the persistent build-up of new armaments in North Korea, the United Nations denounced in June, 1957, the article in the Panmunjon Agreement which forbade the issuance of jet planes to the two Republics.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRVN), a communist dictatorship masked by a "fatherland front" government, was created in 1954 north of the Seventeenth Parallel under the leadership of Ho Chi-minh and generals Pham Van Dong and Vo Nguyen

⁶² And monitored for *Voice of Korea*. Few other sources are readily available.

Giap. Its treaties of aid and friendship with China and with the USSR provide for grants of four hundred million dollars in technical aid together with one hundred thousand tons of Burma rice.⁶³ Austerity and import controls have enabled the Republic to balance its budget. It was hoped that the 1956 plebiscite provided for at Geneva would peacefully annex the South. But with American approval, Premier Ngo-dinh-Diem of the National Republic of Vietnam canceled the referendum—declaring that no election in the communist zone could be free. Partition remains less absolute than in Korea, since trade and communication pass across the line.

Village cadres, having found few large estates to partition and fewer "traitors" to punish (since conservatives had migrated to the South), sought for scapegoats among their fellow peasants. Rural revolts late in 1956 led to a typical communist settlement: public self-castigation, a purge of secondary leaders, and abolition of the offending tribunals.

The Mongolian People's Republic, once a Soviet military outpost against the Kwantung army was, after the war, recognized by the Yalta signatories and Nationalist China. Communism has seldom invaded a less Marxian society than this nation of herdsmen, lacking, as it does, a working class, intelligentsia, or farm peasantry; yet a strong party has developed, complete with cadres and Revsomol Youth Corps, its kangaroo courts and, while escape routes were open, its stream of outgoing refugees.⁶⁴ The Five-Year Plan is supervised by technicians from Moscow, with scientific institutes replacing the old monastery schools. Popular resistance has prevented full collectivization of herds; but fences and wells are helping to replace nomadism with scientific livestock ranching.

Ulan Bator, a modern capital city close to the site of Genghis Khan's encampment of Karakorum, is a main station on the new Peking-Irkutsk-Moscow rail link. Besides its railway treaties, the MPR has a mutual assistance pact with Russia and an economic cultural agreement with Peking. Only the veto of Nationalist China keeps it from entering the United Nations.

⁶³ Brian Crozier, "The International Situation in Indo-China," *Pacific Affairs*, XXIX, 4 (December, 1956).

⁶⁴ The most famous of these is the Dilowa Hutukhtu, Living Buddha of Northwest Mongolia, saved from communist seizure by Dr. Owen Lattimore, of John Hopkins University, and brought to America—surely the highest Buddhist hierarch ever to reside in the Western world.

Cathay and New China (map, p. 525)

Chou En-lai's policy has been well described as a reversion to that of the empire in its day of power. An appalling order has been achieved,⁶⁵ and communist China is the chief Oriental standard bearer of Manifest Destiny. The conquest of Tibet, repeating Ch'ien Lung's triumph, caused "even ardent Kuomintang supporters in Malaya to exult,"⁶⁶ just as there was applause in Formosa when MacArthur retreated from the Yalu. Peking's suzerainty extends once more into Korea and Vietnam, and China is respected by the *sawbah* chieftains of Upper Burma. And from all these regions, after three centuries of interference, the white man has been evicted.

In monumental public works, too, the People's Republic challenges all imperial predecessors. Two million of its earth-moving masses—shuffling "Blue Ants" under direction of the new mandarins, the technocrats of the Five-Year Plan—have dredged and harnessed the Huai River, the "Sorrow of East China" for thirty centuries. Others have set the piers of the greatest bridge in Asia, the rail-highway span across the Yangtze at Wuhan, the firmest link ever forged between the North and the South.

Greater East Asia was a sea empire, won by naval power. Nationalist China fronted the Pacific. The People's Republic, blockaded by sea, turns toward the immeasurable heartland of Asia, the cradle of the Oriental races. Of five new industrial complexes, four are among the former pasturelands of the far northwest.⁶⁷ As the port cities deteriorate, their surplus population is conscripted to push rail systems across the desert and fill its booming cities. Drilling rigs and refineries mushroom over the Yumen oil fields; along the Silk Road, camel caravans have given place to fleets of four-ton Liberation Lorries. New communication routes are radiating, free of occidental interference, from the heart of the continent. Thus, the Moscow-Peking axis revives, in significant ways, the powerful Cathay of Kublai Khan.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ In mid-1957, Shanghai reports not a case of robbery in ten months.

⁶⁶ Chao Kew-chun, *Current History*, XXVII, 159 (November, 1954) p. 261.

⁶⁷ Lapchow in Kansu, Pai T'ou in Suiyuan, Tai Yuen in Shansi, Urumchi in Sinkiang. See map, p. 525.

⁶⁸ See p. 41.

United States versus Soviet Russia

The influence of the United States or the Soviet Union is felt still in every community of East Asia; contending everywhere, neither has been able to subjugate the other. After a decade, spheres have been fixed, incidents have become rare, and the spirit of Geneva developed among the Big Four in 1955 seems to promise uneasy but peaceful coexistence. The United States is served by powerful military strength and (until the *sputniks* were launched into space) unrivaled technological skill, with wealth that makes possible generous relief and reconstruction funds. Asians note with approval the ending of color segregation in American schools, and the abolition of Oriental exclusion laws and naturalization barriers.⁶⁹ Critics charge that America's war operations, especially in atomic warfare, have been recklessly wasteful of Asia lives, and that her gifts are motivated by political designs (Burma has on this ground refused to accept them). It is argued that she shows irrational fear of weak opponents by placing defense lines seven thousand miles from her shores, displaying her air and naval power within view of sensitive Asian populations. American leadership was threatened when, in June, 1957, Britain, followed by other European states, resumed trade with communist China on the same basis as with Soviet Russia. There were, in the same month, serious anti-American demonstrations both in Formosa and Japan as a result of homicides attributed to United States personnel.⁷⁰

Russia has made more effort to conceal her military forces; none are stationed among her tributary lands—and they have killed no Asian people since 1946. She has been more successful in finding a universal language for the social aspirations of the masses. But Russian retention of Japanese prisoners, her looting of Manchuria,

⁶⁹ Under the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, Asians are admitted under quota as are Europeans, and they are granted the same naturalization privileges.

⁷⁰ The United States had since 1951 called for embargo of over 450 exports to communist China—twice as many as were denied to Russia. Sergeant Robert Reynolds was exonerated by a U. S. court-martial for killing a Chinese trespasser on the grounds of his home in Taipeh. The verdict, rousing historical resentment against foreign extraterritoriality, touched off riots in which the American embassy was looted. Subsequently, Sergeant William Girard was ordered to stand trial in a Japanese court after the death of a woman on a U. S. Army mortar range, and given a light sentence.

and wanton prolongation of the Korean War have offset the gains made through clever propaganda. There are complaints that to cater to Western opinion she restrained the Vietminh from seizing southern Indo-China. Her voice was faint at Bandung; and at Geneva a Peking diplomat warned, "We do not have to consult Soviet Russia on matters of policy."

Japan and China, as the only Oriental states likely to develop their own atomic armaments, fill supporting roles in the contest. It is questionable whether they will remain in a subordinate status: they have begun to explore their common interest and may follow a Pan-Asian policy while collecting whatever benefits are offered by the West. Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia has recently shown how Asians may exploit the cold war. In May, 1955, he accepted U. S. weapons for his army, together with fifty million dollars in foreign-aid funds; shortly afterwards, he denounced the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization after receiving a twenty-two-million-dollar grant in Peking. During July, Sihanouk visited Moscow, where he was promised the gift of a fully equipped hospital.

Problems of East Asia in the Mid-Century

External differences between free and communist East Asia are not conspicuous. Except in Japan, virtual one-party rule is found on both sides of the Bamboo Curtain. If a 98 per cent vote launched the Mongolian People's Republic, an equally sweeping victory elected America's protégé, Ngo-dinh-Diem. People's Tribunals in China differ little from those of communist-suppression courts in South Vietnam. Loyalty is ritualized and armed youth corps parade both in Seoul and Peking.

Economic miracles are promised by demagogues of the left and the right, but living standards hardly surpass those of the comprador-colonial era. Increases follow the application of American and Russian funds, but such subsidies are not permanent. The acceptance of democracy has not been followed by American levels of prosperity—under any government, the Far East may well remain at a marginal subsistence level, hoarding and reselling its bent nails and splintered packing cases; under the shadow of nuclear reactors, when they are built, peasants will continue to empty buckets of sewage on the paddy fields. Land reform post-

poned social upheaval; but subdivision of holdings does not increase food supply or appease hunger.

During a century, her colonial masters vastly increased the output of Asia, but achieved little more than a fixed living standard for the multiplying population. Under independence, the rate of increase has become more rapid. One third of all children born in 1957 are Chinese. Taiwan, half of the size of Maine, has as many people as the continent of Australia and within a generation will double them. Meiji expansionism justified itself because of intolerable population pressure; now there are forty million more Japanese than in 1905—despite a legalized abortion rate that approximates the volume of live births.

Nor is the explosive development of education an unmixed blessing. For the ambitious young Oriental, literacy is not enough; he (she also, today) aspires to middle school and eventually college. The small island of Bali demands many times the higher education facilities that once sufficed the entire Dutch East Indies. "Mass-production of intelligentsia" was blamed for two generations of political unrest; it has been hugely accelerated without corresponding expansion of white-collar employment opportunities.

The break-up of colonialism has been shattering: it created two Chinas and Koreas, four weak states in Indo-China, and possible further fragmentation of Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia. "Particularization" in Europe after the First World War led to turmoil⁷¹ and eventually to new and more threatening concentrations of power. "Had China in 1815," writes one authority, "been united and strong, Southeast Asia would have become as Chinese as North America became British."⁷² The southeast is now more distracted than before, while the strength of New China approaches a zenith—checked only by that of the United States. The balance cannot be indefinitely maintained. What will happen when the last Western regiment has played its tattoo at the embarkation gateway?

Faith, too, suffers changes. At the century's beginning, almost every East Asian venerated a divine ruler or a living Buddha; now no such god survives. Christian missionaries returned following the Allied armies; virtually excluded in the communist zone, they

⁷¹ Consider the fate of the five fragments of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the seven successor states to Ottoman Turkey.

⁷² Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

are admitted to all of free Asia.⁷² There are few apostles of sectarian dogmatism; churchmen have widened their teaching and welfare services; perhaps they now preach democracy as effectively as the crew-cut emissaries of USIS. A Quakeress helped to train Crown Prince Akihito; briefly in 1947 Japan had a Christian premier, Katayama Tetsu. The roll of converts includes Generalissimo Chiang, presidents Ngo-dinh-Diem, Syngman Rhee, and the late Magsaysay, with Vice-president Chang Myun. If Western science has overwhelmed Asian society, Christianity has humanized and enriched it.

But the forms of faith will continue to be Oriental: Islam and Shinto and the Eightfold Way of Gautama. The American Ford Foundation helped to back the recent Pan-Buddhist Conference in Rangoon, and even communist authorities joined, during May, 1957, in celebrating the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of the Buddha's birth. The blueprint of the Co-Prosperity Sphere is filed away; it will be studied in every school in the Orient, to be re-edified in some form—not as a military empire but possibly as an economic federation; or perhaps as only a spiritual concept, another "Light of Asia."

⁷² Sometimes with the ironic proviso that the West accept an equal number of Oriental religious teachers.

Chronology

B. C.

2205(?) HSIA DYNASTY

1766 SHANG DYNASTY

Bronze sacrificial vessels,

weapons. Chariots.

Wheeled pottery. Highly

developed writing books.

1122 CHOU DYNASTY

Neolithic period, probably
extending to 3rd cen-
tury, B.C.

559 Lao-tzu, father of

Taoism

551- Confucius

478(?)

Japanese islands occupied
by Ainu migrants ar-
riving from continent
and from the south

379(?) Legalist school

373- Mencius

288

77 Mo Ti, father of Mohism

CH'IN DYNASTY

256 Jimmu Tenno rules

Japanese

239 Kokuryo (N. Korea)
becomes part of Liao-
tung command of
Chinese Ch'in dynasty221 Shih Huang Ti emperor.
Weights and measures
standardized. Bureau-
cracy established. Con-
fucian books destroyed.Clan system, evolving
into one-family rule.
Weaving. Pottery.
Shrines built to ances-
tors. Rice basic staple.

Great Wall built. Territory expanded southward.

206 HAN DYNASTY

Capital moved to Chang-an. Raids by Hsiung-nu. Civil service exams initiated.

126 Grapes, alfalfa introduced from the West

110 Korea and Annam colonized

36 Trade with Roman Asia 2(?) Buddhism introduced

A. D.

8 Western Han dynasty falls

9- Wang Mang's usurpation of throne

23 Eastern Han dynasty rules from Loyang

61- Buddhism officially introduced after mission to India

89- Relations with India via Central Asia

140 Emperor Wu-Ti on throne. Zenith of Han

166 Roman merchants in Loyang(?)

184 "Yellow Turban" revolt

220 THREE KINGDOMS OR SIX DYNASTIES

202 Kokuryo breaks away from Han

9 Paikche and Silla kingdoms in center and south

Annam invaded by Chinese

57 Japanese embassy to Han

Early iron age culture. Dolmen burial.

Raids on Korea. Expansion of Yamato into Abur territory.

110 Kokuryo subdued by Han

KOREA

Kokuryo pushes to Liao River after fall of Han

JAPAN

CHINA

- 226 Merchants from Grasco-Roman world
- 230 Tea introduced. Buddhism grows rapidly. Northern barbarians, including Toba, accept Chinese culture.

Fourth century

Expedition against Silla in southern Korea. Trade with China.

- 369 War between Kokuryo and Paikche (Central Korea)

Fifth century

- 403 Scribes using Chinese script serve the government
- 410 Chinese customs in court

- 420 Colony of Jews established in North China

- 463 Korean handicrafts reach Japan
- 470 Weavers come from China
- 472 Emperor orders mulberry trees planted

- 474 Kokuryo takes Paikche capital

Sixth century

Fighting against Silla. Tribute received from Paikche. Diffusion of Chinese culture.

Hinduism arrives in Indonesia

542 Buddhism arrives from Korea

556 Trade with Byzantium

589 SUI DYNASTY

590 Annamese revolt crushed

Kokuryo pays tribute to Chinese Sui dynasty

590 Annamese revolt crushed by Sui dynasty

Seventh century

Hinduism permeates main islands of Indonesia.
Local chiefs in power.
No central government.

604 Shintoku's "Constitution"

607 Kokuryo repulses Chinese invasion

608 Military expansion south and east

612 Grand Canal completed

618 T'ANG DYNASTY

620 Mazdaism comes from Persia

623 Religious census: 46 Buddhist temples

630 China divided into provinces

638 Thais throw off Cambodian yoke

641 Chinese princess marries Tibetan king

646 Talkwa Reform

649 Monchuria and Korea subdued

649 Shan kingdom of Nanzhao established in Northeast Burma, controlling Thai elements

651 Chinese civil service exams instituted in Korea

CHINA	JAPAN	KOREA	SOUTHEAST ASIA
668 Chinese troops aid Silla in Korea	656 30,000 forced laborers build canal 660 Korean envoy founds temple in Heliu	668 Aided by Chinese, Silla unites Korea	679 Annam invaded by Nui Chao and given present name, meaning "pacified South"
	670 Fujiwara family rises to power		
	686 Emancipation of slaves		
	702 Taiho Code, first body of Japanese law		
	710 First permanent capital, Nara. Roads, bridges developing. Tile used for roofing. Stable government.	Buddhism prevails. Culture follows Chinese Tang pattern.	Buddhism gains in Indonesia. Hindu believers take refuge in East Java. North Annam ruled by Chinese governor.
	712 <i>Kojiki</i> myths compiled		
	718 Yoro code of law 720 <i>Nihongi</i> myths completed		713 Laos becomes center of Nui Chao state, extends into Yunnan

Eighth century

- 721 New calendar adopted;
365,244 days
726 Census: population 41½ million

CHINA	JAPAN	KOREA	SOUTHEAST ASIA
841- Buddhism persecuted, 47 falling into decline			849 Pagan state founded in Central Burma 850- Thais invade South China 58 and Tongking 860 Annam gains independ- ence from China 863 Thais conquer Annam, later losing it to China
Tenth century		869 Korean pirates raid Japan	
907- FIVE DYNASTIES 960 PERIOD			Interstate warfare in Indo- nesia. Many temples built. 907 Chinese governors replace royal vassals in Indo- China
910 North China overrun by Khitan. Paper money used in Szechuan.		907 Korea nominally submits to Khitans	
		WANG DYNASTY	
		918 Korea unified under Wang dynasty	
932 Classics printed on wood block	935 Many provincial wars. Rise of new feudal families.	940 Alliance with Chinese Song emperor	

958	Chinese examination system inaugurated		
985	Khitans force renunciation of Sung alliance		
960	SUNG DYNASTY		
997	Empire divided into 17 provinces		
Eleventh century			
1000	Hai Hsin kingdom threatens Northwest China. Khitans threaten northeast Sungs who move capital south to Hangchow.	1004	<i>Genji Monogatari</i> romances written by Lady Murasaki
1043	Invention of movable clay type for printing	1044	Defensive wall built across North Korea
1050	Chu Hsi. Neo-Confucianism takes form.	1050	Taika Reforms: all lands become state property
1053-62		1053-62	Nine Years' War. Minamoto become powerful. Fujiwaras weakened.
1069	Wang An-shih attempts social reforms	1073	Monasteries begin to fortify themselves
Twelfth century			
	Golden age of art and literature. Mariner's compass invented.		Militarism strengthened. Fine clothes and gambling forbidden.
			Thais pushed steadily from South China. Hinduism blended with Buddhism.
			Pagan power in Indonesia conquers Pegu
		1010	Burma unified
			Khmer kingdom rises in Cambodia
			Madjapahit Empire strong in Central Java
			Shrivijaya Empire controls Sumatra, West Java, and Malaya

CHINA

Twelfth century (continued)

1115- Juchon and Sung crush
25 Khitans

1153 Kin capital moved from
Manchuria to Yenching
(site of Peking)

1180 Explosives used in war-
fare. Genghis Khan
welds Mongols.

JAPAN

1124 Law forbids taking of
life

1156 Taira family all-powerful

1176 Minamoto family rises
under Yoritomo
KAMAKURA PERIOD

1183 Kamakura becomes seat
of Minamoto power

1185 Minamoto crush Taira

1192 Yoritomo initiates shog-
unate form of govern-
ment. Zen Buddhism
introduced from China.

Hojo family replaces
Minamoto in power.
Rebellion by Emperor
Toba II crushed.

KOREA

1123 Korea recognizes Chinese
sovereignty

1170 Buddhism proscribed

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Construction of Angkor
Wat temples.

1106 Burmese embassy reaches
Chinese court

1180 Singhalese attack Bur-
mese coast

1190 Hinayana Buddhist in-
fluence reaches Burma
from Ceylon

1206 Rajah of Achin in Suma-
tra accepts Moham-
medanism

Thirteenth century

- 1230- Korea and Hsi Hsia states
27 become Mongol vassals
- 1227 Genghis Khan dies
- 1245 Kublai elected Mongol
khan at Karakorum
- 1260 Franciscans visit Kublai
- 1275- Marco Polo in China
92
- 1279 Sung finally defeated by
Mongols
- 1279 YUAN DYNASTY
- 1281 Second Mongol attack on
Japan repulsed
- 1283 Mongols invade Annam,
Champa
- 1223 Korean king submits to
Mongols
- 1241 Mongols overrun Korea
- 1253 Nichiren founds Buddhist
sect
- 1274 First Mongol invasion
repulsed
- 1281 Second Mongol attack
repulsed
- 1281 Korean forces assist
Mongols
- 1238 Kingdom of Siam estab-
lished at Sukotai
- 1253 Mongols overrun part of
Indo-China
- 1275 Shrivijaya rulers over-
thrown in Indonesia
- 1276 Sultan of Malacca ac-
cepts Mohammedanism
- 1283 King of Siam decrees
phonetic alphabet
- 1287 Mongols conquer Burma,
but retreat
- 1292 Mongol invasion of Java
repulsed
- 1294 Siamese king visits Kublai
Khan
- 1292 Unsuccessful Mongol
attack on Java
- 1294 Kublai Khan, emperor of
China, dies

CHINA	JAPAN	KOREA	SOUTHEAST ASIA
<p>Fourteenth century</p> <p>1294- John of Montecorvino visits China</p> <p>1328</p> <p>1368 MING DYNASTY</p> <p>1370 Mings complain of Japanese piracy</p> <p>1388 Mings force Burma into submission</p> <p>Fifteenth century</p> <p>1400 The Mongol leader Tamerlane and Mings exchange envoys</p> <p>1403 Naval expeditions to Indian Ocean. Restoration of Grand Canal and Great Wall.</p>	<p>1338 Period of Rival Emperors begins</p> <p>ASHIKAGA PERIOD</p> <p>1392 Japan united under Ashikaga</p> <p>Feudal wars. No Drama develops. Trade guilds appear.</p>	<p>1392 YI DYNASTY</p> <p>1392 Yi dynasty establishes capital at Seoul</p> <p>Invention of Korean alphabet. Confucianism flourishes.</p> <p>1420 Use of movable metal type</p>	<p>Fighting between Annamese, Burmese, and Thais</p> <p>1350 Philippines integrated into Majapahit Empire</p> <p>New Siamse capital founded at Ayuthia</p> <p>1364 City state of Ava founded in Upper Burma</p> <p>1388 Burma acknowledges Chinese suzerainty</p> <p>Struggles between Cambodians and Burmese</p> <p>Modern power grows in Indonesia</p> <p>1414 China regains control of Annam</p>

1430 Zen flourishes

1460 Koreans take Tsushima
Islands from Japanese

1465 Monastic wars
1467- Onin Civil War
77

Sixteenth century

1514 Portuguese arrive in
Canton

1525 Russians cross Amur but
are driven back

1542 First Portuguese arrive on
Kyushu Island

1549 St. Francis Xavier brings
Christianity

1557 Portuguese settled in
Macao

1568 Nobunaga unifies Japan

1509- Portuguese establish
trade in Sumatra and
Java
1511- Portuguese reach Siam
and coast of Burma
1520 End of Majapahit Em-
pire in Indonesia
1521 Magellan reaches Philip-
pines

1546 Burma, united with help
of Portuguese merce-
naries, becomes very
strong

1564 Effective Spanish control
of Philippines with
Legaspi
1568 Cochín-China becomes
independent state
1579 Sir Francis Drake touches
Molucca Islands

CHINA	JAPAN	KOREA	SOUTHEAST ASIA
Sixteenth century (continued)			
1582 Jesuit Father Ricci in Peking	1580 Japanese embassy dispatched to Rome 1582 Hideyoshi succeeds Nobunaga	1592 Seoul falls to Japanese. Japanese defeated at sea. 1597 Koreans and Ming Chinese repulse Japanese	1583 First Dutch arrive in Indonesia 1592 Japan trades with Siam
1592- Mings assist Korea against Japanese	1592- Invasions of Korea 98		
	1598 Death of Hideyoshi		
Seventeenth century			
Trade with Japan, India, Arabs, Portuguese, and Dutch	TOKUGAWA PERIOD 1600 Tokugawa Iyeyasu takes power after battle of Sekigahara 1603 Iyeyasu becomes shogun		1600 Jesuits open college in Philippines Japanese back Pegu in Burma British East India Company chartered 1602 Dutch East India Company chartered 1603 Siamese invade Cambodia 1604 Dutch trade opens in Siam 1612 Siamese envoys visit Holland English establish trade in Burma
	1615 Iyeyasu takes Osaka. Christians persecuted.		1618 Peace between Burma and Siam 1621 Dutch establish Java headquarters at Jakarta, rename it Batavia

1625. Mings grant Formosa to Dutch

1630-
44. Manchus defeat Ming forces, at last taking Peking to establish own dynasty

1637 Shimabara Revolt ends
Christianity, Japanese forbidden to go abroad. Ocean-going vessels destroyed, Dutch traders permitted in Nagasaki.

1644 CH'ING DYNASTY

1656 Russian envoys at Peking rejected.

1623 Massacre of British by Dutch in Molucca Islands

1624 Korea becomes "Hermit Nation"

1627 Manchus conquer Korea

1628 Burma at war with Portuguese

1632 Massacre of Japanese in Siam

1640 Envoys from Siam reach French court

1641 Dutch in Indonesia seize Malacca from Portuguese.

1645 Santo Tomas in Manila declared Spanish royal university

1650 Foreign merchants expelled from Burma

CHINA	JAPAN	KOREA	SOUTHEAST ASIA
<p>Seventeenth century (continued)</p> <p>1662 Tibet incorporated into China. Peking earthquake kills 4,000,000 (?).</p> <p>1662 Koxinga drives Dutch from Formosa and threatens Philippines</p>	<p>1657 Great Tokyo fire</p>		
<p>1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk with Russians; first treaty with a Western power.</p>	<p>1688-1703 Genroku period of art</p>	<p>1686 Christian missionaries refused entry</p>	<p>1673 French take part in dynastic quarrels in Indo-China</p> <p>1680 Siam establishes diplomatic relations with France</p> <p>1685 British secure trading posts in Sumatra</p> <p>1687 Christians persecuted in Siam</p>
			<p>1696 Coffee introduced into Java from India</p>
<p>Eighteenth century</p>	<p>1702 The Forty-Seven Ronin commit suicide in Tokyo</p>		<p>1700 British East India Company opens posts in Burma</p>

1707 Last recorded eruption
of Fuji

1719 Peter the Great's envoys
trade with Peking

1731 Peking earthquake kills
180,000

1755 Revolt in Illi Valley of
Central Asia

1760 Dutch scientific books
translated

1717 The king forbids use of
alcoholic beverages

1730 The "Grand Reform" at
the court in Seoul

1705 First Dutch trading fac-
tory in Celebes

1710 Moros attack Spanish in
Philippines

1740 Chinese revolt in Batavia

1750 Annamese conquer
Cochin-China

1753 Ceylonese embassy
arrives in Burma

1760 British take Manila, re-
storing it to Spain in
1763

1764 Burmese destroy Ayuthia,
capital of Siam

1770 Cochin-Chinese overrun
Annam

1771 British secure Penang
Island

1774 British treaty with
Brunei (Borneo)

1775 Chinghai conquered,
Siam united.

1776 Census shows population
of 7,096,248

CHINA

Eighteenth century (continued)

- 1784 First U. S. ship arrives in Canton. Mohammedan revolt in Kansu crushed.

JAPAN

- 1780 Mount Asama erupts. 1,000,000 (?) die in epidemic and famine.

KOREA

- 1777 Introduction of Christianity despite persecution

- 1785-91 Active persecution of Christian church, which increases to 23,000 members by 1866
- 1786 370,000 die in cholera epidemic

- 1790 English, Russians attempt trade

SOUTHEAST ASIA

- 1780 French-Annamese treaty. Tourane occupied by France
- 1782 Bangkok becomes capital of Siam

- 1795 British take Malacca from Dutch
- 1798 Dutch government takes over Dutch East India Company

Nineteenth century

- 1800 Java population under 5,000,000
- 1802 Emperor permits Christianity in Annam
- 1811 British occupy Java during Napoleonic Wars

- 1805 Christian literature prohibited

- 1816 British return Java to Dutch
- 1818 Siam takes Perak in Malaya
- 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles buys Singapore Island for British East India Company
- 1820- Emperor of Annam expels Christians 47
- 1824 British secure Malacca from Dutch in return for Sumatra
- Burmese defeated in First Anglo-Burmese War
- 1825 Dutch suppress rebellion in Java
- 1828 First American missionaries reach Siam
- 1830 Manila briefly opened to international trade
- 1833 U. S. treaty with Siam
- 1841 Sultan of Brunei gives Sarawak coast in Borneo to James Brooke as "white sultan"
- 1821 Government attempts ban on opium trade
- 1830 American missionary work begins in South China
- 1837 USS *Morrison* visits Yedo
- * 1839- First Opium War against England 42
- 1842 Treaty of Nanking: ports opened, Hong Kong ceded

CHINA

Nineteenth century (continued)

1844 Treaty of Wanghia with U. S.

1850- T'ai'ping Rebellion.

65 20,000,000 die.

JAPAN

1846 Commodore Biddle, USN,
rebuffed by Japanese1853- Commodore Perry, USN,
54 arrives at Yedo, se-
cures opening of Japan1856- Second Anglo-Chinese
60 War1856 Townsend Harris becomes
first U. S. consul

SOUTHEAST ASIA

1852 Second Anglo-Burmese
War, British secure
Rangoon and Pegu.1855 Anglo-Siamese trade
treaty1858 Spanish, French take mili-
tary action to protect
Christians in Annam1859 Portuguese, Dutch divide
Timor1862 Treaty of Saigon: Cochinchina
ceded to France.
Christianity permitted
in Indo-China.

MELI ERA

1866 Nino French priests
executed

1867 Collapse of the Tokugawa emperor, Meiji (Mutsuhito) rules Japan

1868 Yedo renamed Tokyo, becomes Imperial capital

1871-72 Feudalism abolished. Postal system, code of criminal law, railroad, first compulsory education and military service developed.

1874 Bimacral legislature established. Ryukyu annexed.

1875 Sakhalin go to Russia, Kuriles to Japan

1876 Opening of Korea

1877 Satsuma rebellions crushed

1879 Privy Council and Cabinet formed

1867 French protectorate over Cambodia

1868 Tenasserim border with Burma drawn. Slavery abolished. Telegraph and railway systems began.

1869 Suez Canal opened. Short cut for rice exports to Europe.

1871 U. S. ships fired on off west coast, raid fort in reprisal

1875 Japanese gunboat fired on

1876 Treaty with Japan "opens up" Korea

1872 Dutch draft penal code, establish primary education in Indonesia

1880 British occupy North Borneo
Java population reaches 20,000,000

CHINA	JAPAN	KOREA	SOUTHEAST ASIA
Nineteenth century (continued)	1882 Political parties organized. Rivalry with China over Korea.	1882 Treaties with U. S., Britain, and France	1883 Treaty of Huế, Annam becomes French protectorate.
1884- Fighting with France. 85 French protectorate over Annam recognized.		1884 Treaties with Russia and Italy. Religious toleration granted.	1886 British annex all of Burma, governing from Mandalay. Britain and France guarantee neutrality of Siam.
1886 China renounces all claims to Burma in favor of Britain		1884- Protestant missions 85 opened	1887 Tongking, Annam, Cochinchina, and Cambodia united as Indochina under French governor
1887 Macao ceded to Portugal. West III Valley ceded to Russia.	1889 Meiji Constitution approved by emperor 1890 First diet convenes	1892 Treaty with Austria-Hungary	1890 Rizal founds <i>La Liga Filipina</i> in Manila French suppress Annamese revolt
			1893 French declare protectorate over Laos Siam evacuates area east of Mekong

- 1894- Sino-Japanese War 95
- 1894- War with China, ended by Treaty of Shimonoseki; Japan gains Formosa and the Pescadores 95
- 1898 Kiaochow leased to Germany. Liaotung leased to Russia. Wei-hai-wei leased to Britain.
- 1899- Boxer uprising, later 1900 crushed by international army
- Twentieth century**
- 1900 "Open Door" policy in China sponsored by the U. S.
- 1904- Russo-Japanese War 05
- 1904- Russo-Japanese War. Victory gives Japan control of China Sea, South Manchuria, and Korea.
- 1907 Anglo-Japanese Alliance
- 1904- Russo-Japanese War. 05
- 1907 Theodore Roosevelt gives Japan *carte blanche* in Korea for hands-off promise in Philippines
- 1907 Appeal to Hague Tribunal against Japanese "protection" denied
- 1910 Annexation of Korea
- 1910 Korea annexed by Japan
- 1911 REPUBLIC OF CHINA
- 1912 Manch' emperor abdicates in favor of Yuan Shih-k'ai as president
- 1912 Meiji emperor dies
- 1918 Spanish-American War. Aguinaldo proclaims Republic of Philippines. Islands annexed by U. S.
- 1898 Spanish-American War. Aguinaldo proclaims Republic of Philippines. Islands annexed by U. S.
- 1899 U. S. assumes control of Philippines after fighting republic
- 1906 Philippine assembly convenes for first time
- 1908 First nationalist movement in Indonesia
- 1897 Russian influence increases in northern provinces

CHINA

Twentieth century (continued)

- 1915 The "Twenty-one Demands" of Japan
 1917 War declared against Germany
 1917-27 War lords dominant
 1919 Peace at Versailles, China ends all special rights of Germany and Austria, grants Shantung rights to Japan

JAPAN

TAISHO ERA

- 1912 War with Germany. German Shantung interests seized.
 1915 "Twenty-one Demands" made upon China

- 1919 At Versailles, Japan awarded Pacific island mandates and Shantung rights

- 1921-22 Washington treaties give Britain, U. S., and Japan 5-5-3 tonnage ratio for capital ships
 1923 Great Earthquake devastates Tokyo
 1924 U. S. Immigration Act bars immigrants from Japan

1926 SHOWA ERA

- 1925 Death of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang K'ai-shek leads Kuomintang in Northern March

KOREA

- 1919 Korean declaration of independence. Japanese crush Mansu Revolt. Korean government in exile established in Shanghai.

- 1920 Rubber plantations widely developed in Malaya and Indonesia

- 1917 Siam declares war upon Germany

- 1926 Slaves emancipated in Burma

SOUTHEAST ASIA

- 1927 Chiang unifies China except for Communists in southeast
- 1928 Provisional constitution for China drafted
- 1930 World-wide business depression
- 1931 Japan invades Manchuria
- 1933 "Independent" Manchukuo government
- 1934 Communist "Long March" to Shensi
- 1935 Manuel Quezon elected president of the Philippine Commonwealth
- 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany
- 1937 Fighting near Peking launches Sino-Japanese hostilities
- 1937-41 Nationalist China loses control of major metropolitan areas and lines of communication
- 1940 Puppet rule of China set up in Nanking under President Wang Ching-wei
- 1930 Depression favors military ascendancy
- 1931-33 Mukden Incident. Japan takes over Manchuria and Jehol.
- 1931 Rebellion in Burma crushed by British King of Siam visits the U. S.
- 1932 Japan seeking economic control of Southeast Asia
- 1932 Constitutional monarchy follows palace revolution in Siam
- 1937 Burmese government separated from India
- 1940 Japanese become "advisers" to Vichy-controlled Indo-China

CHINA	JAPAN	KOREA	SOUTHEAST ASIA
Twentieth century (continued)			
1941 Chiang, from Chungking, continues to fight the Japanese	1941 General Tojo becomes prime minister 1941-42 Pearl Harbor attacked. Hong Kong, Wake, Philippines, Malaya, Burma occupied by Japanese		1941 U. S., Britain, and Holland declare war on Japan. Many Asian nationalists collaborate with Japanese as their countries are invaded. Siam declares war on Allies
	1942 American naval victories at Coral Sea, Midway. Battle of Guadalcanal.		1942 Japan establishes puppet governments in East Asia
			1944 U. S. troops return to the Philippines
1945 End of World War II. Nationalists re-occupy Japanese holdings in China and Manchuria	1943 Atomic bomb. Russia enters war against Japan. Occupation by Allies under Gen. Douglas MacArthur.	1945 U. S. and Russian troops occupy Korea, divided at 38th Parallel	1945 British drive Japanese from Burma Independent government proclaimed by Indonesians and Vietnamese
1946-47 Chiang defeats Communists who seek Russian protection in Manchuria	1946 New constitution provides for women's voting and complete disarmament		1946 Republic of Philippines established Siam changes name to Thailand War in Indonesia and Indo-China against colonial authorities
		1948 UN-authorized elections blocked in North Korea. Elections in South Korea make Syngman Rhee president.	1948 Burma admitted to UN as independent nation
1948 Mukden falls to the Chinese Communists			
1949 All mainland of China in Communist hands. Nationalists withdraw to Formosa.			1949 Continuous minority rebellions in Burma

- 1950 Chinese Communists invade Tibet, "volunteer" troops in Korea against UN troops
- 1950 North Korean troops invade South Korea. American and UN troops defend South Korea. Chinese "volunteers" aid North Koreans.
- 1950 Republic of Indonesia proclaimed
- 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty restores Japan's sovereignty over her original four islands
- 1952 Dec.—Second Five Year Plan launched in People's Republic
- 1953 Apr.—Yoshida Shigemitsu re-elected premier leading Liberal-Progressive government
- 1953 Jul.—Communist delegation deals with West at Geneva
- 1953 Jul.—USSR agrees to evacuate Manchuria
- 1953 Oct.—Khrushchev attends fifth anniversary celebration of People's Republic in Peking
- 1953 Aug.—North Korea signs treaty with Peking
- 1953 Jul.—Armistice in Korean War between communist and UN forces
- 1953 Jul. 27—Armistice in Korean War between communist and UN forces
- 1953 Aug.—North Korea signs treaty with Peking
- 1953 Cense fire armistice Korea divided into northern People's Republic and southern Republic of Korea
- 1953 Jul. 27—Armistice in Korean War between communist and UN forces
- 1953 Nov.—North Korea signs treaty with Peking
- 1953 North (communist) Vietnam and South (democratic) Vietnam recognized at Geneva, divided at 17th Parallel
- 1953 Jul.—Geneva East-West Conference separates Vietnam at 17th Parallel
- 1953 Sept.—UN refuses debate on Indonesian claims to W. New Guinea (Irian)
- 1953 Apr.—Bandung (Indonesia) Conference, attended by 29 Afro-Asian nations

CHINA

Twentieth century (continued)
 1956 Chinese Communist Party Congress (first since 1945) pledges solidarity with USSR

JAPAN

1957 Feb.—Kishi Nobusuke, once "purged" as ultranationalist, becomes premier

KOREA

1956 Syngman Rhee begins third presidential term

SOUTHEAST ASIA

1956 Feb.—Indonesia fully withdraws from Netherlands Union

1957 Aug.—Independence of Federation of Malaya within British Commonwealth
 Sept.—Putsch overthrows Premier Pibul Songgram in Thailand

1958 Widespread Nationalist-Communist outbreaks in Indonesia lead to general status of Europeans

Glossary

C—Chinese

I—Indian

J—Japanese

K—Korean

M—Mongolian

amban (C)—Chinese representative to the Dalai Lama; often wielded great power in Tibet.

Anfu (C)—A group of Chinese political and military leaders organized in 1918 to oppose the growing power of the war lords.

Azad Hind (I)—Free India.

baka (J)—Fool.

Bakufu (J)—Literally, the "Tent Government." This was the military dictatorial government machinery under the direction of the shogun who through it ruled Japan (1278-1853). Synonymous with shogunate, which see.

banner (C, M)—A former Manchu-Mongol major army unit.

Banzai—"Ten thousand years" in Japanese. In Korean, *Mansei*; in Chinese, *Wan sui*; used as a term of acclamation.

buke (J)—Warrior.

bushido (J)—Literally, "The Way of the Warrior." Having its roots in traditional Shinto, as well as in Zen Buddhism, *bushido* was the code of ethics that governed the behavior of the samurai class. Its counterpart in European tradition might be the knight's code of chivalry.

cho (*machi*) (J)—Town.

chokunin (J)—Imperial appointees.

chonin (J)—City people.

chu (J)—Middle in Japanese; from Chinese *chung*.*

Co-Hong (C)—A guild of Chinese merchants who alone were authorized to trade with Westerners in the earlier period of commercial contacts.

dacoit (I)—Brigand bands.

Dagoba (I)—White shrine, built for visit of Dalai Lama, 1652.

daimio (J)—Manor lords, roughly comparable to local lords whose wealth was based on land and whose power was based on armed retainers.

dolmen—A stone tomb monument of several megaliths—huge stones.

eta (J)—The lowest level of society, perhaps due to occupation, such as butchers and leather workers.

jeng-shui (C)—"Earth Spirits," much revered in Chinese geomancy.

fidalgo—Portuguese lesser noble; in Spanish, *hidalgo*.

Fudai (J)—Hereditary vassals of the Tokugawa shoguns.

Fukoku Kyohei (J)—"A rich country and a strong fighting force."

Gaimusho (J)—Japanese Foreign Office; in China, *Waiwupu*.

Gautama—The family name of the Buddha; also called *Sakyamuni*.

geisha (J)—An entertainer highly trained in music, art, letters, current events, and repartee.

Gempei (J)—Combination of Genji and Heike, rival military houses in eleventh-century Japan.

genro (J)—A powerful clique who, after the Meiji Restoration, had close personal access to the emperor. Political power was largely in their hands. Also known as Elder Statesmen.

Gobi (M)—Area which includes southern Outer Mongolia and northern Inner Mongolia.

go (J)—Japanese chess.

godown—Warehouse. Corruption of Malay *godon*.

Gumbatsu (J)—Military overlords.

gun (J)—Small district.

hai (C)—Sea; Japanese *kai*.

Hakka (C)—A people in south central China, immigrant from the North in early times; refused to bind feet of their women.

Hakko Ichiu (J)—"Eight corners, one roof"; name adopted by Japanese nationalist cult.

hara-kiri (J)—Ceremonial suicide by cutting open abdomen.

Hinayana (I)—The "Lesser Vehicle"; one of the two major divisions of Buddhism followed mainly in Ceylon, Burma, Siam—See *Mahayana*.

hinin—See *eta*.

Ho (C)—Shallow river, North China.

hokku (J)—Poem with seventeen syllables.

hoku (J)—North; Chinese *pei*.

hsien (C)—District.

hsien kuan (C)—Confucian magistrate at "grass roots" level.

hu (C)—Lake.

Hukbalahap—Filipino "People's Army against the Japanese."—Communist-directed after World War II.

hutukhtu—Grand lama of Mongol hierarchy.

hutung (C)—Alley.

Igorots—Tribes of northern Luzon, Philippines.

I Ho Ch'uan (C)—"Fists of Righteous Harmony"; the "Boxers."

junshi (J)—Suicide upon the death of one's master.

kai (J)—Sea.

Kamikaze (J)—"Divine Wind." Used of: the wind that brought Jimmu Tenno to Yamato; the typhoons that destroyed the Mongols; the suicide planes of World War II.

Kanji (J)—Chinese characters as used in Japan.

kaoliang (C)—A very tall sorghum-like crop of north China.

katakana (J)—One of the two syllabic forms of writing in Japan.

katana (J)—Japanese long sword.

kawa (J)—River.

Kempeitai (J)—Japanese military police or *gendarmérie*.

ken (J)—Prefecture.

kendo (J)—Ancient swordsmanship.

Khural—Mongol convention.

Kiang (C)—Deep river, Central or South China.

king or ching (C)—Capital.

Kodo (J)—Imperial way.

Kodo-ha (J)—A radical, ultranationalist Japanese action group.

koku (J)—Country; Chinese *kuo*.

koku (measure) (J)—4.9629 bushels; 39.7033 gallons.

kowtow (C)—Nine prostrations. Required when interviewing the emperor of China.

kuel (C)—Demons or spirits.

kuge (J)—Old court nobility of Japan.

Kuomintang (C)—National People's Party established in China by Sun Yat-sen; often called the Nationalists.

Lamaism—A particular variety of Buddhism developed in Tibet by fusion of shamanism and orthodox Buddhism.

lao pai hsing (C)—"Old Hundred Families"; Chinese farmers; Japanese *hyakusho*.

likin (C)—An internal customs levy collected in imperial China after 1850.

- loess (C)—A fine silt of yellow-brown color, deposited mainly by the wind.
- Mahayana (I)—The "Greater Vehicle"; one of the two major divisions of Buddhism, followed mainly in China, Japan, Korea.
- mandarin—A Chinese official; derives from Portuguese "mandar" to command.
- mikado (J)—Japanese emperor.
- Min Sheng* (C)—Livelihood.
- min ts'u* (C)—Nationalism.
- moga* (J)—"Modern Girl."
- mobo* (J)—"Modern Boy."
- Mombusho (J)—Ministry of Education.
- mura (J)—Village.
- Naimusho (J)—Ministry of the Interior.
- "*Namu Amida Butsu*" (J)—An appeal to Buddha Amida, Lord of Boundless Life.
- nan* (C)—South, identical in Japanese; *nam* in Korean.
- Nien Fei* (C)—Mounted bandits.
- nirvana (I)—Loosely translated as Buddhist "heaven," a state of nothingness; the last or perfect cycle of Buddhist reincarnation.
- Nisei (J)—Second generation Japanese born in the U.S.
- O mune padme hoong* (I)—"Hail to the Jewel in the Lotus Flower," chanted Tibetan Buddhist prayer.
- oni* (J)—Demons.
- pai* (C)—White.
- pai-hua* (C)—A vernacular form of Chinese speech.
- pan* (J)—Bread—derived from Portuguese.
- Pidgin English—Traders' "business" (pidgin) English, Chinese in structure, using Portuguese and English vocabulary.
- Pongyis*—Monks in primitive Burma.
- ronin* (J)—Lordless samurai.
- samurai (J)—Japanese warrior class roughly equivalent to the feudal knights of Europe.
- san* (J)—Mountain; *shan* in Chinese and Korean.
- San Min Chu-I* (C)—"The Three People's Principles" enunciated by Sun Yat-sen.
- Sat-Cho-Hi-To* (J)—A political group, active in Japan in nineteenth century, formed by the Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen, and Tosa clans.
- sawbah* (Burmese)—Chieftains of Upper Burma.
- Sel-I-Tai-Shogun* (J)—"Barbarian-subduing generalissimo" in Japan, usually referred to as "shogun."
- Shamanism—Animistic and exorcistic religion of Central Asia.

shên (C)—Chinese local gods.

Shinto (J)—"Way of gods"—Japan's primitive religion.

shoen (J)—Landholdings of Japanese nobles which are comparable to European feudal manors.

shoguns (J)—Military overlords who, after 1278, actually ruled Japan through the governmental machinery of the Bakufu.

si (hsi) (C)—West; Japanese *sei*.

SMR—South Manchurian Railroad.

Son-No (J)—"Honor the emperor."

sutra (I)—A Buddhist scripture, comparable to a book of the Bible.

tael (C)—Chinese unit of weight, applied to a quantity of silver worth in the nineteenth century a little more than the U. S. dollar.

Taiwenkun—Korean title, Lord of the Great Court.

tanka (J)—Japanese twenty-one syllable poem.


thakin (Burmese)—Chiefs.

tí (C)—Earth.

Tien (C)—Heaven; Japanese *ten*, as in Tenno, the word for emperor.

tokusei (J)—Forgiveness of debts.

Tonghak (K)—"Eastern Sea Society," Korean religio-political group during late nineteenth century.

torii (J)—Portal of Shinto shrine, in shape .

Tosei-ha (J)—Japanese militarist control faction in 1930's.

Tozama (J)—"Outer" or inferior lords, under Japanese Tokugawa shogunate.

Tripitaka (I)—Buddhist scripture.

Tsung-li Yamen (C)—Chinese Foreign Office after 1861.

tuchun (C)—Chinese war lord; military chief.

tung (C)—East; in Japanese *to*; in Korean *tong*.

ukiyoe (J)—Lit., "floating-world" pictures.

wakizashi (J)—Japanese short sword.

wan—"Bay," identical in Chinese, Korean, Japanese.

wang (C)—A king in feudal China.

yamen (C)—Residence of Chinese city magistrate.

Yang Kwei (C)—"Sea Devil," term applied to Europeans who came to China by sea.

yashiki (J)—Urban mansion.

yin-yang (C)—A dualistic Chinese philosophical concept based on the interplay of opposites: left-right; cold-hot; female-male; dark-light; and so on. Called in Japan *Oya mei*.

Yuan (C)—Mongol dynasty in China (A.D. 1279-1368); Chinese currency; roughly equivalent in purchasing power to the dollar; department of ministry in government.

yurt (M)—Mongol felt hut.

Zaibatsu (J)—Family business trust in Japan after the Meiji Restoration.

Zen in Japan; in China *chan*; Buddhist sect emphasizing "inner light," austerity, and self-control—popular among the military.

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